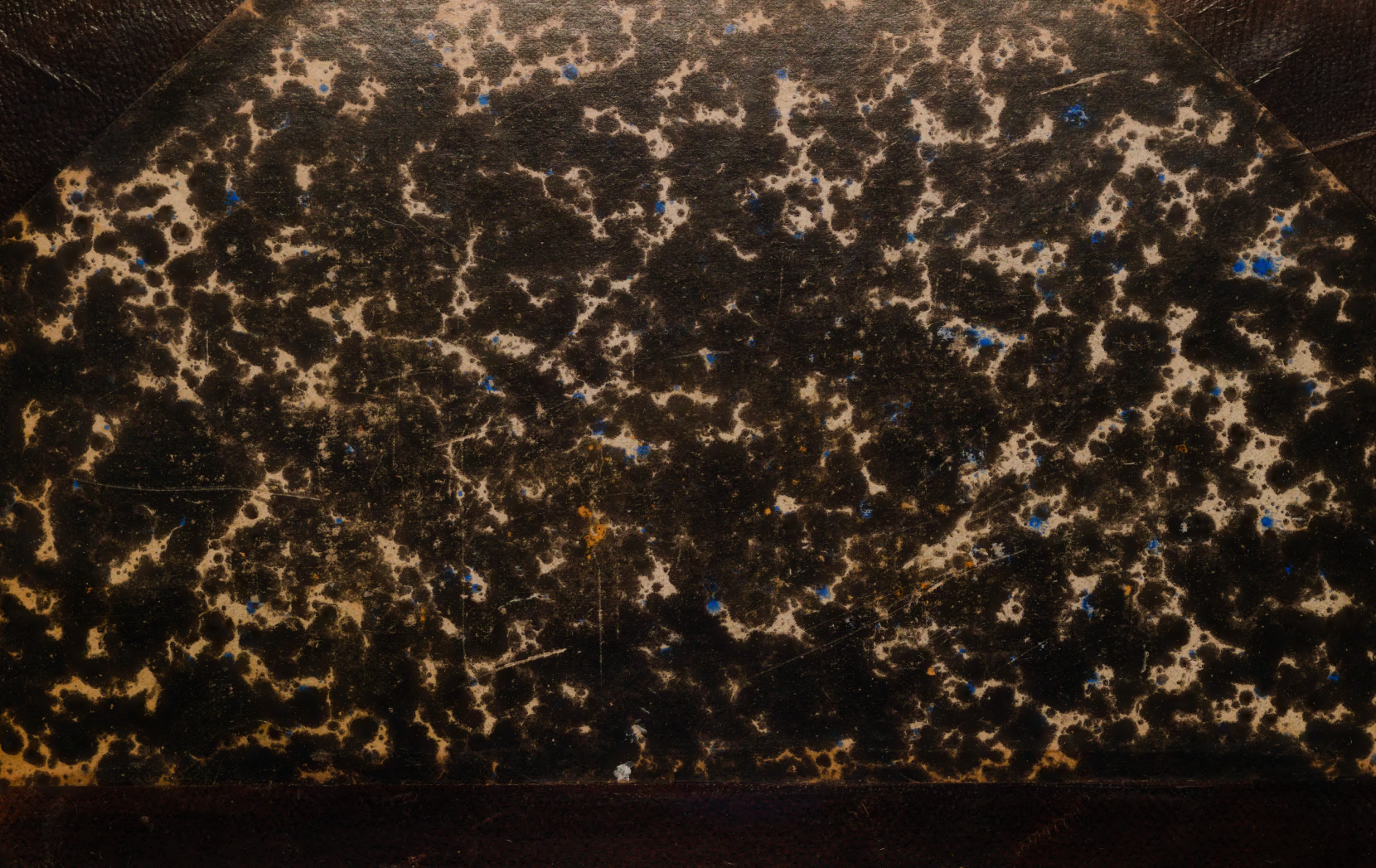

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AN ORGAN FOR

CHRISTOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL AND POSITIVE

THEOLOGY.

EDITED BY

T. G. APPLE, D.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, LANCASTER, PA.

Unus Christus Jesus dominus noster. venieus per universam dispositionem, et omnia in semet ipsum recapitulans.—IRENÆUS.

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THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1876.

ART. I.—THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, LANCASTER, PA.

BY REV. C. Z. WEISER, D. D.

IT is meet and right to make grateful acknowledgment of God's amiable and adorable Providence at all times. Especially do the angels of our better nature call to us, individually and collectively, in seasons of Festivity and Jubilee, loudly and earnestly:

"Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generations following."

Nor did this divine impulse fail to utter itself responsively, during all the ages, in signs and words of eulogy, history and song; in monumental deeds and memorial times. The *Vox Populi* interpreted and directed the *Vox Dei.*

The Jubilee is of God. It is His oracle in History. Let us ever pray for light, that we may rightly render it and divine its meaning. It tells of that which was, which is, and which is to come. It concentrates the Past, the Present, and the Future,

all in a focal monument, and stands for a symbol of the Divine Exhibition. The Jubilee is an Ethical Pyramid. It is an "*Ebenezer*," which the Samuels erect, and designates God and man's restingsplace in Time—their Sabbatical season and station in History.

It is a "*Bethel*," too. The stone becomes an Altar, which speaks of conflict and struggle, of sacrifice and victory, of benediction and thanksgiving.

And, again, it becomes a "*Jehovah-Nissi*," a Heavenly Banner for the forces of Israel to advance under.

Thus we see in the Jubilee of to-day a monument of the Past, an inspiration of the Present, and a Prophecy of the Future.

Israel oriented itself in the "Year of Jubilee" like an eagle. It passed the days of yore under joyful review. It proudly surveyed its later acquired proportions and advanced strides. It laid hold afresh on the promised inheritance.

The Reformed Church in the United States piously projected and is joyfully consummating its *Semi-Centennial Seminarian Jubilee*. By the dim shadow of by-gone years, we would learn thankfully to bathe in the fairer light of the day that has dawned, and to hopefully hail the glory that is to come. We would be the better for our Festive Service, as well.

Let us sing a *Magnificat* over the days of yore, and their doings. Let us invoke a *Benedictus* upon the blossoms and fruits of to-day. Then will the *Gloria Patri* not fail to ascend in the time that shall be.

Throughout the Historical Books of the Old Testament frequent reference is had to the "Schools of the Prophets." They were the primitive beginnings of Religious Training-Houses, of Educational Colleges, and Theological Seminaries, in God's ancient Israel. Therein a Priest or Levite dispensed tuition to a few scholars attracted around him by a pious affinity, in the earliest times. The school was a nursery, and the pupils were as children under a fatherly spirit.

Thus humble, in origin and character, were the Jewish Seminaries.

Soon the "Rabbi" became prominent. The Prophet Samuel presently stood forth, as the founder of Hebrew Schools. Ramah, Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, and still other localities are known and honored as educational quarters of this order. And once established, we need not wonder that they continued to survive down to the close of the ancient Canon and Advent of Christ. Was it not destined that the Race "should be taught of God?"

The inner life of the ancient Hebrew Seminary was of a heavenly simplicity. At its head stood the kindly master, a truly venerable and saintly man of God. The scholars were young men, poor and humble, but promising and devout. Elisha quitted the plow. Amos had been a herdsman and gatherer of sycamore fruit. The lot and lineage of God's servants ever had this common mark—"that they were of no reputation."

The School of the Prophets was a community. The inmates erected their simple homes of trees, felled by their own diligent hands. Their habit and fare bespoke ardor and self-denial. Their garments were skins, sack-cloth and hair-shirts. Bread and honey were their daily food.

Their study was the Law—its interpretation and application.

There, and under such a discipline, were trained the ministers of Israel—they, whom St. Augustin calls, "the philosophers, divines, instructors, and guardians of Hebrew virtue and piety."

The Christian Church is the School of Jesus. Christians were first called "Disciples"—*Learners.* God is light, and the Kingdom of His Son is His Shechinah on Earth. The primal edict was: "*Let there be light!*"—and the standing response issues from the lips of the Divine Founder—"*I am the Light of the world!*"

The Church of God is one, though of a twofold Dispensation. The Patriarchs walked in a heavenly halo, never wandering,

though never knowing whither they went. The Prophets were Sages. The Psalmists were Seers. The Kings of Israel were illuminated Monarchs. The Apostles were reservoirs of unearthly lore. The Evangelists framed Holy Records, in which the empire of Science discovers no flaw. The Letters of Paul and his companions are classic Epistles. The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers withstand the tooth of time. The Church Fathers and Saintly Doctors are as light-towers along the shores of the ages. The Monks were Savants. Popes, Bishops and Ministers were never imbeciles, whatever else was charged against them. The Clergy constitutes the sole Profession that has ever been accused of *monopolizing* Learning. This is significant in every view, and especially pertinent to our argument.

The Christian Church has civilized the Nations, and covered the land with Educational Institutions. The Great Teacher founded a "College of Apostles." The Schools at Alexandria, Carthage, Rome, and in numberless other quarters, were fountains of sanctified wisdom to an infantile civilization. The Universities on and off the European Continent are all the daughters of the Church, and from the day in which Christ subjected Cæsar cease not silently but eloquently to shed abroad the light of Heaven.

The Seminaries in the New World are no less the direct offspring of the Church. Until the founding of Girard College and the day of Normal Schools, Christianity built and manned the Educational machinery of America. The Temple and the School-House rose together on the Western Continent, and the Pastor and the Schoolmaster were cousin-germain. The University at Cambridge (Harvard) was founded in 1636; the College of William and Mary, in 1689; the School at New Haven, in 1700; Nassau Hall, in 1738—all products of an ecclesiastical leaven. And we rest the case with these few specimens.

The first Seminary, under the auspices of Germanic Christianity, was founded at Hartwick, N. Y., in 1790. Negotiation

was had already in 1787 for a German Christian School, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Many barriers confronted the project, and delayed its consummation for a whole generation. In 1825 a new inspiration moved the German masses, and—but, we anticipate!

The migration of the Reformed Church westward, its planting and first beginning in American soil, may no longer be definitely told. It is manifestly safe, however, to fix the date no later than 1725. Whilst legend and tradition would persuade us to antedate the epoch by many years, by a full century, indeed, a consideration of modesty might move us to place it later. We heed neither voice, then, but rely wholly on the series of facts and incidents which history renders patent:—

Hollanders, Germans, Palatinates, Swedes and Swiss—these were among the first white settlers in South America and the East and West India Isles, in Louisiana and Georgia, in the Carolinas, in the Provinces of Maine, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. There is hardly a State in the Union in which patronymics and local names do not reveal an early migration of the Teutonic forefathers. The first German colony located at Venezuela in 1526, under Ambrosius Alfinger, of Ulm. Philip von Hütten sailed with a squad of his countrymen for South America, in 1541. It falls upon the ear as a fabulous tale, to speak of pioneer Germans along the Pacific coast, the territory of Mexico, and the lesser Isles; and yet, not a few families in these and contiguous regions trace their lineage to a Germanic parentage, that emigrated prior to the "Thirty Years' War." The German element became one with the New World from its first re-discovery through Martin Behaim, in 1482, and maintained its living connection by means of an unbroken immigration and ceaseless founding of settlements in all quarters of our country's domain, down to the present day. The Bahama Isles perpetuate the name of Martin Behaim. The States of New York and Pennsylvania were first

known as Weinland. Throughout the States we find cities, towns and districts which tell of their original founders, such as "Palatine," "Rheinbeck," "Germantown," the "German Flats," "Hagerstown," "Newberg," "Würtemberg," "Bern," "Johnstown," and many others. The island on which New York City stands was purchased from the Manhattan Indians in 1613, for *twenty-four Dutch Thalers.* A church was organized there in 1619, by the Hollanders, which preserved its roll of membership since 1622. In the Province of Pennsylvania and Delaware we have still alive some reminiscences of early Germans. *Peter Minuit*, a German Reformed deacon of Wesel, founded a colony on the Delaware in 1638. He was the first Governor of New Amsterdam (New York) in 1626. *Blakenburg* and *Frey* preceded Governor Penn in 1680. In 1683-4, several ship-loads of Hollanders and Germans landed here. *John Koster* prayed for his naturalization and that of *one hundred and fifty High Germans,* in 1707. Their prayer was based on the very reasonable ground of having resided here since 1685. In 1710, already, at least one-third of the unhappy twenty-one thousand Germans, who had been misled by the benevolent but mistaken Queen Ann, landed on these shores. James Logan, the Provincial Secretary, writes, in 1717:—"A large number of Palatinates has settled here of late." Jonathan Dickinson, Logan's successor in office, says, in 1719:—"We daily expect from five to six thousand Palatinates." * * "Five years ago a multitude had come among us." All along the Hudson we find their monuments, in the names of towns and villages, which only the partial annalist and historian can ignore. In Pennsylvania the influx of our German forefathers indented itself during the interval between 1709 to 1723. In 1731, the Reformed Germans had reached the number of fifteen thousand.

The Reverend Jedediah Andrews, one of the six patriarchal Presbyterian Pastors in Philadelphia writes, in 1730:—"There 7
is besides, in this Province, a vast number of Palatinates, and they come in still every year. Those that have come of late

years, are mostly Presbyterians, or as they call themselves, *Reformed:* the Palatinates being about *three-fifths* of that sort of people. * * * They never had a minister till about nine years ago,—*i. e.*, 1721—who is a bright young man, and a fine scholar. He is at present absent, being gone to Holland to get money to build a church in this city; but they are scattered all over the country."

The same disinterested divine tells us, under the same date, this fact:—"There is lately come over a Palatinate candidate of the ministry, who, having applied to us at the Synod for ordination," etc. In 1727 Pastor George Michael Weiss appears on shore with four hundred Palatinates. This must have been his second advent, or Pastor Andrews would not speak of him in 1730, as having come "about nine years ago." Until we know to the contrary, we cannot concede the commonly-accepted opinion, that the enrollment of "G. M. Weiss, V. D. M.," as it stands in the list of Palatinates who arrived in 1727, marks his *first* arrival in America.

These facts warrants us to fix so early a date to the planting of the Reformed Church in the New World, and leave us a margin. Spare as they appear, they are timely and significant. The wonder is that they have not been made to speak out before to-day. Let us no longer ignore them, since they afford us a sure basis to make a beginning to our incipient history. They are above all suspicion and caption, too, coming as they do, from foreign sources and impartial hands.

But their confirmation, if any were needed, appears at hand in our *internal* history. We will note but a few corroborating circumstances.

At the first Convention of German Reformed Clergymen, in Philadelphia, in 1746, some of the few pioneer pastors in attendance revealed the fact, that they had lived and labored here for more than twenty years already. This sole revelation conducts us up and back to our assigned date, and establishes our chronology.

But consider, besides, the simultaneous rise of some thirteen.

Reformed Congregations within the territory of Eastern Pennsylvania, prior to the year 1730. From this date a record is at hand. The Church Register at New Goshenhoppen speaks of forty-nine heads of families, in the congregation, in 1730. It mentions the congregations of Old Goshenhoppen, Skippack, Oley, Swamp, Saucon, Egypt, Macedonia, Masillon, Bern, and Tulpehocken. Were the records preserved, the same might doubtless be predicated of the churches at Reading, Germantown, Lancaster, Philadelphia, and in still other like ancient places.

The German Palatinates began their emigration hitherward already in 1708. They antedate the Scotch-Irish by eleven years. The larger portion of this influx did not hold to the peace societies, such as the Amish, Tunkers, and Mennonites, but were principally of the liberal Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

Place our severally-noted incidents and facts, which have a meaning already in their isolated and independent relations, side by side, and we need not fear the charge of having done violence to history, or of having added to the years of the Reformed Church's existence in the United States. Yea, we will rather see that this is a Jubilee, indeed, in more than one sense. It will rejoice us all to know, that whilst we celebrate a Quinquagesimal Anniversary of the First Reformed Theological Seminary, immediately and directly, we, along with it, commemorate also the Origin and Planting of the Reformed Church in America—*one hundred and fifty years ago.*

These three significant dates confront our eyes:—

Anno Domini, 1725; *Anno Domini*, 1825; *Anno Domini*, 1875.

Es ist Eine Halbhundert und Eine Anderthalbhundert Feier.

For the history of the Reformed Church in the United States, from 1725 to 1750, we must rely principally on the Report of Superintendant Michael Schlatter prepared for the Synod of

Holland, in 1751. This ancient document enrolls the following Charges:—

Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp.—The Pastorate of George Michael Weiss, since 1746.

Philadelphia and Germantown.—Schlatter's Parish since 1747.

Falkoner Swamp and Providence.—The Charge of John Philip Leydich, since 1748.

Skippack, Whitpain, Indian Creek and Tohickon.—Vacant.

Lancaster and Schaffer's Church.—The former, vacant, the latter, served by Pastor Rieger.

Tulpehocken.—The Pastoral Field of Dominicus Bartholomäus, since 1748.

Yorktown, Cross Church, Conowago, Bramutschy.—A Circuit in which Jacob Lischy moved.

Weisseichenland, Modecreek, Cocalico, Sellenreich.—Anxious for a Pastor.

Donegal, Schwatara, Quihehill.—Vacant and Anxious.

Northampton and Southampton.—This Charge has been served since 1751 by Pastor Du Bois—a Hollander.

Great Lehigh, Little Lehigh, Forks, Delaware, Saucon and *Springfield.*—A Vacant Territory.

Heidelberg, Egypt and Jordan.—Vacant.

Macungie, Allemängel, Schmalzgoss and Maxatany.—A Field crying for a Shepherd.

In Virginia, the Congregations in *Shanandoah, Misanotti, South Branch and New Germantown.*—These Points have been vacant for many years.

In Maryland, the Churches at *Monoccasy and Canagotschy* are not regularly waited on.

In New Jersey, the Congregations at *Racheny and Foxhill* are vacant and anxious for a Pastor.

It is on record, that the Missionary Superintendent Schlatter, sailed from Amsterdam, June 1, 1746, and landed in Boston, August 1; that he came to Philadelphia on the 6th of September,

and was gladly welcomed by the Reformed Faithful; that he visited the Reformed Pastors scattered over Eastern Pennsylvania—four in number; that he convened the Pastors in Philadelphia, on the 12th of October, in friendly Conference, viz:—Boehm, Weiss, Rieger—Dortzius representing himself by letter; that Schlatter called the first COETUS in Philadelphia, on September 29, 1747, which was composed of thirty-one members; that the Pastors, Dominicus Bartholomeus, John Jacob Hochreutiner and John Philip Leydich arrived in 1748; that John Conrad Steiner came in 1749; that a Coetus was held annually; that Schlatter was sent to Holland for men and means; and that the Reformed Church in the United States embraced, in 1750, forty-six *Congregations*, sixteen *Pastoral Charges*, and five Stationed Pastors, who regularly served twelve Congregations and with the aid of Licentiates and Evangelists, supplied the wants of some *thirty-four* vacant fields by visitation, once and twice a year.

Besides, the territory of the Church spread over the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Virginia, and further still, during her incipient age, and presents herself to the eye as a *Missionary* Church in the New World. No one would expect great results from her days of small things.

During the succeeding quarter of a century, by means of Schlatter's exertions at home and abroad, a new complexion was given to her face. Organization fruited happily and the Ministry multiplied. A general harvest seemed to open for this oldest daughter of the Reformation.

But between 1725 and 1825, there seems to lie one full century all fallow. A church without a Seminary for the long, round period of one hundred years—this is a mysterious fact. And the mystery is enhanced by the consideration, that the actual organization of the Reformed COETUS, in 1747, preceded the founding of the Theological School, in 1825, by nearly four-score years. A circle without a center for seventy-eight years! Surely this is anomalous. Moreover, the COETUS be-

comes a SYNOD—the Branch, a Tree—in 1793, but still no Church School for one generation following. Verily, Sarah may again smile over a late maternity; not for joy, but from a sense of mortification and feeling of silliness, rather. A child is born of a centennial mother. A generation is effected by an organization of eighty years' standing. A tree grows, buds and blossoms through thirty-two years, ere there is a fruiting. A century of life and activity; four-score years of organized being; thirty-two years of independent history—and only then a Theological Seminary!

Nor do we lay the blame for such tardiness upon our Pioneer Pastors and their successors. They, of fragrant memory, were scholarly divines. Just this, indeed, shades the labyrinth darker still, instead of extending us an Aladdin lamp. The Primitive Reformed Clergy were neither indifferentists nor fanatics; but men theologically and classically qualified for the ministry.

Here are some of them—

"How sweet their memories still:—"

JOHN HENRY GŒTSCHIUS from the Canton of Zurich—Zwingli's home, the father of Church-Registers in the American Reformed Church, if not the Proto-Pastor—a noble, educated Swiss;

There was GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS, V. D. M., a Palatinate, and student of Heidelberg; the first Agent of men, means and books for the Reformed Church in America, and though dead, he speaks even yet from his humble tomb at Goshenhoppen;

There was JOHN PETER MILLER, of whom our Presbyterian Pastor Andrews, speaks thus: "He is an extraordinary man for sense and learning. We gave him a question to discuss about Justification, and he answered it on a whole sheet of paper in a very remarkable manner. * * * * He speaks

Latin as readily as we do our vernacular. And so does the other—Mr. Weiss;"

There was JOHN PHILIP BŒHM, a professionally trained Pedagogue, who became immortal as a pious and efficient Pastor;

And JOHN BARTHOLOMY RIEGER came hither, titled both as a divine and as a physician;

And who does not remember MICHAEL SCHLATTER, whose familiar face beams with life and light from the walls of many Reformed households? The Vicar-General of the Primitive American Church Reformed—the Christian philanthropist, who loved his race regardless of circumstances and color—the benefactor to his kindred in Nation and Creed—the founder of Parochial Free Schools, and the Patriot to his adopted country; And there was Schlatter's band of six: *Otterbein*, *Stoy*, *Waldsmith*, *Frankenfeld*, *Missler*, and *Rubel*. Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, hails and mourns alike over Otterbein's demise in this strain: "Great and good man of God! An honor to his Church and country! One of the greatest scholars and divines that ever came to America, or were born in it!"

And let us but mention *Weyberg*, *Bucher*, *Hendel*, *Gobrecht*, *Faber*, *Wack*, *Steiner*, *Helfenstein*, *Pomp*, *Alsentz*, *Blumer*, *Helfrich*, *Vondersloot*, *Hinsch*, *Weiler*.

And, besides these, there were many more whom God knows, if we, their children, have forgotten them. Scholars, patriots, soldiers and Christian Pastors were they in very trying days, casting a luster over every station, and comparing very favorably with a like class of to-day, and counted out of any Denomination.

It were difficult to find an American Church, where the primitive ministry stood on a more elevated plain than the early Pastors of the Germanic Churches occupied. Titles of honor were not seldom conferred upon our German Missionary and Country Pastors. The students of Harvard University won-

dered at their fluency in the foreign tongues. Some were called to chairs of ancient languages. Between 1745 and 1770, no less than fifty German Clergymen lived and labored in the American Churches, Reformed and Lutheran, who had been liberally educated in German Universities.

As still further evidence on this general thought, we here record afresh:

"*A Latin Letter from the Reformed Clergy to Governor Morris—A. D.*, 1754."

VIR AMPLISSIME!

Gratulamur nobis et tibi; qui providô et propitiô numine Rege nastro clementissimo ordinante optimus Gubernatio ex Anglia salvus et incolumis nobis ad veneris.

Deus T. O. M. tuis benedicat functionibis ut trito jucunde et feliciter praesse nobis et prodere possis.

Hoc, Vir amplissimi, ut sinceriter Tibi et nobis ad precemur, Religio, quam proptemur, nos docet et officium, quo obstruigimur, á nobis requisit, set quot quot nomina inbrignavimus ministri Evangelii Jesu Christi castra sequimur Ecclesiæ ut credimus orthodoxæ, vulgo dictæ Reformatæ, quæ per Hollandiam, Angliam, Helvetiam, Palatinatum, eli, fundata et stabilita, est quod nobis non monentibus prô tua sesum publicarum cognitione ex actis Imperii Germanici, et aliorumque Europæ Statuum, ipse facile nosti. Doctrine et Disciplinî hujus Ecclesiæ á pueris imbuti, innutriti, formati, Deo et proximo devoti, patrio solô relicto, desiderati, vocati, mini omnes, quotquot audire nos amant, præprimis Germanos, quorum maximus numerus per omnes Pennsylvaniæ Comitatus dispersus habitat, sanioribus Protestantismi Principiis ex Bibliis Sacris Symbolis authenticis, imbuere debemus, ut omnes cujusumque sortis et conditionis pro modulo capacitatis viribusque divinitus concissis officiô nominis, civis et Christiani intelligere et adimplere discant, ut hoc modô Deum timentes, Regem honorantes, proximum amantes tranquillam et pœatum ritam

invicem agentes posthac siamus participes melioris illius vitæ cujus author est Jesus Christus benedictus in secula.

Vere Christiana Religio liceat nobis, Vir amplissime hoc addere, vinculum societ; civil: non solvit sea majis nectit, corpora civilia non turbat, sed pœat, non sanciat, red sanat uno verba; pietas Regna pimat.

Ergo, Vir Amplissimes, ut nobis officio hoc nostro in nobilissimum Catholicum hunc finem porro puncturis, mascule et benigniter fovens adsistasque illa una parrberia, quæ ministro Evangelii J. Christi docet, submisse, enixe rogamus.

Nos vir amplissime in Deo Patre Luminum; per Jesum Christum nobis conciliato.

In testimonium devoti nostri animi unanimi consensu, nominatim nos suscribimus.

Tuæ Amplitudinis,

Deditissimi et Numillimi Servi.

Philadelphia, November 2d, 1754.

John Waldsmith, Cocalico.
Theodor Frankenfeld, Fredricktown.
Jonathan Du Bois, Northampton.
Conrad Templeman, Swatara.
Conrad Steiner, Germantown.
Michael Schlatter, Philadelphia.
John Bartholomy Rieger, Lancaster.
George Michael Weiss, Goshenhoppen.
John Philip Leydich, New Hanover.
Jacob Lischy, Yorktown.
P. W. Otterbein, Lancaster.
Henry Willh. Stoy, Tulpihokin.

Whatever errors the scholar of to-day may detect in the Clerical Epistle, above given, they evidently fall home upon the scribe and compositor. As a piece of early literature, it speaks well for the status of our Reformed Pastors, during the period of its composition.

THE SYNOD OF HOLLAND

must never be ignored in our effort to solve the problem of tardiness, in founding a Theological Seminary. The primitive and later ministry of the German Reformed Church was not after the order of Melchisedech, without father or mother; but of direct Levitical lineage. From 1725 down to 1793—for three-score years and ten, the venerable Synod of Holland merits the endearing title of Mother-Parturient and Foster-mother. Under its kindly auspices, the Dutch East and West India Company became a remarkable agency of Providence, in the work of Civilization and Christianity. This body of enterprising citizens and brave men from Amsterdam, moved by the spirit of honorable gain and Christian philanthropy, carried our primal forefathers and proto Pastors hither in ships. Thus a Commercial Institution became also a Religious Propaganda. Their Barks were the Holland 'Mayflowers,' as it were. A charity fund opened beyond the Seas and overflowed into the heart of the infantile, and dependent Church Reformed in the New World. The Classis of Amsterdam was made the Almoner *ad res Pennsylvanienses*, and through its instrumentality the Reformed COETUS, gladly gathered under the Ægis of the Mother Synod, after a nursing of a quarter of a century—from 1725 to 1747.

This union, once effected, continued well-nigh one-half century—from 1747 to 1793. As the Colonies derived their existence and sustenance from Mother England; as nearly all the American Churches deferred to their trans-Atlantic parents, so did the early German Reformed Church in the New World draw its mother-milk from her Hollandic *Alma Mater*. Men and means were freely proffered, and for one-half century, God thus joined together mother and child, the former shielding and providing for the other, so that there seemed to be no call or necessity for the younger to forestall the elder—no challenge to do for herself, so long as the period of her non-age should endure, save to love and obey her Guardian Angel of God.

As the age of her majority drew near, a certain restlessness evinced itself. The prelude to her independency became manifest and audible, in the proceedings of Conventions and annual Assemblies.

After nearly forty years of legal deference and submission to parental discipline, like in another and elder Israel, spies were sent in advance to peer into and report on the promised land of self-existence and independency. In 1785, eight years before the Dissolution, at the Synod of Reading, Pastor *John Henry Helfrich*, struck the first and tonic note to the founding of a Seminary for the American Reformed Church. Let this truly worthy and working Father's name be honorably and gratefully mentioned on this festive occasion. He matured, and presented a plan, with a view of conciliating the Synod of Holland.

But it is hard to sever a bond of union, whether in Church or State relations. The COETUS disapproved of the movement, as not necessary, and as opposed to the true interests of the Reformed German Churches. Its impracticability was also urged on the ground of the magnitude of the undertaking, and the great expense attending it.

Here, as in other Denominations, then, a collision came to the surface. Two parties fell in ranks and files—The COETUS and SYNOD men.

In 1787, two years later, the educational spirit covered a wider territory. The Religio-Germanic element sought for, and obtained from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, the charter for Franklin College, a movement endorsed by, and named after Doctor Benjamin Franklin. Here is the Act:

"Inasmuch as our German-born citizens have contributed so largely to the welfare and prosperity of the commonwealth, by means of their diligence, economy, and public virtue,

"*Resolved*, That a charter be granted to the said institution, for the training of their youth in the German, English, Latin and Greek languages."

Six years later, in the year 1793, on April 30th, in the City of Lancaster, the era of Independency dawned. The "branch" had grown on the main trunk for one half century. Then, like the Banyan, it sent down its hardy limb, took root in the new soil, and became self-existent. The COETUS, of the Classis of Amsterdam and Synod of Holland, was metamorphosed into "The Synod of the High German Reformed Church in the United States."

But why was the dissolution now? All unions end, sooner or later. It is a fatality which attends all things. The intimate oneness subsisting between the tree and its fruit is broken when the season of ripeness comes. Then the apple falls naturally.

Revolutions and tumults also effect disruptions. The War of Independence; the French Reign of Terror, with its hellish train; the blight of Rationalism on the Continent,—these were the words of severance.

It is only now, that necessity is laid on us to account for the tardiness on the part of the Reformed Church, in the founding of a Theological Seminary. During her minority, the Parent cared for her wants. But her majority having been reached, we must endeavor to report the reason of another full generation's delay.

It is sometimes thought that the dissolution of '93 was at once followed by a marked ecclesiastical degeneration. We cannot learn of any such violent subsidence. It cannot be proven that the ramparts and bulwarks which a European discipline had cast about the Holy Office, to guard it against the intrusion of imbeciles and impostors, suddenly melted away, like banks of snow, and that the Pulpits, Altars and Sanctuaries were quickly peopled by a race of ordinaries, fanatics and Landläufers.

The statutes embodied in the Organic Act show how base and baseless the charge is. The Ministry of the Divine Word was made to embrace three Orders:—The *Pastor*, the *Licentiate*, the *Catechist*.

THE PASTOR

must be a scholar, according to the spirit of the Instrument. All foreign clergymen were presumed to be of Academic or University culture, like their predecessors.

Candidates, whether from home or abroad, were required to be learned in the original tongues of the Old and New Testaments; equipped with credentials of some acknowledged Theological Faculty. And when such prerequisites were wanting an Examination in the Science of Theology, and a Homiletic test were to be passed before the Synod *pro Ministerio.*

THE LICENTIATE

was created and assigned a status, by the Synod of York, in 1800, by certain Acts of *Addenda.* He was held to be an embryonic Pastor, solidifying his lore, and serving as a practitioner, under the eye of the regular clergy, with a view of promotion to the ranks of the Ministry proper, after three years' probation. He was obliged to defer to his Superiors and Guardians, and annually to show a margin, lest his prerogatives should be shorn. Only after such a prolonged apprenticeship, could he attain to Ordination.

THE CATECHIST

stood on the nethermost round in the ladder. He might preach, exhort, and instruct, after full proof of proper qualification and good intention. He was, likewise, a creation of the Synod at York. A Board of Guardians presided over him and his work. His acts were consummated by Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Communion through his superiors. He was no less obliged annually to report, and *nemine contradicenti,* obtained the prize.

Not every applicant grew into a Catechist. Not every Catechist become a Licentiate. Not every Licentiate fruited in a Pastor. The Acts of the Fathers, prior to the Founding of a

Seminary, strike us as rigorous and severe indeed. Not a few men, who subsequently became active and prominent Pastors, were subjected to an ecclesiastical inquisition, ere they gained a station on the walls of Zion. This one's character was spotted; another was found deficient in the knowledge of the Ancient Languages; a third was kindly advised to a further prosecution of his studies; and still another recedes altogether from view. "Lay hands suddenly on no man," was a rule, as well among the Fathers of the Reformed Church in the United States, as with the Apostles of old.

So, then, the way to the Pulpit and Altar was not made broad and easy, but gradual, strait and difficult. Indifference and laxity cannot be charged home upon the Fathers of the Ante-Seminarian period. Place the primitive and modern regulations side by side, and "we feel, in short, that *we* have descended to an inferior race; that it is with us, somewhat as if a nest of eagles had been filled with a brood of owls." And when this ancient order was modified by the Synod of Lancaster, in 1819, Pastor Samuel Helfenstein took good care to substitute such Rubrics as to still render the ascent to the walls of Zion far from easy.

But the question becomes all the more interesting and pressing, from all that has now been said—yea, painful, indeed,—

> Why the mellow horn
> Should chide so long the tardy-gaited morn?

The anomalous fact, that a full generation should have elapsed, between the Independence of the German Reformed Church, and the Founding of the Theological Seminary, finds a partial solution, at least, *in a series of circumstances* which we may now briefly note.

They are:—*A Chaotic Emigration; A Helpless Poverty; A Continual Warfare at Home and Abroad; A Ferocious Love of Liberty; A Despotism of Ignorance; A Retarding Influence of Clannish Isolation.*

I.

The pioneer emigrants of the Germanic wing of the Christian Church, were simply masses; hordes, promiscuous, variegated and heterogeneous. They were not Colonies, as were the Moravians, Hugenots, Puritans and Roman Catholics. Theirs was a swarming without a Queen, an Exodus without a Moses. They wandered, and wandering scattered, by a certain instinct, along rural districts, valleys, oases and streams.

Thus Muhlenberg, Schlatter and Zinzendorf found them; and thus they were obliged to leave them, too. They were, besides, human tidal waves of religious antipodes—Theists, Deists, Atheists, Naturalists, Rationalists, Infidels. Wanting in a plastic power, the master-builders of those times failed to infuse an *es-prit-de-corps*. With sickened hearts and hope deferred, they died. Amid such an *omniversity*, how could there rise a university? Whilst the English settlers were already germs of compacts and original States, our ancestors were but hardly in a tribal condition.

II.

Our Germanic ancestry was an impoverished multitude. They were pauper settlers rather than squatter sovereigns. Without means and indebted even, the pioneers toiled like slaves for a bare living. How hard was the lot of the *Redemptioners!* Their Log-huts, Log-School-Houses and Log-Churches—these were a tax grievous to be borne. In these western wilds, with "families of nine and one at the breast," can we look for a margin on which to calculate an Institution? Not a Harvard stood in all that line; nor an Elihu Yale; nor a Belcher. Not one —not five hundred—not the entire multitude could have founded and carried a Literary Institution.

III.

The pioneer and Colonial life of our forefathers was an unbroken history of anxiety. The elements were against them—

natural, national and social. The cruelty of the Indians; the perfidy of the English; the political and religious revolutions in the Fatherland—all were adverse. Society had nowhere come to a quiet. Like the early Christians, they were pilgrims and fugitives, and in jeopardy every hour. From the date of the earliest settlement in East Pennsylvania to within a few years of the Revolution, there was one continual conflict. The history of the Tulpehockon massacres, as well as of kindred carnages, has never been written. The deeds of valor, self-denial and heroism should be exhumed. The territory from Reading east and west, north and south, was patrolled by rangers, who subsequently were of Washington's most efficient soldiers. Ere we can judge them for not accomplishing more, we must endeavor to know the hardships and trials they actually surmounted.

War bears ever hardest on the poor. Our fathers thought themselves blessed in earning their daily bread and possessing their homely dwellings. They anticipated nothing more, least of all the founding of Colleges. Poverty, dispersion and impending outbreaks of carnage and warfare—these quench all literary aspirations.

IV.

Our forefathers were afflicted by a Liberty-mania. Despotism and tyranny of chronic standing breed this pestilence, which destroys the Nations. Freedom is a glorious means; but as an end, it is slavery once more. This is a paradox of social science. "Too far East is West," and so, too, Liberty becomes Libertinism.

Sons of thraldom as they had been, they were rapidly metamorphosed into Libertines, and confounded the privilege of doing right, with the sad lawlessness of doing as they pleased. From imperialism they plunged into individualism. A fearful tornado of licentiousness ensued. Poor Schlatter was swept away by it, because he aimed at the establishing of authority, law and order. Every effort at organization fell under suspi-

cion. Though Parochial Schools were established in a number of Parishes, this was the work of the Clergy exclusively. The ideal of an Institution so dearly cherished by the Superintendent, never met with sympathy or support. And so Michael Schlatter, even, lost heart and preferred a Cæsar under God, over a Church without authority. He chose one Master rather than the many. This it was, we candidly suspect, that turned the minister of peace into a minister of war—more than all else. This *virus* poisoned the minds of the early masses, and the sour grapes which the fathers ate still continue to set their children's teeth on edge. And this did its share towards delaying the consummation of organization and an Institution.

V.

The enchantment of Learning is wonderful in the eyes of the ignorant. The marvels of the Arabian Nights hardly impress our children's minds more strangely than do the visions of Gymnasiums, Colleges and Universities strike the masses.

Now, our early ancestors had seen all this paraphernalia of Science in the Fatherland in its greatest glory. But only did they know it as the creation and product of Government. How should the *populace* produce a University? As well hope for an elephant to spring from a mouse. A superstitious reverence cherished towards such an enterprise, did more for its delay and prevention, than any feeling of contempt for it. The undertaking seems far too herculean. The union of the mammoth establishments at home dazzled their eyes. Their shadows appeared to them like giant wonders of the world. The school-system, as such, was for them something too high and sacred to meddle with or control. A scholar then was one prodigiously educated—no empiric or smatterer. Professors, Doctors and titled heads could only come from such Cæsarean Forts. Of the people, as source and fountain to such establishments, they knew nothing. Even when a German Pennsylvanian University was mooted, it was only thought of as a

child of the Legislature, with thousands of acres of land. Not until near the close of the eighteenth century did the Lutheran pastor, Hartwick, succeed in founding a seminary, and alas! how inefficient did it prove for a long time. Our pioneer membership was intellectually feeble, as well as socially inferior and pecuniarily straitened.

VI.

We do not undervalue pure missionary labor; nevertheless, the Christian Religion requires, for its efficient acceptance, a certain elevation, intellectual and social. This reception, commerce and trade prepares in advance, like a certain forerunner. Holland understood this secret, and, by means of the East and West India Company, had entered upon the noble work of propagating a Christian civilization. In consequence of political revolutions and convulsions, her plan was defeated, and the German element was thus left independent and isolated, and consequently grew stagnant. Our forefathers became more and more rural, and thus ignored. The English element, in towns, cities and seaports, laid hold on, managed, and profited by the secular interests. If, by chance, a son of German descent grew to opulence by enterprise, he presently forsook his kindred and joined in with the efficient classes. Thus the Germans become clannish in language, manners, education and religion. Out of such a Nazareth you would verily cease to hope for any great enterprise.

The fountain at home was sealed; the intrusion of the English neighbors was ardently shunned and prevented; communion and intercourse with exotic elements was studiously avoided; books and literature were shut out; language degenerated; provincialism set in, and stagnation ensued. Their Religion alone remained. This was the sole lever of elevation left them. But "if the foundations be removed, what can the righteous do?"

Thus, then, we know in part, why the founding of a Church-school proved of so slow a growth.

Scattered in locality and variegated in character, from their first landing; poverty-stricken as a mass; harassed and annoyed by warfare and tumult; blinded by a pseudo-liberty; infatuated by a charmed glare of an educational superstition; and pent up by clannish walls—our forefathers were left alone.

In view of these and still other adverse causes, the educational movement among our forefathers was clogged and obstructed, defeated and crushed. Hence it was that the $100,000 gathered by our venerable Schlatter, from benevolent hearts on the continent and from crowned heads in England, for the founding of a grand School system, for the elevation of German and English youths in America, as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, were wholly fruitless. Let any one read "Schlatter's Journal" and "Die Hallischen Nachrichten," and he may satisfy himself that all these causes operated against the founding of any central Institution for the German Reformed Church during this early period.

The after-effects of such evil potencies and tendencies, as we have now briefly and faintly detailed, came to the surface in fierce array, more especially during the generation next preceding the founding of the Theological Seminary. This is *the age of degeneration*, in the history of the American Reformed Church. Its principal features proved but parallel phenomena to facts and experiences that occurred time and again, during former ages and among other tribes and people. Ishmael descended from Abraham. Isaac's son, Esau, became the father of the Edomites. Israel deteriorated in Egypt, and even in Canaan, and as a Theocracy, under the Judges. The ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Roman colonies declined. The Roman Catholic tribes in Mexico and South America are marked cases in point. The Puritans and the Church of England, too, had their season of humiliation.

The American Reformed Church was but similarly blighted, as was to be expected. Her missionary condition rendered her, in greater measure, the sufferer and victim of revolution and

war. Her non-age even had not yet ended, when she was abandoned as an orphan by the mother Synod. The source of outward and foreign accessions had been closed through want of emigrants. Between the years 1784 and 1815, the stream of foreign influx hardly bore 2500 souls to the American shores. Commerce and communion with the parent country ceased. The ardor for evangelization and missions had been quenched. No more books, gifts and men from Halle, Wurtemburg and the Palatinate. It seems as though their prayers even had ceased to ascend for the child abroad. The young and tender vine had barely rooted ere it was left alone. The wonder is that it did not die to the root. But for the truly catholic and solid foundation, laid by the fathers of the first generation, and the healthy traditional order of religion, infused from the beginning, and which was preserved and fostered by the Liturgies, Catechisms, Hymn-books, and Books of Devotion, that had been early and freely scattered over the virgin ground;—but for this, the American Reformed Church must have died in the wilderness. God directs even Hagar to a fountain. Let us be thankful for such a perennial Religion. We will not sadden our hearts, on this gladsome occasion, by a recital of that dark day's history. Let us forget the journey through the Desert, now that we have entered a Canaan.

Only this let us note: There were Samuels in those days, even. We purposely record the names of those Tutor Pastors in the Germanic Churches, during the season of bondage. The Kunzes, Helmuths, Lochmans, Helfrichs, Helfensteins, Hermans, Beckers, Frieses, Reilys, and others.

These were solid men—pivot-men as well as prophet men. Let us not speak of them apologetically. Many of our German ministers and Holland dominies had all the qualifications of a thorough-bred professor, lacking mere position and title. Their bare apparitions to-day might perhaps drive a score of us to our grammars. Their Libraries left behind them, are small indeed, but choice and valuable. Tomes and Folio-Volumes,

written in the ancient tongues, spoke familiarly to them, however unintelligible they may, for us.

Thus God did not leave Himself without a witness, even during the dark age of the Church.

During the last half century a new motor entered the constitution of human society. The period of Restoration dawned. In Europe and America the new influx became at once apparent. A better genius perched and presided. A new and superior Theology supplanted the reigning order beyond the waters. A cosmopolitan ardor broke its way through the walls and fetters of nationalism and nativism, bearing thousands and millions of souls to our shores. The English Language became the vernacular of America. A Pentecost ripened. Missionary labor set in. Sunday-schools were planted. The Germanic Churches caught the spark, and the American Reformed Church, at last, saw her day of Orienting.

After thirty-two years of longing and silent agitation—from 1785 until 1817—a new departure was taken in the direction of a Theological Seminary. The Synod of York, in 1817, marks an epoch. Through Pastors Hendel, Hoffmeier, and Wack, in a sketch of the "Rise and Progress of the Reformed Church in this Country," the whole subject was presented with much earnestness and force. A willing ear was lent, and Pastor Samuel Helfenstein moved that a committee be at once constituted to deliberate and report on the excellent project. This primary committee stood thus:—Pastor Wack, Pastor Helfenstein, Pastor Beecher, Pastor Mayer, and Elders Haverstick and Liebhardt. They reported promptly that the Synod should go forward. In view, however, of several overtures presented to the Church, one from the Reformed Dutch, and another from the Lutheran Church, both looking to the founding of a Union Seminary, the subject was remanded, with instructions, to further digest, and again report at a future day. At the Synod of Carlisle, in 1818, nothing was done with the Dutch proposition, in consequence of the non-attendance of our

Delegates during their Synodical Sessions. The Reformed Dutch Church, nevertheless, had moved on and appointed Commissioners to negotiate with the German Reformed Synod, and form a plan of union. Accordingly, the Pastors Jonathan Helfenstein and Reily were appointed a committee to hear the overture. The conference fruited in nothing definite, for the assigned reason, that a certain interest was held by the German Reformed Church, in common with other parties, in an Estate donated by the Legislature of this Commonwealth.

The overture from the Lutheran body met with a better reception, and a corps was designated to negotiate further. The Pastors Hoffmeier, Herman, Hendel, Pomp and Helfenstein were intrusted with its management.

The Synod of Lancaster, in 1819, simply heard, and continued the Committee, with the substitution of Pastor Becker in the room of Father Herman.

As the Church was divided into Classical Districts by this Synod, we now hear utterances from the minor Judicatories.

The projected plan of union with the Lutheran Church was put in printed form, and two hundred copies were ordered to be published and distributed. The Dutch Reformed Church had likewise approached the Synod once more, by means of "An Address to the Reformed Churches in the United States," by the Rev. Dr. Livingston, Professor of Theology, in New Brunswick, N. J. Further than a vote of thanks, we cannot learn that Synod ventured. A Seminary, however, now seemed near at hand. The Church was alive and interested. Lebanon Classis complained that no copy of the Reformed Lutheran Seminary had reached it; but declared itself ready to co-operate. The Classis of Maryland urges Synod to go forward in some way, as soon as possible. The Classis of Zion spoke in the same tone, and suggests, that, in case no union ever be effected, Synod forthwith open a Seminary, and that it be located in Chambersburg.

Synod became inspired, and during the Sessions at Hagers-

town, in 1820, resolved to establish an exclusively Reformed Theological Seminary. The Reverend Dr. Philip Milledoller was in attendance as a Delegate from from the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. This Divine had been of us, though no longer with us. Born, reared, educated, licensed and ordained in the German branch of the Reformed Church; prominently known in the Dutch Reformed fold, as Pastor over important Congregations in New York City; and present at the moment of action in this direction—all this renders his election as Professor of Theology in the projected Institution easy to be accounted for. His Salary was fixed at $2000. A Board of Visitors was elected, to which was committed the choice of a location, and the adoption of such means as would prove most efficient in securing funds. The Pastors Reily and Beecher were instructed to extend a call to the Professor elect.* Ser-

* The call extended to the Professor elect we here append. It will be noted that two years of suspense followed, which finally ended in a peremptory refusal to accept the call.

"TO THE REVEREND PHILIP MILLEDOLER, D. D.,—

"REVEREND SIR:---The Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United" "States of North America, now in session, relying on the great head of the Church," "has determined to establish a Seminary for the preparation of young men for the" ministry in the Church of the living God, and for the organization of which the" "Synod turns to you. Under the conviction and in the possession of well estab-" "lished testimonials of your competency, godliness, knowledge, prudence, and" "other gifts, with which God has endowed you, the Synod has accordingly elected" "you, Reverend Sir, as with one mind, Professor of Didactic, Polemic and Pastoral" "Theology in the Seminary, now about to be founded, as this paper testifies; and" "you are hereby most sincerely called, urged and besought, to accept and take" "charge of the office of Professor of Theology, to which, as before noted already," "you have been unanimously chosen. And in the event of your acceptance, the" "Synod promises you hereby all proper deference, and every encouragement for" "the fulfillment of the duties of your arduous and important office; and, besides" "this, an annual salary of two thousand dollars, to be paid in quarterly install-" "ments, so long as you shall remain the incumbent.

"Done at Hagerstown, Maryland, A. D. 1820."

The External History of the Theological Seminary commenced, properly, with the Synod of Hagerstown, Md., in the year of Grace, 1820. The plan of the institution was here proposed and adopted, as well as the call to the first Professor elect extended. Unforeseen barriers, however, soon appeared, and the Seminary did not become a fact in history until five years later.

mons were ordered to be delivered in the Pulpits, and Collections were asked for; private instructions for the ministry were to come to an end—all measures were adopted by which to rally the Church around the contemplated Seminary.

Then it was that the active Layman, Bernard C. Wolff, who grew into the Rev. Dr. Wolff subsequently, and still later into a Theological Professor—comes prominently before the Church. He needs no encomium in these notes. Living, he labored, and though dead, he yet speaketh.

The Synod of Reading, in 1821, tells through its Reports of the enthusiasm and hopes of the Church. Frederick, Md., had been fixed upon as the Theological Centre. Subscriptions to the amount of $25,000 had been secured, together with other gifts, swelling the Endowment Fund to $30,000. Voluntary offerings were, furthermore, pledged for the support of the Institution, until the funded moneys should commence to flow. All the steps of the Board were confirmed. The order of Study and the principal Language in the Institution was fully discussed. The Synod, being a General Convention, and forty-five out of seventy Ministers being assembled, the Church felt its authority and power, and dared to assert it. Discipline was to be enforced, in every case of non-compliance with the regulations of the Church.

The fair heavens were, however, soon marred and shadowed by a cloud, at first no larger than a man's hand, but subsequently swelling, alas! over the entire Church. It stood over for two full years, ere it emptied its dark contents!

Dr. Milledoller declined the call!

It were some relief to know, the reason why. But it is a mystery for us. The records are silent, and so are the Fathers. We are left to conjectures—unsafe things! Perhaps, after two years' delay and expectation, the hope of owning and possessing the German branch of the Reformed Church outright and entire, grew quite dim, and the Dutch Dominies abandoned the experiment, covering Dr. Milledoller under their wings, as they

retreated from the field. Perhaps Col. Henry Rutger's legacy, which flowed into King's College, and turned King's College into Rutger's College, drew Dr. Milledoller thitherward. At all events, we find the good Doctor President and Professor there in 1828 already. Perhaps the German Pastors did not look kindly on the importation of a foreign master over their heads, and spoke harsh words against him, which moved him to withdraw. Perhaps the stringent Synodical statutes, which raised a bitter opposition in Eastern Pennsylvania, and fostered the "Free Synod," changed the mind of Dr. Milledoller. Perhaps all these and still other considerations had their bearing. Certainly sorrow and jeopardy reigned for two years to come.*

* In confirmation of our various surmises, we present his letters from the Professor elect. They came to our hand in the pages of an old pamphlet, after our feeble attempt to write the External History of the Theological Seminary had been concluded, and during a review of the effects of our late and now sainted father:

"TO THE REVEREND L. MAYER:"

"NEW YORK, February 20th, 1822."

"*Reverend and Dear Brother*:---A long time has elapsed since I last heard from" "you, and ere this epistle will reach you, the meeting of the Board of Visitors" "shall have been held; and I am most anxious, indeed, to learn through you" "whatever pertains to the action taken by the Body."

"In case anything of an unfavorable or unpleasant nature should have trans-" "pired, I think you will not hesitate to inform me of it, for in a matter so perti-" "nent, and situated as I am, I cannot know it too soon. I feel myself constrained" "to confess to you candidly, that I have not been free from doubts, since I signi-" "fied my willingness to you to accept of the call. The term of office for a moiety" "of my consistory, in accordance with the orders of our Church, has in the mean-" "while expired, and the succeeding party appears to be greatly dissatisfied with" "the action of the body, so far as I am directly involved, inasmuch as it is viewed" "not only as a premature, but as an unconstitutional step. A Committee of In-" "vestigation has accordingly been appointed, whose report is awaited by the Con-" "sistory at an early day.

"Moreover, since I addressed my last letter to you, a printed copy of your Syno-" "dical Proceedings came into my hands, in which I notice *items which render the*" "*prospect a rather discouraging one.*

"I read with astonishment the offering of a Resolution, in the Classis of West" "Pennsylvania, which contemplates *the appointment of another German Professor*" "*beside myself*, though the subject was postponed for the present. I have like-" "wise been informed through a different source, which I know to be reliable, of" "the unmistakable declarations of Messrs. H. and V. D. S.'s fears, lest the institu-" "tion might not meet with a sufficient support. Is the anxiety of these brethren" "the creation of some new light obtained, or am I to regard them as but the old" "perplexities reiterated?

And yet it was only a disappointment. What Church can escape such trials?

"Sorry as I am to annoy you with matters of such a tenor, you nevertheless" "will concede that they are calculated to create uneasiness in us, and that, in re-" "ference to certain points involved, you have it plainly in your power to either" "swell or quell such perplexity.

"With what success has your collection project met? Will the $12,000 be forth-" "coming certainly by the 1st day of April, as contemplated by the plan you were" "kind enough to explain at York, and which the Finance Committee approved at" "Frederick on my recommendation?

"You will place me under many obligations, should you impart to me a general" "summary of your progress and prospects.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"PH. MILLEDOLER."

"NEW YORK, March 18th, 1822.

"TO THE REVEREND L. MAYER:

"*My dear Brother*:---I have just received an abstract of the last entry on the" "Church Registry, and am informed that a like transcript has been furnished you." "The simultaneous arrival of the Consistorial Report, and your letter last written," "is indeed extraordinary, and all the circumstances connected with my call present" "a chain of profound and mysterious orderings of Providence, which I cannot pre-" "tend to penetrate.

"A dark cloud overshadowed the subject from the beginning. It was in conse-" "quence of doubts and difficulties, that the delay was occasioned at Harrisburg, as" "well as the resignation at York. A conditional promise, which I subsequently" "made to you and the Reverend A. Helfenstein, brought about the General Con-" "vention at Reading. And finally my acceptance occasioned the meeting and" "measures at Kutztown.

"It is manifest, however, from this meeting and its attending circumstances, that" "all doubt is removed, and that my course is plain.

"Were I to move in the face of all that has transpired, and still transpires, I" "should be wronging my friends in the Synod, my Consistory in this city, my" "family, and myself. I am, consequently, compelled, as I hereby also do, to re-" "call my acceptance of the call of your Synod, and shall regard myself as released" "henceforth from all obligations, that may thus far have held the Synod and my-" "self as mutually bound.

"You will have the goodness, Reverend sir, to speedily inform all whom it may" "concern of this my decision, and particularly our highly honored Brother, the" "Reverend J. Helfenstein, of Frederick. I will return the call, should you deem" "it proper, by the earliest opportunity, and to such place and person, moreover, as" "may be designated as custodians.

"I wholly exonerate you, my Brother, as well as those who acted in concert" "with yourself. The world was not committed to your disposal.

"I thank you for your *unswerving candor*, and for the partiality and esteem" "which you have manifested towards me during these investigations; nor shall I"

The Synod of Harrisburg was held in 1822 with sad hearts. But, as all is not lost that is in danger, the Board braced itself for a deliverance, proposed Harrisburg as the site for the Seminary, and the measure to elect a Professor there and then. The Pastors Hendel, Samuel and Jonathan Helfenstein, Hinsch and Reily were constituted a Delegation to visit and confer with the Consistory of the Reformed Congregations, both as to the eligibility of the place and propriety of having the coming man to serve in the double capacity of Professor and Pastor. As no more time was to be lost, their duty was promptly discharged, and favorably reported and acted upon. Thus the cloud seemed to break again. But as the Church thought it well to hasten slowly, Synod adjourned without consummating the project.

"ever cease to send my warmest prayers to Heaven, in behalf of you and yours,"
"and the whole Church with which you stand identified.

"With feelings of the highest regard, I remain, Reverend and dear sir,

"Most sincerely yours,

"PH. MILLEDOLER."

* From the two epistles inserted above we may gather the following facts :—1) That a call has been extended to the Rev. Dr. Ph. Milledoler. 2) That the Rev. Dr. Ph. Milledoler felt from the start a reluctance to obey the call. 3) That he subsequently promised a conditional acceptance of the call. 4) That he afterwards resigned his Pastorate with the acquiescence of his Consistory and Classis, with a formal acceptance of the call in view. 5) That the Consistory, as subsequently constituted, annulled the action of the earlier Church Council, pronouncing it inexpedient and unconstitutional. 6) That an opposition arose in East Pennsylvania, both against the Institution as such, and as contemplated, which fruited in a schism. 7) That the Rev. Dr. Milledoler was moved, at last, to recall his acceptance of the call, by considerations of weight coming to the surface in both Churches, no less than in his own congregation. Far be it from us to censure the Rev. Dr. Milledoler. He doubtless moved as cautiously and conscientiously as any one of his learning, virtue and position would, under like circumstances. But it is strange, nevertheless, that a Consistory of a congregation believed itself competent to annul the virtual acceptance of the call on the part of Dr. Milledoler; that the Classis should stultify itself by confirming the contrary actions of both Councils; that Dr. Milledoler should have been so entirely passive in the hands of conflicting parties; and that all this negotiation, which covered the full time of two years, should have been carried forward, without a line of communication with the Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States. It appears that the dark cloud, which Dr. Milledoler seemed to see hovering over the matter, from the beginning, is likely to continue hovering, *in secula seculorum.*

The Synod of Baltimore, in 1823, found opposition arraying itself in several quarters. Philadelphia asked for a further postponement, and suggested a Board of Ministers as an Ecclesiastical Corps for young Candidates. Northampton was of the same mind. Lebanon deferred all to the wisdom of Synod. Maryland was willing to shoulder and carry the work alone. Synod, however, went straightforward, and resolved that Harrisburg be the site. An election was solemnly entered upon for a Professor. The candidates proposed were:—Samuel Helfenstein, Louis Mayer, and Jacob Christian Becker. Two ballots resulted in a tie. Pastor Louis Mayer then withdrew his name. The third ballot resulted in the choice of Samuel Helfenstein. A Board of Directors was at once elected, and a Salary of $1000 fixed upon—one-half of which the Church was to secure, and the other half to be furnished by the Congregation of Harrisburg.

Whilst the Professor elect was deliberating, a whole year passed away, and the Synod of Bedford convened in 1824. In consequence of a new proposition, the contemplated and well-nigh consummated plan fruited in nothing. The Harrisburg scheme was suddenly and finally supplanted by a better and more successful project—the enterprise over whose Semi-Centennial Anniversary we are happy to-day.*

Here let us insert

* The Synod of Bedford adopted on Wednesday afternoon, September 29th, A. D. 1824, the following Report on the proposition from Carlisle:

"To establish a Theological Seminary has long been the uppermost wish of individual members of the Synod, as well as of the entire body. Besides having been regarded as a necessity, it is entertained as a project highly beneficent to the Reformed Church in this country. All around us institutions spring up, which are animated by the spirit and genius of the English tongue. A real enthusiasm inspires men to lay hold of all means, whereby the design may be realized, of rendering the English language the vernacular in imparting instruction in all the branches of science. A patriotism (warmth and zeal) reigns in this direction. The zeal, now noted, has become so general and dominant that the Germans in this country are in danger of forgetting their own tongue, in thus unconditionally surrendering themselves to the behests of English literature. German patriotism (love for our mother tongue) seems not only to be on the wane, but we are even becoming ashamed of

THE HISTORY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY—THE RECORD OF FIFTY YEARS.

The Theological Seminary, now located at Lancaster, Pa., was instituted by the Synod of the (German) Reformed Church in the United States at its annual sessions, held in the town of Bedford in September, A. D. 1824, on the basis of an agreement made between the Synod and the Trustees of Dickinson College—Dickinson College being then under the supervision of the Presbyterian Church. The agreement provided that the Professor of Theology perform the duties of the chair of History and German Literature in the College, and that in return for this service the Seminary students have the right to attend, free of charge, the Lectures of the College Professors upon Moral Philosophy, Evidences of Revelation, Natural Theology, and Political Economy.

the German language, and are inclining to set it aside as superfluous. Forsooth, it has come to such an ebb, as that we seem to question whether anything of a scientific nature can be accomplished through the German as a medium. But if the most enlightened teachers in the higher English institutions declare that it is impossible to dispense with German literature, it is not only an imperative necessity, but the very fittest time, according to the view of the several members, as well as of the entire Body, to establish a German Institution, unless the German tongue shall die out in silence. It is not to be denied that an intemperate zeal, on the part of a number of members of this Synod, has multiplied, instead of removing, the difficulties in the way. But notwithstanding the fact that barriers arose, it is still true, that the zeal in behalf of the founding of such an institution was a healthy sentiment. Opposition will ever and ever confront us; but shall this prevent us from undertaking and consummating a work which is acknowledged on all hands as most necessary? Let but our zeal be crowned with prudence, for once, and our undertaking can and will prove a success under God's direction. No reason can be imagined more propitious than the one now upon us, since Dickinson College, in Carlisle, approaches us with a proposition, at once so honorable and brotherly, as the Reverend Synod may readily see in the address presented to the Board of Trustees. We, the undersigned Committee, would therefore most pressingly recommend to the reverend members of this Synod that they accept of this benevolent offer."

"LOBRECHT L. HINSCH,"
"SAMUEL HELFENSTEIN,"
"JOHN S. IBACH,"
"DANIEL SCHNELTZ,"
"JOHN SAILER."

This Synod was at that time the only Synod of the (German) Reformed Church in America; excepting the small Synod of Ohio, just organized, which numbered *eleven* ministers and eighty congregations.

The Synod of Bedford, proceeding immediately to reaffirm the election of the Professor of Theology, the Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Race street, Philadelphia, and appointed a Committee to tender him a formal call. The Committee was also instructed, in the event of non-acceptance, to extend the same call to the Rev. Lewis Mayer, Pastor of the Reformed Church at York. Helfenstein declining, Mayer was called. The Committee succeeded in obtaining his services; and the spring following, on the *eleventh day* of March, 1825, the Theological Seminary was opened at Carlisle. *Five* students were in attendance: John Frederick Huber, Bedford; Henry Wagener, Centre county; John G. Fritchey, Dauphin county; John H. Crawford, Frederick county, Md.; and Daniel Heilig, Cumberland county. Of this first class there is one survivor—the Rev. John G. Fritchey—who, in the 73d year of his age, is still engaged in the work of the ministry.

At first the Seminary had the good will of only a part of the church. The election of the Rev. Dr. Milledoller as Professor of Theology by the Synod of Hagerstown, 1820, the location of the proposed institution at Frederick, Md., and the prohibition of all private theological teaching (before the institution was in existence); these things produced alienation of sentiment in some portions of Eastern Pennsylvania. This alienation, promoted by the operation of some other causes, became so violent that it issued finally in the organization of a separate Synod, in 1822.* Subsequent events, however—the election first of

* The famous secession of a part of the German Reformed Church, in Pennsylvania, chiefly, was a schism, rather than a heresy. The alienated party insisted strongly on retaining the Heidelberg Catechism, the Creed, and Customs of the Church, in the Organic Act, passed in Maxatawny Township, Berks Co., Pa., on April 24, A. D. 1822. The alleged cause for the schismatic movement was a

Dr. Mayer, and afterwards of Dr. Rauch—removed some of the occasions of dissatisfaction. More favorable views of the institution began to prevail, and more kindly feelings towards the old Synod. After the lapse of fifteen years, 1837, the division was healed by the fraternal re-union of the two bodies, and then all sections of the church joined in firmly supporting the Theological Seminary.

An experience of four and a half years having convinced the

series of stringent measures touching the support of the contemplated Theological Seminary, by which the German congregations throughout Eastern Pennsylvania felt themselves aggrieved. This was a good, a popular pretext, whilst the real cause seems to have been the wound which the deposition of the popular but unhappy Frederick Herman inflicted on his learned and worthy father. Dr. F. L. Herman was the acknowledged head and leader of the alienated forces. His movement was attended with no little prestige, on account of his learning, extensive kinship, and goodly number of students, among whom we may mention the Rev. Dr. B. Schneck, Rev. D. J. S. Dubbs, Rev. Father T. H. Leinbach, Rev. Richard A. Fisher, and Rev. Peter S. Fisher.

The first name and title under which the new body was known, ran thus: "*The Synod of the Free and Independent German Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania.*" The number of Pastors swelled from *five* to *twenty-five* during the first nine years of its existence. In 1831 the name was changed to that of "*The Synod of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania and Adjacent States.*" A seal was accordingly procured, bearing on its face a flying eagle, with the gospel trumpet and olive branch. In 1832 the idea of founding a Church School, after the manual labor plan, was entertained; a friend in Cumberland County having offered to donate 250 acres of land for the purpose. But something still better was in store at the same time—an overture from the Parent Synod was conveyed to the wayward body. The response found its full and healthy utterance, in 1836. We cull from the Record this item, to wit:

The following preamble and resolutions were offered to Synod by brother J. S. Dubbs:

Whereas the separation, which has taken place in the German Reformed Church has resulted for both now existing Synods in many uneasy consequences, which cannot but give pain to every noble-spirited individual, and which, as we believe, all wish to be removed, therefore be it resolved, that the Rev. Synod send three Delegates to the General Synod of the Reformed Church, with a view to consult that Synod on the subject of an amalgamation, and that the result of the preceeding be laid before Synod in Pottstown, A. D. 1837, for their further deliberation. The following brethren were the delegates appointed:

J. S. DUBBS,
J. C. GULDIN,
C. G. HERMAN.

Adopted.

In 1837 the Free Synod met once more in Pottstown, Pa., and there died.

Church that Carlisle was "an unsuitable place for our Seminary," the Synod, in the fall of 1829, removed the institution to York, and took preliminary measures, on the recommendation of Dr. Mayer, "to connect with the Seminary a classical department, in which the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, natural philosophy, metaphysics, mathematics, logic, geography, history and composition shall be taught. To these the German language and literature must be added." *

The form of a charter for the institution was adopted, providing for a Board of Trustees and a Board of Visitors, the one to hold and manage the property, the other to have charge and control of the two departments of instruction, the theological and classical.

The Synod, at this meeting, received the Rev. Daniel Young, from the Presbyterian Church, and elected him Assistant Professor. This second Professorship did not receive a more specific title when instituted. Subsequently, it became first the chair of Biblical Literature, and then of Church History and Exegesis.

Virtually, the classical department, now formally authorized by the Synod, was already in existence. Many of the students not having received an academic training, the Professor found

* The removal of the Seminary from Carlisle to York was not effected without good and sufficient reasons. Among others, the delicate positions which Professor Louis Mayer was obliged to occupy, should be noted. He became likewise Professor of the German Language and German Literature in Dickinson College. But alas! there were no College students who thirsted after Teutonic waters. The College had assumed certain responsibilities and was making certain sacrifices, for which Professor Mayer was absolutely unable to render compensation, in any sense or degree. It is recorded to the honor of the Board of Trustees, however, that never the slightest insinuation fell from any member's lips to wound Prof. Mayer's feelings. But other parties were not so innocent, and still less above suspicion. Besides, Prof. Mayer did not feel like holding a sinecure, or to appear as one who was reaping where he did not sow. There was no call for the German language and literature in the latitude and ruling spirit of Dickinson College; and where there is not *that*, the Germanic Churches of the Reformation have no abiding-place or home. This consideration, along with the long-drawn controversy with the unfortunate and subsequently unhappy Ebaugh, so fully convinced the Synod of the propriety of a removal to York, Pa., that the vote resulted in *twenty-three yeas* and *one nay*.

it necessary even from the beginning to impart instruction in different branches of a preparatory course. The authority given the Board of Visitors to open a separate department of education was thus tantamount to a determination of the Synod to continue and enlarge, under an organized form, the course of academic study hitherto conducted by the Professor of Theology.

Opened at York on the eleventh of November, 1829, the Seminary was re-organized by the Board of Visitors according to the direction of Synod, being divided into two departments. The theological department from this time onward was able to address itself more exclusively to the proper work of a theological seminary. Professor Young had charge of Exegesis, and of Greek, in connection with some other branches of the classical department. But he was not permitted long to perform the duties of his office. His strength failing rapidly, he was constrained to retire in the course of the first year. He died at Augusta, Georgia, in the month of March, 1831. Professor Young enjoyed the confidence and the high regard of all who knew him, both for his scholarship and his excellent Christian character. The Charter, which was finally obtained, and under which the Seminary has existed until now, was obtained from the Supreme Court in 1831.

For two years all the theological instruction again devolved on one Professor. The classical department was, during this interval, put in charge of the Rev. Stephen Boyer, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, and Principal of the York county Academy.

The successor to Professor Young was the Rev. Frederick Augustus Rauch, D. Ph., who was elected to fill the vacant chair by the Synod of Frederick, in 1832. At the same time, Doctor Rauch was appointed Principal of the classical department, which thereafter came to be known as the High School of the Reformed Church.

Under the administration of this eminent scholar the High

School began at once to grow in numbers and efficiency; and soon took rank as a first-class academy. With the prosperity of the High School arose the question concerning a change of location. The desire and purpose of organizing the School into a College also began to prevail. In response to a circular inviting proposals, three were received; namely, from Chambersburg, from Franklin College, Lancaster, and from Mercersburg. The proposal from the citizens of Mercersburg was accepted by the Synod of Chambersburg, 1835; and the removal of the Institution, including both departments, was ordered. As regards the classical department or High School the order was at once carried out. During this and the greater part of the ensuing year the School at Mercersburg was conducted under the direction of the Seminary authorities. With the organization of Marshall College, in 1836, under another charter received from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, this organic convention with the Seminary was dissolved.

Two years longer, until 1837, the Seminary remained at York, in the hands of Dr. Mayer. In the fall of this year, it followed the High School, now Marshall College, to Mercersburg. Dr. Mayer, unwilling to go with the Seminary, resigned. Dr. Rauch, being the only Professor, had charge for the first year of the whole course of theological instruction. During 1837–38 there was one student in the Seminary.

At the earnest solicitation of the Synod, Dr. Mayer consented to resume his place in the Seminary in 1838. But he taught only one year. He retired, finally, in the fall of 1839.

For about six months the Seminary was again exclusively in the hands of Dr. Rauch. At the General Synod of Philadelphia, in 1839, Dr. J. C. Becker was elected a Professor. He declined the call. (See Vol. 6, Page 92, on Authors). At a special meeting of the Synod, held at Chambersburg, in 1840, the vacant chair of Systematic Theology was filled by the election of John Williamson Nevin, D. D., then Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, at Alleghe-

ny. Accepting the call, Dr. Nevin entered his new sphere of labor in the Spring of 1840, on the 20th day of May. There were nine students in the Seminary. The Endowment-Fund, all told amounted to $3,000.

For one year, Dr. Nevin and Dr. Rauch were associated; and for the first time in the history of the institution, was the instruction conducted by two Professors, both of whom had received a complete classical and theological education.

Dr. Rauch died on the 2d of March, 1841, lamented by the ministry and membership of the entire Reformed Church, and by a large circle of appreciative friends in other denominations. Dr. Nevin succeeded Rauch as President of the College, retaining his place in the Seminary. For more than three years, Dr. Nevin, though President of the College, had, supported only by a teacher of Hebrew, exclusive charge of the Theological Seminary. In 1843, by a Special Synod, at Lebanon, Dr. F. W. Krummacher was elected to a Professorship, and Drs. B. Schneck and T. L. Hoffeditz were sent as a delegation to Europe, to present and urge the acceptance of his call. Rev. Krummacher declined.

The Rev. Philip Schaff, D. Ph., of Berlin, Prussia, was chosen successor to Dr. Rauch by the Synod of Winchester, in 1843. In the course of the year following he arrived at Mercersburg, and assumed the duties of his professorship. He was inaugurated at Reading, in October of 1844.

The Inaugural grew into the famous little work entitled: "The Principle of Protestantism." Published in German and English, it at once excited lively and general attention. Whilst the book awakened positive interest among the major portion of the Reformed Church, and served to establish confidence in the new Professor, it provoked also no small amount of adverse criticism, both from within and from without. It even brought on a trial of Dr. Nevin and Dr. Schaff before the Synod of York, 1845, on the charge of teaching anti-Protestant and anti-Reformed doctrines, preferred and prosecuted by

the Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D. D., and others. After full inquiry and a lengthy discussion, extending through several days, the attack was repulsed at every point, and the professors were vindicated by an overwhelming vote.

For more than seven years Drs. Nevin and Schaff labored together in the service of the Seminary and of the Reformed Church; the one having charge of Systematic and Practical Theology, the other of Church History and Exegesis. It was a period of intense mental and theological activity.

As both the High School and Marshall College were the outgrowth of the life of the Seminary, so in turn has the prosperity and efficiency of the Seminary ever been closely connected with the fortunes of the College. As Marshall College was not receiving adequate encouragement and support, the Trustees accepted from Franklin College, at Lancaster, a proposition to consolidate the two institutions. The two Colleges were united under a new Charter; and Marshall College was transferred to Lancaster, in the spring of 1853. Again the two institutions were separated. As in 1835, the Seminary remained at York, so now it is left alone at Mercersburg.

With the consolidation effected at Lancaster, Dr. Nevin became disconnected entirely both from the Seminary and the College. As early as September, 1850, he notified the Board of Visitors, that he intended to retire from the service of the Seminary at the close of the term. A sufficient reason was found, as he thought, in the discouraging and long-continued embarrassment of the treasury. The institution was not able to pay the salaries of two Professors. During the winter he taught voluntarily a private class in theology. At the next meeting of the Board, March, 1851, Dr. Nevin tendered his formal resignation of the office of Professor of Systematic Theology. He reiterated the reason previously assigned, adding that the circumstances of the College rendered it necessary that he devote all his time to that institution.

The resignation came before the Synod of Lancaster, 1851.

Many supposed that in consequence of the persecutions which Dr. Nevin and the Church had been enduring, and of his evidently fixed determination to retire, the Synod would quietly acquiesce in his purpose. But the matter took a different turn. The consideration of the question, in connection with a speech from himself in justification of the step he had taken, served to bring to the surface the deep sentiment of confidence and affection cherished towards Dr. Nevin throughout the Church; and instead of acceding to his wishes, the Synod requested him to withdraw his resignation. Grateful as was this expression of unshaken confidence, Dr. Nevin was not prevailed upon to change his mind. In the course of the year 1852, he presented his final resignation, in a communication addressed to the President of Synod.

During 1851, 1852, and the greater part of the year 1853, the instruction of the Seminary was in charge exclusively of one Professor, the Rev. Dr. Schaff. For three years and upwards the chair of Systematic Theology was vacant.

The successor of Dr. Nevin was the Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D. D., Pastor of the Third Reformed Church, Baltimore. He was elected by the Synod of Baltimore, 1852. Dr. Wolff held his call to the Professorship of Theology for a year, when by letter he recommitted it to Synod, asking to be relieved of the responsibilities of the office. But the Synod (Philadelphia, 1853) again placed the call in the hands of Dr. Wolff, and requested him to accept it.

At the same time, 1853, Dr. Schaff obtained from Synod leave of absence for one year with the view of visiting Europe. The Seminary was in consequence closed for a period of twelve months, 1853–4. The first year of the separation of the College from the Seminary was a time of painful suspense.

With the return of Dr. Schaff to his post, in the fall of 1854, Dr. Wolff, having meanwhile accepted the chair of Theology, removed to Mercersburg, and the regular course of tuition was again resumed.

Contemporaneous herewith there was also an enlargement of the endowment fund, and an increase in the number of teachers. A legacy of $10,000 was received from the estate of Mr. Daniel Kieffer, and a donation of $5,000 from Miss Ann E. Keller. Let these Legacies be known as "First-fruits" in the history of the Seminary, and the generous donors never be forgotten. These generous gifts greatly relieved the financial distress of the institution. Soon after a Theological Tutorship, at the instance mainly of the Rev. Dr. Schaff, was established, partly by a fund invested in Germany, the gift of a member of the Prussian Cabinet, Baron von Bethman Hollweg, and partly by donations and obligations, some given by individuals and others by Classes of the Reformed Church; the scheme, as adopted by the Synod of Frederick, 1857, contemplating the appointment of two tutors by the Board of Visitors, the one to teach Hebrew and other branches of the course connected with Old Testament theology for two years in the Seminary, the other at the same time to prosecute his studies under direction of the Seminary Faculty for two years in the University of Germany. William M. Reily, A. M., and the Rev. Benjamin Bausman, A. M., were appointed in July, 1861; the former as teaching tutor, who of his own motion had previously passed about two years in the German Universities, and the latter as traveling tutor. Mr. Bausman declined. The Board then selected Jacob B. Kershner, A. M., October, 1861. Accepting the position, he was commissioned in March, 1862.

Now, for the first time in the history of the Seminary, did the Faculty consist of three regular Teachers, namely: Wolff, Schaff, and Reily, 1861–1862. But the Faculty thus organized taught without interruption only for about fifteen months.

Dr. Schaff, in October, 1862, applied to the Synod of Chambersburg for leave of absence for three months, in order to comply with an invitation received by him from the Theological Seminary at Andover, to deliver a course of lectures in that institution during the ensuing winter session. Synod reluctantly acquiesced. During the first part of the year 1863, the course

of seminary instruction had, in consequence, to be carried forward by the two remaining members of the Faculty, Wolff and Reily.

On the 16th of June, the institution was temporarily closed, on account of the invasion of the Confederate army under General Lee. A few weeks later, July 5th, Colonel Pierce and Dr. Elliott, acting Medical Director, took possession of the Seminary building for government hospital purposes. Between six and seven hundred wounded officers and privates of the Confederate army, retreating from Gettysburg, had, on that day, been captured between Greencastle and Williamsport, and the greater number were brought to Mercersburg. For this reason the session of the Seminary could not be resumed for the remainder of the season. But the wounded were gradually removed; and the building was prepared for the next session, which was ordered to open on the 8th of September. With the exception of this brief interruption, the students pursued their studies without molestation during the progress of the war.

In June of the same year, Dr. Wolff gave notice to the Board of Visitors of his purpose to resign his office. Agreeably to this purpose, he presented his formal resignation to the Synod of Carlisle, October, 1863, to take effect on the first of April, 1864, stating, among other things, "that when he first accepted your commission, it was with the determination to return it to your hands so soon as his sense of duty to the Church would allow him to do so." In accepting the resignation, Synod gave expression to her undiminished confidence in her retiring Professor, and bore grateful testimony both to his long and faithful labors in the service of the Church, and to his untiring devotion to the Theological Seminary.

The Synod proceeded immediately to the election of a successor. The Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D., Pastor of St. John's Reformed Church, Lebanon, Pa., was chosen Professor of Systematic Theology.

At the same meeting, the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff addressed a

letter to Synod asking leave of absence from active service in the Seminary for a term of *two years*, commencing January 1st, 1864. Prominent among the reasons assigned were the completion of certain literary works, the educational interests of his family, and the desire once more to visit his fatherland. After much thoughtful consideration the request was granted. It was done, however, only with the understanding that, should his life be spared, he return at the expiration of the time specified, to the chair which he was about to vacate temporarily. Dr. Schaff's official relation to the institution continued during these two years following; but to the great regret of the Reformed Church, he did not afterwards return to resume the duties of the chair which for more than nineteen years he had, amid much self-denial, fulfilled with so much ability and acceptance.

The Board of Visitors was requested to secure, if possible, the services of the Rev. Dr. J. W. Nevin, during the absence of Dr. Schaff; and in case his services could not be secured, to make the best possible arrangements to fill temporarily Dr. Schaff's place.

According to the provisions of the Tutorship scheme, the term of office of the teaching Tutor expired this year, 1863; but his successor presumptive being still in Germany, Tutor Reily was re-appointed; and he taught one year longer.

Promptly obeying the voice of the Church, Dr. Harbaugh repaired to Mercersburg without delay. He began to teach in January, 1864; and, at the request of the Board of Visitors, took the place for several months of Dr. Schaff. During the winter of 1864, the teaching of the Seminary devolved accordingly on Wolff, Harbaugh and Reily.

Dr. Nevin not acceeding to the request of the Synod of Carlisle, the Board of Visitors elected the Rev. Thomas G. Apple, A. M., then pastor at Greencastle, to fill the chair of Church History during the temporary absence of the regular professor. He also declining, the Board proceeded to another election; when the Rev. E. E. Higbee, A. M., then pastor of Grace

Reformed Church, Pittsburg, was chosen. This was done in March, 1864. The Board succeeded in obtaining his services.

Dr. Wolff retiring agreeably to the conditions of his resignation, Dr. Harbaugh took charge of his own department of instruction in April, 1864. A few months later Mr. Higbee arrived at Mercersburg, and during the summer the Faculty consisted of Harbaugh, Higbee and Reily.

Meanwhile Mr. Kerschner, having returned from Germany, succeeded Mr. Reily, being appointed teaching Tutor in the fall of 1864. The licentiate William A. Gring, who was appointed traveling Tutor by Synod in 1863, declined the position. For various reasons (the disturbed state of our national finances, owing to the continuance of the civil war, being one), no other licentiate or alumnus, either then or afterwards, was chosen traveling Tutor. Mr. Kerschner's term of office expiring in 1866, he was by Synod reappointed teaching Tutor, for one year. Subsequently also he was reappointed from year to year, until 1871, when he communicated his desire to the Board of Visitors not to be continued in the office.

Under his appointment from the Board of Visitors, approved by Synod, Dr. Higbee discharged the duties of the vacant Professorship until the fall of 1865. Then the Synod, convened at Lewisburg, received the formal resignation of Dr. Schaff. The resignation was accepted; and Dr. Higbee was by acclamation elected Professor of Church History and Exegesis. By this act, the Faculty was again regularly organized; and for two years longer, the instruction of the Seminary, was in charge of Harbaugh, Higbee and Kerschner.

The four years during which these three Teachers were associated, were a period, like previous administrations, of positive progress and active conflict, as well for the Reformed Church as for her theological School. A new phase in the line of opposition within her own communion was provoked by the act of the Carlisle Synod, the election of Dr. Harbaugh, an active member of the Committee that prepared (and afterwards re-

vised) the "Order of Christian Worship," 1857, an able and zealous defender of the central Christological truth characterizing the theology of the Seminary, and a man of extensive influence as a prolific and popular author and a powerful preacher of the gospel. This opposition, however, instead of producing hesitation, served rather to awaken a clearer apprehension of the intrinsic value of the spiritual interest at stake, and to call forth stronger expressions of confidence in the fidelity and devotion of the Seminary to her solemn trust. The attendance of students was large and the number of graduates annually above the average. Important additions were also made to the permanent fund, the result of the Tercentenary Jubilee, celebrated in 1863. As evincing the general mind of the Church, the fact is significant, that when, at the second Tercentenary Convention, held at Reading, May, 1864, and composed of all ministers and elders who chose to attend, the sum of over sixteen thousand dollars, a part of the freewill offerings of the people, was reported as not designated by the donors to any particular object, this sum, after a full discussion of the question, was appropriated to the endowment fund of the Theological Seminary.

But the efficient organization of the Faculty was soon to be interrupted by the premature death of Dr. Harbaugh. His health failing during the summer months of 1867, he sank gradually under the grasp of brain disease, until the 28th of December, when, with the expiration of the fourth year of his Professorship, he departed this life in the fifty-first year of his age, triumphing over the pain of dissolving ties and hopes in the light and joy of living Christian faith.

For the remainder of the Seminary year the duties of the vacant chair were performed, under appointment of the Board of Visitors, by the Rev. Thomas G. Apple, D. Ph., then residing in Mercersburg, and President of Mercersburg College.

At a special meeting, convened at Harrisburg in March, 1868, Synod elected the present incumbent of the chair of

Systematic and Practical Theology, the Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., then Professor of Moral Philosophy and Psychology in Franklin and Marshall College; who, consenting to the call of the Synod, and removing to Mercersburg in the month of August, began to teach with the opening of the fall term, in September, 1868. Then for three years the Faculty of Instruction consisted of Gerhart, Higbee and Kerschner.

From the time of the consolidation of Marshall with Franklin College at Lancaster, there prevailed, both in the Faculties and in the Church at large, more or less dissatisfaction with the local separation of the two institutions. Originally but different departments of one organization, and afterwards, when managed by separate Boards, still animated by the same life under the tuition of the same educational headship (the first President of Marshall College being the Professor of Biblical Literature, and the second being Professor of Systematic Theology), the two had grown in strength together, and were cemented by the experience of common trials and common struggles; the College receiving sympathy and moral support from the Seminary, and the Seminary from the College. A sense of his reciprocal dependence prompted a series of efforts to re-establish a closer fellowship, which finally resulted in the removal of the Seminary to Lancaster. In this connection, let us not forget to note the efficient service rendered by the Rev. Dr. J. C. Bucher.

In the matter of removal, the Synod at York, 1866, instituted preliminary measures. These were followed, two years later, by more decided action taken by the Synod at Hagerstown, 1868. This action the Synod of Danville, 1869, re-affirmed. All these proceedings were brought to a final conclusion at Mechanicsburg, in 1870. That Synod formally ordered the Board of Trustees to remove the Seminary from Mercersburg to Lancaster during the year ensuing. The Trustees were instructed to obtain from Franklin and Marshall College the legal conveyance of the five acres of land offered

by said College towards the removal, and then to proceed at once to the erection on these grounds of such buildings as would be necessary for the proper accommodation of the Seminary. Authority was also given the Trustees to lease the real estate of the Seminary at Mercersburg, for educational purposes of the Reformed Church, to Mercersburg College, a vigorous institution of learning, organized in 1865 under the authority of Mercersburg Classis, and managed by a Board of Regents, who are elected by the same ecclesiastical body. Measures were immediately taken by the Seminary Trustees to execute this order; and in the fall of the year 1871 the removal was consummated. After eighteen years of separation, the mother relinquishes her romantic mountain home, where for four-and-thirty years she had been residing, surrounded by a large circle of warm and faithful friends, who in every hour of trial had ministered to her wants, and follows her daughter to the place of her new abode, to re-unite their intellectual and spiritual energies in the service of their common Lord and Master.

Several months after the adjournment of the Mechanicsburg Synod, the Rev. Dr. Higbee gave notice to the Board of Visitors of his intention to resign his Professorship. A special session of Synod was accordingly convened at Lancaster in July, 1871. In his resignation, Dr. Higbee stated that for some time he had been convinced that he could be more useful to the Church, and serve with more satisfaction to himself in others fields of labor. Yielding to his wishes, the Synod recorded its high appreciation of the valuable services of Dr. Higbee during his seven years' connection with the Seminary, and its sincere regret that any circumstance had occurred which, in his judgment, rendered it necessary to withdraw from this particular field of labor.

The Synod proceeded to hold an election, when the Rev. Thomas G. Apple, D. D., was chosen Professor of Church History and Exegesis. Dr. Apple accepted the call, and took his place in the Faculty in the month of November following.

The matter of the appointment of a teaching Tutor also came before the Lancaster Synod. But no appointment was made. Instead, the whole subject was referred to a committee of seven, with instructions to report at the next annual meeting, to be held at Pottstown.

The Seminary was opened at Lancaster at the regular time, namely, on the first Wednesday of September, 1871. The Rev. Dr. Gerhart being the only Professor on the ground, he was, at the request of the Board of Visitors, assisted in teaching by the Faculty of Franklin and Marshall College; an arrangement which was continued for two months.

The Committee on the Tutorship reported to the Synod of Pottstown that, after bestowing much thought upon the subject, they were not able to settle their minds on any one. Not venturing to make any nomination for the vacant Tutorship, the Committee did no more than to submit several points for consideration.

These suggestions pertained to the creation of two German Professorships: one in the Seminary, by raising the Tutorship to a regular Professorship, and the other in Franklin and Marshall College. The suggestions were carefully considered, and adopted. The plan anticipated the active co-operation and support of the German ministers and German congregations. In view of this action the Board of Visitors were authorized to make a temporary arrangement for supplying the teaching of the Theological Tutor. As the anticipations of the Synod were not realized, and in consequence the German Professorship scheme was not consummated, a record of the details is superseded.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Pottstown Synod, the Board met and appointed the Rev. Frederick A. Gast, A. M, Theological Tutor, then Professor in Franklin and Marshall College. Professor Gast assumed the duties of the tutorship in January, 1872. The Synod of Martinsburg approved the choice of the Board, and re-appointed Professor Gast Tutor for one year.

The year following, 1873, the Tutorship was changed, conformably to the hypothetical provisions of the tutorship scheme, into a full Professorship, and Tutor Gast was elected Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Theology, by the Synod in Bloomsburg, Pa., in 1873. He was inaugurated on the 11th of May, in 1874. The instruction of the Seminary at Lancaster has accordingly during these four years been in charge of Gerhart, Apple and Gast.

At different times during the last decade, the Synod has taken measures to establish another professorial chair. The sixteen thousand dollars voted by the Convention at Reading, 1864, were designed for a Tercentenary Professorship. Four years later, the Synod of Hagerstown directed the Board of Trustees to complete the endowment of this chair, and elected the Rev. Daniel Gans, D. D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis. But the operations of the agent in behalf of the removal, interfered with the proposed addition to the endowment fund; and the Rev. Dr. Gans, regarding his election as premature, did not see his way clear to accept the call. Nothing effectual has since been done; and the Professorship of Biblical Exegesis is still a desideratum.

The formation of the Synod of Pittsburgh, 1870, and of the Synod of the Potomac, 1873, out of classes belonging (Westmoreland Classis only excepted,) to the Synod of the United States, left the Seminary, by the natural course of things, exclusively in the hands of the original organization. It became in law the possession of a part, instead, as before, of the whole of the Reformed Church East. To neutralize the moral effect of this legal limitation, a plan of co-operation in the management, control and support of the Seminary, was initiated in 1872, and consummated in 1873, between these three bodies, whereby each organization is represented proportionably, in the Board of Trustees, and in the Board of Visitors. Under the operation of this plan of union, each Synod has a voice conjointly with the others: as in managing the property

of the institution, so also in supervising the course of instruction, and directing all its internal affairs.

During the fifty years of its history, the Seminary has had in its service *thirteen* professors and tutors.

Of the chair of Systematic Theology, coeval with the organization of the Seminary, there have been *five* incumbents: Mayer in office *thirteen* years; Nevin *eleven;* Wolff *ten;* Harbaugh *four;* and Gerhart *seven* years.

Of the next chair, established in 1829, now entitled the Professorship of Church History and Exegesis, there have also been *five* incumbents: Young in office *one* year; Rauch *nine* years; Schaff *nineteen*, exclusive of the last two years not in actual service; Higbee *seven*, including two years under appointment of the Board of Visitors; and Apple *four* years.

During the twelve years the Theological Tutorship was in existence, 1861–1873, there were *three* tutors: Reily in office *three* years; Kerschner *seven;* and Gast *two* years.

The chair of Hebrew and Biblical Theology, established in 1873, has during these *two* years of its existence been occupied by Professor Gast.

The largest class of students was graduated in 1850, numbering *fourteen*. The whole number on the roll of graduates is *three hundred and nineteen;* including the Class of 1875.

For the last two years the Seminary has had on its roll the names of *thirty-four* students. This number of students in attendance is larger than that of any previous year.

When this Theological Seminary, the first educational institution of the Reformed Church in the United States, was organized, there were about *eighty* ministers, all told, East and West, in her communion. The number in 1875, according to the latest statistical tables, is *six hundred and nineteen.*

The supply of ministers during the progress of these fifty years has at no time been equal to the demand. Yet for that large measure of success which has crowned the work of the

church in educating men for the holy office, it is meet that the people celebrate with joy and gratitude the goodness of God.

But most histories are but skeletons. Ours is a most imperfect and meager one. There is, and ever must remain, an unwritten history of the conception, founding and progress of the Theological Seminary, more interesting than ever can be recorded. There is a roll of honor, hidden to our eyes, but precious in the sight of the Lord. God finds His laborers wherever He appoints a work. He has His hours, men and means. He calls all, many come, the few are chosen. During our Seminarian period, all these were according to the day. Agents stood forth to travel and labor in the good cause. Their ringing circulars sounded abroad and arrested the ear of the willing ones. Such Pastors as Hendel, Reily, Ebaugh, Schneck, Mayer, Beecher, Hinsch and others immortalized their names during all the ages to come. They canvassed our own and other lands.

It is interesting to notice the ingathering of gifts at their earnest and diligent prayers. These names have a strange ring for us:—

Gov. De Witt Clinton, $20.00; Gen. Van Rensselaer, $10.00; Col. Henry Rutger, $200.00; John Jacob Astor, $50.00; the Livingstones, from $15.00 to $50.00; Martin Van Buren, $5.00; Doctor Chapman, $10.00.

The following Pastors of other churches showed a warm heart for us:—Rev. Dr. James Milnor, $10.00; Rev. George Mills, $35.00; Rev. Dr. Ely, $20.00; and Broadhead, Hoge, Know, Wilson, McCarty, Skinner and Anner, and numerous others who donated crumbs which swelled to the sum of one thousand dollars. Let us remember them as friends in need.

We gladly record the name of Mrs. Rev. Dr. Bethune. May her name be ever fragrant among us.

Nor ought we to forget to make special mention of the Reily Agency in Europe. His active and efficient service netted a

sum of $5000.00, and many valuable volumes for the Seminary Library besides.

And in scattering encomiums on friendly hearts outside of the fold, let us not forget our own kindred Clergy and Laity. We point with pride to many a working Pastor of our Reformed Church. They reached the hearts and purses of our membership more directly and effectually than all other agencies. But for many of such firm and brave souls, the Seminary would never have been founded, and still less, eked out its history fifty years. We bless the hearts of these old self-denying Pastors, who so unselfishly spoke, prayed and begged for the support of our Institution which never brought any interest to them, and whose semi-centennial they were never to see. Through them the avenues of public charity were first opened in the Reformed Church, in which a Kieffer, a Keller, a Wanner, a Weiser, and others walked. May many continue to catch the spark from this day onward. And if the present generation of Pastors, all of whom who have gone forth from the School of the Prophets, which was built up in doubt, heart-throes, anxiety, tears, prayers and sacrifices—as God only remembers,—will but follow in the wake of their predecessors and fathers, it will never be said of the Reformed Church—"She began to build but was not able to finish." But if we prove unworthy sons of noble sires, then let the stones cry out against us, from amid the ruins.

"The Lord our God be with us, as He was with our Fathers; let Him not leave us, nor forsake us; that He may incline our hearts unto Him, to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and His statutes, and His judgments, which he commanded our Fathers."

Art. II.—THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE SEMINARY.

BY PROFESSOR THOS. G. APPLE, D.D.

Fathers and Brethren:—

It is with some degree of diffidence that I attempt to discharge the duty assigned me by this reverend Synod, of presenting an essay on the theological history of the Seminary, whose semi-centennial anniversary we are celebrating on the present occasion. It would be a less difficult task to present the history itself in full, which would require, however, at least a volume, than to attempt to gather up that history in the compass of a single address. In view of the difficulties connected with the duty, I could wish that it had been assigned to some one better able to perform it. But, while I ask your indulgence for any imperfection and incompleteness that may attach to my essay, I proceed without further introduction to discharge the task assigned me.

The literature from which mainly our knowledge of the subject must be derived, and which deserves to be enumerated here as a part of the history itself, is the following: Dr. Lewis Mayer's Lectures on Systematic Theology, and on Hermeneutics and Exegesis, and his Expository Lectures or Discourses on Scriptural Subjects, and Synopses of Sermons; the writings of Dr. Augustus Frederick Rauch, consisting of his work on Psychology, his Lectures on Æsthetics and Ethics, and his published Sermons on the Inner Life; the Lectures of Dr. J. W. Nevin on Theology, his works, on the Anxious Bench, on the History of the Heidelberg Catechism, the Mystical Presence, Antichrist, his Lectures on Christian Ethics, and his numerous articles in the Mercersburg Review, and in the Weekly Messenger, and the Reformed Church Messenger; Dr.

Philip Schaff's Principle of Protestantism, his History of the Apostolic and Primitive Church, and his articles in the Kirchenfreund and Mercersburg Review; Dr. Ebrard's Dogmatic and Practical Theology, translated and commented on by Dr. B. C. Wolff; Dr. Harbaugh's Lectures on Dogmatics and Practical Theology, and his articles in the Mercersburg Review; and Dr. E. E. Higbee's Lectures on Church History, and his articles in the Mercersburg Review.

In referring to this material from which we gather the theological history of the Seminary for the past fifty years, I make the preliminary remark, that we must distinguish between the direct teaching imparted in the Seminary, and works and articles written outside this teaching. It is made the duty of teachers of theology in our Church, not only to impart instruction to the students committed to their care, but also in their public writings to defend the true faith of the Church. There is, in this view, a grave responsibility connected with such writings. And yet a theological teacher may make contributions to the science of theology in articles or essays on topics that have not come to be matters of dogmatic teaching, concerning which a certain amount of freedom is allowed beyond the strict obligations of the teaching in the class-room. Or he may write on topics that *are* matters of dogmatic teaching, with a view to advance them beyond the stand-point of the standards and confessions of the Church. In the class-room he teaches according to the standards of the Church; but, if he have the talent, ability, and calling, he may, in a more public way, before the general theological public, discuss questions from a more catholic stand-point for the benefit of other Christian denominations as well as of his own. The private Christian, the minister, and the teacher of theology, must feel themselves related to the Church Catholic as well as to a particular denomination. The denominational Church, or the Seminary under its charge, does not necessarily become responsible for all that is written in this way. Such freedom must be allowed, other-

wise there would be no room for progress in theology. Our own Church has shown a right sense on this point and made a proper discrimination. This Synod, on one occasion, decided that while it found no occasion to question the orthodoxy of the teaching in the Seminary, when judged from such articles and essays written and published outside the class-room, yet it did not feel itself called upon to endorse all that was presented to the public in this way by its theological professors.

THE SEMINARY AT CARLISLE AND YORK.

With this preliminary remark, I proceed now with my treatment of the subject before us, beginning with some notice of the general character of the theology taught in the Seminary, while it was located at Carlisle and York, by its first Professor, Dr. Louis Mayer, from 1825 to 1836, when the Institutions were removed to Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. My information here is derived from a somewhat careful examination of Dr. Mayer's Lectures on Systematic Theology and on Hermeneutics and Exegesis, as well as from Synopses of Sermons and a small work containing some lectures on religious subjects. Dr. Mayer was a man of good natural talents, with a fair scholarship in some departments of theological science, and a certain originality of thought, and his memory as a faithful minister and teacher is justly revered in the Church.

In endeavoring to characterize his theology in general, it is not necessary for our purpose to dwell upon those particular topics on which his teaching seemed to vary somewhat from the accepted orthodoxy of the Church, on the doctrine of the Trinity, the person of Christ, the atonement, and original sin. This variation consisted not so much, perhaps, in a departure from the usual definitions of the dogmas of the Church, as in the manner of their explanation; and in this, while we might not be prepared to endorse his views, there is evidence of some originality of thought, and an effort to attain to a more satisfactory position than the old theological ruts afforded. At any

rate, these peculiarities did not seem to leave any evil results in the faith of his students. In the main, his system fell in with the current theology of the Reformed Church in his day. It was the theology that had come down from the seventeenth century, and differed in its stand-point from the theology of the Reformation and that of the later German theology, especially since Schleiermacher.*

The stand-point of his theology is Theistic, as compared with the Christological, or, as it has been called by Dr. Nevin, and later, in his Dogmatics, by Dr. Van Oosterzee, Christocentric.† The Divine Will is made the principle of redemption, instead of

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* "A new era, even for Dogmatics, has dawned in our century, which has not incorrectly been called the century of the regeneration of Christian Theology. Instead of the earlier Rationalism and Supranaturalism, both of which were in their stand point equally one-sided, a more exact and fruitful conception of truth arose as life from God, historically revealed in Christ, and only learnt through the light of Scripture by individual spiritual experience. This school of thought in Dogmatics, starting from Germany, has made its influence felt in the various Churches of other countries, and has held its own with increasing clearness and firmness against the attacks of an unbelief becoming every day more devoid of shame. Enriched by the wisdom of the past, and purified by the ordeal of the present, science strives restlessly—although in countless windings, and not without a strong reaction—towards a fairer future, in which, in even a greater degree than before, she can fulfill her undeniable requirements."

See also the paragraph in the same section, in which he speaks of Schleiermacher as "the German Plato," whose name "is closely connected with the history of the revival of Dogmatics in Germany," and where he says, "it is impossible to deny that he has given to the scientific movements of his time" the impulse of an eternal motion, "and, as another John the Baptist, may be called a new forerunner of Christ."

Christian Dogmatics. Van Oosterzee. Published under the editorship of H. B. Smith and P. Schaff, vol. i. pp. 48–49.

† "No one can be the Fountain-head for the investigation of Christian Dogmatics, but He who is its principal subject-matter, and who is not only the faithful witness, but Himself the highest revelation of truth in the domain of religion. True Dogmatics is thus, from its nature, Christo-centric; and nothing, in regard to the doctrine of salvation, can be acknowledged as truth, that is in irreconcilable contradiction with the word and Spirit of Christ, the King of truth..... Everything which Dogmatics has to teach concerning God, man, the way of salvation, etc., must be viewed from the light which streams forth from Christ as centre. 'Certum, propriumque fidei catholicæ fundamentum Christus est.' Augustine." Van Oosterzee's Dogmatics, p. 15.

Christ. It resolves the supernatural revelation which God has made to the world into a plan or scheme of redemption, which He carried out instrumentally through His Son, Jesus Christ. The substance of revelation is regarded as an order of truth, a knowledge of God and divine things, the nature of man in his original and fallen state, of the method necessary to redeem him from sin and death, and to restore him to the divine favor and love. Christ is regarded rather as the instrumental cause than the source of redemption and eternal life. The plan of redemption was revealed to men in His teaching, and wrought out by His work, especially by His death upon the cross. According to some, both His active and passive obedience were necessary and constituent parts of this work, but according to others, the former was only a condition in order to render the latter effectual. The law of God having been properly vindicated before men and angels, the way was now open for God to extend pardon to man, and through His Spirit to prepare man by conversion, regeneration and sanctification, to enjoy the benefits of the salvation provided for him. There is here no necessary and internal connection between the person and life of Christ and the salvation of believers, except that the former is regarded as the procuring cause of the latter.

From the time of Wolff—the last two decades of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century—down to the time of Schleiermacher, supernaturalism and rationalism struggled for the mastery. This struggle, in the form in which it had gone forward, was to a large extent superseded, when a new and different stand-point for theology was reached, which regarded the person of Christ as the source of salvation, the substance of Christianity, and the principle of theology. Since then, the struggle has not indeed ceased, but it revolves now around a new centre, not, as then, the inspiration of the Scriptures, but the ever-living and life-giving person of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is clearly indicated by the new mode of attack adopted by such men as Strauss, Bauer and Renan—

whose effort has been, not merely to set aside the credibility of the Scriptures, but rather, accepting these, to dissipate the supernatural character of the person of Christ. And the best apologetic literature of later times consists in the defence of the faith in the person of Christ, as the substance of revelation, which gives to the Scriptures all their power and life.

The general theological position of the Seminary at that time, we believe, was in sympathy with the mind and spirit of the Church, at least in the English portions of it, and, we may add, with the mind and spirit of surrounding denominations. The German sections of our church had not as yet come into much acquaintance or sympathy with the Seminary, and pretty much the only theology that exerted any controlling influence upon the country at large was the Puritan and Presbyterian. The German Churches of this country had not come as yet to assert any proper status before the theological public. Our own Church had no literary institutions except a high school, then growing into a college. Our English congregations were necessarily left to the influence of the large English denominations of the land. In view of these circumstances it is plain that the Seminary labored under many serious difficulties, and required time before it could exert much power.

THE SEMINARY AT MERCERSBURG.

The next period in the history of the Seminary is that which opens with its removal to Mercersburg, where it was brought under the care of Drs. Rauch, Nevin, and Schaff, though Dr. Rauch taught in it also at York, and for a short time Dr. Mayer taught at Mercersburg.

The change which took place in the general character of the theology taught here, which consisted, we may say, not in the introduction of new dogmas, nor in the rejection of old ones, but rather in the method by which they were held together in a scientific system, and the principle pervading them, was reached through a transition of a practical rather than of a

theoretical or speculative character. In the new stadium of growth to which the church was attaining in the change from German to English, and the establishment of institutions of a higher character, it was challenged to understand and assert its proper denominational character and life. The old system of educational religion, with which stood connected the catechization of the young, was confronted with another system coming from another direction, which, whatever merit it possessed in its own sphere, was to a large extent foreign to the traditional life of our church. It had already worked its way into our congregations, mainly the English, though it had reached to some extent some sections of Eastern Pennsylvania, the stronghold of the Reformed Church. Our church needed a revival, an awakening from a spirit of comparative inactivity, but the danger was that in this new revival to new activity we would lose our true historical life, and thus become powerless as a denomination. How far this danger would have been avoided without the Seminary it is not for us to say. We only state the fact that the effective warning came from that quarter in the pungent and telling tract on the Anxious Bench. Along with this came also the able and exhaustive articles on the History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism, through both which the church was summoned to study carefully its own spirit and genius, and hold fast to the old landmarks amidst the peculiar dangers that threatened on every side. We refer to these facts, not to dwell upon them, but to show that the system of theology and philosophy which originated and grew into vigor during this period was not the result of abstract speculation, but stood in the closest sympathy with the practical wants of the church.

In order that the catechetical or educational system of religion might hold its own against what was arrayed in opposition to it, the meaning of infant membership in the Church must be a reality for faith, and not rest on a mere dead German traditional custom. And if there is a reality for faith in infant

membership, there must be meaning also in infant baptism, and if there is grace in baptism, then there must be a bosom of gracious power lodged in the Church, and so we get to the dogma of the Church and the sacraments, the consideration of which, from the practical side at least, first occupied the special attention of the professors at Mercersburg.

What was coming rapidly to be the popular theory of the Christian life in the revivals that prevailed at the time throughout the land, made little or no account of baptism or Christian nurture. It rather regarded any reliance on baptism as a danger and an impediment in the way of conversion. It had no proper idea of an objective constitution of grace in the Christian Church, according to the faith of all ages as contained in the Apostles' Creed, through which and in which the grace and blessings of salvation are mediated by the Holy Ghost. It did not apprehend the historical character of Christianity and the science of Church History was made to consist largely in the mechanical putting together of facts and statistics which might be laid up in the memory as a sort of treasury of old and dead antiquities.

The study of the Church received a new impetus at this juncture by the arrival of Dr. Philip Schaff, a young man, fresh from the Universities of Germany, a finished scholar, full of enthusiasm in his department, and imbued with the new life which Neander, the father of modern Church History, had thrown into the science, as well as unquestioning faith in the revival of theology in Germany which was sweeping away the strongholds of rationalism.

Opening his professional career with his able production, *The Principle of Protestantism*, he was fully prepared to fall in with the reigning thought on this subject in the Seminary. His lectures opened up a new current and awakened new life in a science which for the students previously possessed but little interest. While Dr. Nevin was writing his profound articles on the Apostles' Creed, seeking to revive the old and tried faith

of the Church, Dr. Schaff was unfolding its organic history with a mastery of his material and a vigor of style which placed him at once in the front rank of Church historians in this country, and, what was of more account, won for him a reputation in the old world.

The Church Question loomed up as the question of the age. In order to maintain the historical character of Christianity and vindicate the Protestant Reformation, it seemed necessary to consider the antecedents of the great movement of the sixteenth century and its relation to them, so as not to surrender to the claims of Rome on the one hand, nor be overwhelmed by an unhistorical, pseudo-Protestantism, on the other. The Seminary was awake to both evils. The masterly articles by Dr. Nevin on Brownson's Review, the editor of which was the ablest controversialist in the Roman Church at that time in this country, present, we think, the strongest argument against the claims of the Roman Church that has been produced by any theologian in America.

But how to solve the problem in view of the dangers presented by an unchurchly Christianity, and the evils of sectarianism on the other side, revealed a greater difficulty. The abnormal condition of Protestantism, with its endless divisions, was pointed out in pungent articles on Sectarianism and Anti-Christ—the Spirit of Sect and Schism—by Dr. Nevin, and by Dr. Schaff, in the Kirchenfreund, to whom at that time this seemed to be the most deadly disease of Protestantism. To some it appeared as if this faithful exposure of the evils of Protestantism involved a want of loyalty to the whole cause. How can Protestantism claim the possession of the essential attributes of the Church as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic? The Anglican Church was in the midst of an agitation that caused it to tremble to its foundations. The Tractarian movement had drawn into its current the ablest minds and most earnest ministers of England in an effort to repristinate primitive Christianity. Some of these, among the ablest and the best, were already

drifted on the shoals and quick-sands of Romanism. Was Puseyism a solution of the Church Question? The articles on the Anglican Crisis, on Cyprian and Early Christianity, was the reply from Mercersburg. For those who did not properly understand the argument, and we may say also for those who did, these articles were startling, and awakened wide-spread alarm. The tendency of early Christianity, it was argued, carried in it far more than Anglican Episcopacy, even of the Puseyite, Sacramentarian type. The germs of Mediæval Romanism were already there. To begin again with these and thus attempt to repristinate Christian history involved by logical necessity something very different from Protestantism in any of its phases. To repristinate here is to Romanize.

The difficulty was increased by the consideration that the primitive Church had already been held up as the common heritage for all subsequent ages, especially as it had given us the common Creed of Christendom. If we are to receive its great creeds, and reverence its great fathers, must we not accept it as a whole? For those who had no faith in the historical character of Christianity, who look upon the Church merely as an aggregation of individuals, whose spiritual life is separately drawn from the word of God through the Holy Spirit, without any necessary connection with the Church and the sacraments, there was no difficulty here. But with those who did make earnest with the article in the Creed, "I believe in the holy, Catholic Church," who looked upon the Church as "the mystical body of Christ," an organism which has continued in unbroken succession from the day of Pentecost down to the present time, that to it have been entrusted the word and sacraments, and the ministry of reconciliation, that the Holy Spirit honors these as the appointments and ordinances of Christ for the salvation of men, and that therefore salvation is to be found *in*, not *out of*, the Church, the Church Question was one of profound significance.

The only satisfactory vindication of Protestantism, with this

view of the Church, must be found in such historical development as will allow of great changes in the form of the Church, while at the same time its life continues to flow onward in unbroken succession. Room could be made in this way for Protestantism, which came, it is true, somewhat as St. Paul came among the Apostles, and claimed recognition as appointed and sent as truly as primitive and mediæval Christianity were appointed and sent by the Lord. As primitive Christianity contained the germs of mediæval Romanism, and so far forth authenticate this latter as a historical stadium of the Church, even with all its great evils, so mediæval Christianity contained the germs, swelling and breaking through all barriers, and budding with the new life, of Protestantism. Protestantism is no bastard, but the legitimate outgrowth of the deepest and best energies of the Church of the Middle Ages, and it inherited many of the features of its ancestry in the Primitive Church. The argument contained in these articles pressed to one of two conclusions therefore,—either the adoption of the Roman system, or else *pronounced*, though Churchly and conservative, Protestantism.* There could be no middle ground in repristination, or Puseyism. If the argument at times seemed to favor the Roman side, and speak slightingly of Unchurchly Protestantism (for it is this phase of Protestantism that is mostly in the writer's eye), it must be remembered that the argument is purely historical, and does not profess the theory held by the writer. It

* There is, indeed, another alternative presented in the verbose and somewhat partisan argument of Isaac Taylor in his Early Christianity, viz., that the errors and evils of Romanism were in full blast in the primitive Church, so much so that in reference to some of these the mediæval Church was really a reformation of the early Church; and that, therefore, the primitive Church cannot be regarded as of any important authority. He comes, indeed, in one view, to the same conclusion as the articles on Early Christianity, but his argument turns all Christian history from the beginning into a grand apostasy, and tends to overthrow altogether the promise of Christ, "Lo, I am with you always," and "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her." If the Puseyites gave a rosy hue to primitive Christianity, certainly Taylor errs just as much in finding there only a mass of heresy and moral turpitude. As between these two the argument of Dr. Nevin must be commended for its faithfulness to history.

must be remembered, moreover, that the Synod never was called upon to endorse any particular phase of such historical argument. The conclusion in the Seminary and in the Church at large was the intelligent holding fast to the truly Protestant theory in the face of all that could be urged in the Puseyite movement in favor of an intermediate position between it and the theory of Romanism, and the Church became stronger for having gone through the trying ordeal connected with the historical argument. Judged by the lectures of Dr. Nevin in the class-room, and the writings of Dr. Schaff in his Church History, the Seminary stood soundly on the true Churchly Protestant theory. These lectures and this history are on record, and can be appealed to to substantiate what we have here said.

The Sacraments.

It was in connection with this dogma of the Church that the doctrine of the Sacraments came up for new consideration. The sacrament of baptism was not made the subject of formal controversy at this time, but its grace-bearing character was considered more in connection with the subject of Christian nurture and catechization. It was assumed and claimed for it that it is not an empty sign, nor merely the sign of a grace previously received.*

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* "The communication of the Spirit, and consequently regeneration, in this case" (viz.. of Cornelius), "*before* baptism, is striking and without parallel in the New Testament." Dr. Schaff, Hist. Apos. Church, p. 222. Nowhere in the Reformed Confessions can the theory be found, recently put forth by some in our Church, that baptism only confirms the grace of the covenant already conferred in natural birth from Christian parents. That would have been considered as bordering on Pelagianism.

See Article by Dr. E. V. Gerhart on The Doctrine of the Reformed Church on Holy Baptism, Mercersburg Review, April, 1868, in which the teaching of the Reformed Confessions is stated at length. The first Scotch Confession of 1560, Art. xxi., from which the article quotes a sentence, says: "And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of those, that affirm the Sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs. No, we assuredly believe, that by baptism we are engrafted into Jesus Christ, to be made partakers of His justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted."

More prominent, for a time, was the discussion of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Church—our Church—and the Protestant Churches around us had generally settled down in the Zuinglian view, which allows no mystery in the sacrament, regarding it merely as a commemorative ordinance, and denying any real presence of the invisible grace, the body and blood of Christ. In vindication of the Calvinistic view of this holy sacrament, which was claimed to be the view incorporated into the Reformed Confessions generally, Dr. Nevin wrote his *Mystical Presence*, and defended it subsequently against Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, who maintained that Calvin's view was only an excrescence which the Reformed Confessions never adopted. In this controversy Dr. Nevin was in the right, and Dr. Hodge was in the wrong, as was abundantly shown by the historical testimony, and is abundantly apparent from an examination of the Reformed Confessions themselves. The teaching in the Seminary confined itself closely here to the Calvinistic view as contained in the Heidelberg Catechism. In the Mystical Presence an effort was made to supplement Calvin's *explanation* of the spiritual real presence with a more advanced Psychology and Philosophy. The idea of the *generic* life of Christ

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Concerning which there is a naïve and amusing note by the editor of John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, as follows:

"Here the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is plainly stated; and the Reformers seem to have gone to this extreme to avoid the scandal of holding the sacraments to be naked and bare signs. They had long been held in such superstitious and idolatrous veneration, that the Reformers could not shake themselves loose from the prevailing sentiment, which must have been early and deeply impressed on their minds, and therefore they could not look on these ordinances in their Scriptural simplicity: for what are they but signs, after all that has been said about them? They derive all their value from that which is signified by them; and the more naked and bare of every thing else the better, provided they be observed simply as Christ commanded. The article is improved in the Westminster Catechism. It does not say, that by baptism we *are ingrafted* into Christ as it is here; but baptism doth *signify and seal* our ingrafting into Christ. The account of the Lord's Supper, which follows in the same article, is extremely perplexed and wordy, which shows that the writer was laboring to express something that he did not distinctly understand."
—Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland, by John Knox, edited by William McGavin, Esq. Second Edition. Glasgow, 1832.

and its dynamic presence in the Church is presented, as now held also by the Reformed and unionistic theologians of Germany. It was charged then that there has been an alarming falling away from the Reformed Confessions on this subject by a large portion of the Reformed Church. The charge may still be reiterated. We have been repeatedly told by Presbyterian ministers, and on one occasion by a Dutch Reformed minister, that in their judgment nine-tenths of the ministers in their respective denominations hold, not the Calvinistic, but the Zuinglian view of the Lord's Supper. In the Reformed Church in the United States there is scarcely a single minister who does not hold the view of Calvin and the Reformed Confessions, and not the Zuinglian. This is sufficient testimony, we think, that the teaching in the Seminary during the period we are speaking of, proved faithful to the original doctrine of the Reformed Church on this subject. And no one can for a moment think that the importance of this subject was not quite as great as it was then represented to be, without turning a large portion of the history of the Reformation into an unmeaning farce.

The Person of Christ.

Underlying the teaching on the dogma of the Church, but coming into prominence later in the public discussions of the professors, was the teaching in regard to the person of Christ. This refers not so much to the dogma of the constitution of the person of Christ as such, as it came to settlement in the early creeds, especially the formula of the Council of Chalcedon—but rather to the more practical question of the relation of Christ's divine-human person to God, to man and redemption. We can reach and state most briefly the teaching in the Seminary on this subject, perhaps, by beginning with the point, that Christ is not only the instrumental cause of redemption, but also and especially that He is the source of salvation for men. As sin entering through the first Adam had wrought a separation between man and God, the deepest significance of the in-

carnation lies in the fact that it brings man and God together again. In assuming humanity in His holy conception and birth of the Virgin Mary, He comes as the second Adam, first of all to work out redemption for man in His own person, and then and thus to be Himself in His glorified and undying life the source of redemption and life to men through the Holy Spirit. The fundamental fact for faith and for theology is the constitution of the person of Christ Himself as this confronts us in the incarnation. The humanity which He assumed was fallen, though sin was eliminated, that is, it was the human nature as He assumed it from the Virgin Mary, down the stream of our fallen life, and not that of Adam before the fall. He assumed it with all its antecedents and all its consequences. In His holy conception sin was eliminated, and in His unfolding life He repelled and overcame all sin at every point, and so through trial and suffering He moved onward to the final struggle with the consequences of sin in His atoning death upon the cross, where His redemptive work culminated; for there He made full satisfaction for man's sin by suffering the penalty due to him, and there He grappled with and overcame the last enemy, and arose triumphant in His resurrection from the dead. In all this there was a glorification of human life first in His own person. Heb. v. 7. He bore man's sin and guilt not by an outward imputation, but by virtue of His organic relation to the life of the world in His incarnation. The central idea of the atonement is to be found in this bringing together of God and man, at-one-ment, which includes then the truth in the other theories that the Church has from time to time put forth, while it excludes what is erroneous in them.

The old theory of the fathers, for instance, that Christ paid the penalty of death to the devil, has this in it, that in his death He contended against and overcame him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. The Anselmic view of a satisfaction for sin, is retained and held in so far as the death of Christ carried in it the penal consequences of man's sin. So,

too, Christ thus honored the law of God in His death, and God's moral government, and gave an exhibition of divine love. All these are here, but they are here, not as each one the whole of the atonement, not as propositions, but as elements that enter into the work of redeeming man by the Lord Jesus Christ.

When we ask how the redemption wrought out by Christ is applied, or made over to man, the answer here again is, in Christ. His life is the deepest substance of the new regenerate life of the believer. His glorified life mediated to man through the Holy Ghost, is the quickening power that raises the sinner from the dead, and makes him live forever. "Because I live ye shall live also."

Christ is the principle of Christianity. The kingdom or order of grace which He established, when He said, the kingdom of heaven is at hand, is just such an order of life as goes forth from Him, now glorified in the heavens, yet mystically present with His people always to the end of the world. As the breath of Adam is the breath of humanity, and his life their life, so the breathing upon man by Christ, is the breath of spiritual life. The humanity of Christ now glorified and become vivific through the Holy Ghost, is just as really the medium of His heavenly power and grace now, as when He confronted the disciples on earth, yea, more, because now it approaches in the Spirit.

Christ is the principle of theology. All creed centres in Him, and all right knowledge of God also, for He is the revealer of God, and no man can know God except in Him. True, the outward form or order of the theology taught at the time we are considering, was not changed, but at every point this account was made of the person of Christ. This is more than method. Dick's theology became informed with a new spirit. And this was made to appear all the more forcibly, because of the difference and contrast presented in the criticisms. With the utmost facility, all the dogmas were held in constant rela-

tion to the Christological principle, and it was as a new light flashing across the whole domain of the science. One may indeed wonder how Dr. Nevin could be content with the old outline, but the first work was to infuse life into the skeleton, that is, to bring the right principle to bear on every part. Theology took to itself the same principle as the Christian life; in the science it was Christological, in the sphere of Christian life, it was Christocentric.

It is not claimed that the introduction of this principle as central in theology, was original with the professors in the Seminary at Mercersburg. The papers on The New Creation, Liebner's Christology, Wilberforce on the Incarnation, Cur Deus Homo, and others, reveal in what close sympathy the Seminary was moving with the later German theology, and that of England. But it was reached and mastered by an originality and power, and earnestness of thought, which made it their own, in a deep sense, without anything like slavish dependence on any foreign system.

It would be interesting to trace the working of the Christological principle in the treatment of the several dogmas—the Trinity, Creation, Atonement, Justification; the last things, death, resurrection, etc., but our time will not allow, nor is it necessary before this body. We must pass on, to notice next the movement in

Philosophy,

which went hand in hand with the movement in theology at Mercersburg, and which enables us to bring forward now, a name which, it might seem, has thus far been kept too much in the back-ground—the name of Dr. Frederick Aug. Rauch,—whose monument stands in yonder Campus—and whose spirit we feel is with us to-day,—the first President of Marshall College. We refer to him here, not because he did not labor in the work of theological teaching, for he was a professor in the Seminary, but his chief work, I think we may say, consisted in leading

the way in the line of philosophic thought, which has stood in such close relation to our theology, and rendered it such good service.

Philosophy gives form to theology, while its contents are from divine revelation, just as Christianity originally employed the Greek language, in which to clothe its Scriptures and to express its great doctrines. The system of philosophy developed and taught in the institutions during this period, stood in intimate relation to the theology, and the one cannot be properly understood without the other.

"Dr. Rauch gave the first impulse to the prevailing system of thought. Possessing a mind of the finest mould, a graduate of the University of Marburg, a student of philosophy and theology in Giessen and Heidelberg, and subsequently professor of philosophy in these two celebrated universities, he came to this country a finished classical scholar, an erudite theologian, and a philosopher at once acute, profound, and Christian. Philosophy was his favorite sphere of study. 'He was at home in the philosophy of Great Britain, as well as that of Germany, and knew accurately the points of contact and divergency by which the relations of the two systems of thought to one another, generally considered, are characterized.' Becoming acquainted with American life and American modes of thought, he aimed as president of the College, at the development of an Anglo-German philosophy—not the simple transfer of German thoughts into the English language, but the living reproduction of the manifold truths of German systems in an English form, on the basis of a valid principle organically unfolded, and in the light of supernatural revelation."*

We can only refer to what we regard as some of the leading points in this philosophy, and that in very brief and general terms.

* Dr. Gerhart's Monograph, Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan., 1863; where may be found also a presentation of the leading characteristics of the system begun by Dr. Rauch and developed by his successors.

In general, we may say it was an outgrowth of the later German philosophy, as contrasted with the English system of Locke and others, which wrought in the line of Deism and infidelity. The sensationalism of England, we know, has been superseded now in English-speaking countries, but we need not go back more than thirty years ago, to find it ruling the thinking in our American Colleges. At that time, Locke was the text-book in mental philosophy in Princeton College. The influence of this philosophy on theology—in general and on the understanding of the Reformation confessions, was immense. In regard, then, to

1. *The Relation of God to the Creation*, or, in philosophic terms, the absolute to the relative or the infinite to the finite, the philosophy taught in our institutions differed widely from the systems just referred to. The movement of philosophy in Germany took in the idea of the absolute, while the English systems shut it out, as, to a certain extent, Kant did, also. Leibnitz, Spinoza, Schelling, Fichte and Hegel wrought at this problem. They ran into error—they were pantheistic, as the English were Deistic—but there are elements in their systems which have obtained a standing in all the better thinking of the age. And this one—that the finite and relative stands in the absolute, is of far-reaching significance. There is, thus, an objective basis at hand for all thinking and science. That truth has an objective existence, and is not a mere deduction of the mind, that truth is absolute and relative,—this already is a light as through an open window for all science. In æsthetics it gives us the idea and the symbol, the infinite shining through the finite. In ethics it gives us the key-note in the idea of law in its universal character, as giving meaning to all laws, the general in the particular. The question here is not so much whether we can know the absolute, but whether we can acknowledge its presence and force in the finite. A philosophy that owns and accepts this, cannot indeed, lead us to God, that is not the calling or province of philosophy, but it can work in

harmony with Christian theology—which holds up for us that great word. In Him we live and move and have our being, the great truth with which St. Paul confronted the learning and culture of Athens.

2. Closely allied to this point, and in some sense one with it, is *the doctrine of realism* which animates the philosophic thinking of the Mercersburg School—the moderate realism expressed by the formula, *universalia in re*, according to which universals are regarded not as merely *afflatus vocis* or abstract names, which flit across the mind like vapory spectres, but objective entities. I cannot stop to show how far-reaching this is for science and philosophy—but it is apparent at once how important it is to help our thinking in theology. Take the idea of humanity in the explanation of original sin and organic redemption. How closely in sympathy we are here with the teaching of the Bible. What different views we have of imputation, whether of sin or of righteousness, as compared with that doctrine according to which only the individual and particular are real.

3. Shall I go on to name next the idea of the organic, and organic unity, so far reaching in the proper understanding of nature and natural science, then of history and Christian history, the history of the Church, and other topics that claim attention in theology? This idea now has a *habitat* in our American theology, but only a quarter of a century ago, before German thinking had yet found its way into our Colleges and Seminaries, it was strange and foreign. Even now there are outlying districts of theological thought into which it has not found entrance. And we know how generally with common theological thinkers organism is confounded with organization, so that when we plead for the idea of organic unity in the Church, we are understood to mean a mammoth organization, a consolidated denomination.

I might go on to illustrate how the philosophy—or philosophic thinking in our institutions wrought in harmony with the

theology—how it was used as a handmaid or help in reducing the mysteries of revelation to intelligible forms for the mind—but these must suffice. It was not just a finished system, it pinned its faith to no man or school, it eliminated the errors of German transcendentalism and pantheism, it underwent changes just because it was alive and moving, but it aimed to take in the deeply spiritual tendency of German thought, while it maintained its own independence, and did not overlook the good qualities of English thought.

Ebrard's Theology under Dr. Wolff.

I pass on to consider next the period of ten years during which Ebrard's Dogmatics was the text-book in theology under Dr. B. C. Wolff, and Dr. Schaff continued for most of the time to teach Church History and Exegesis. A considerable number of our ministers were educated during this time. Ebrard was not unknown to our Church before this. He had published a favorable article on the Mystical Presence, commending it heartily, and a work on the same subject, the Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist, in which he maintained the same position as Dr. Nevin. The introduction of his Dogmatics in the Seminary had advantages. It was a scholarly, scientific work by one who stood among the leading theologians of Germany, and he was Reformed. We have already said that Dr. Nevin felt himself called to another work than to methodize in theology. Under him it was a formative period when a sharply defined method might have detracted from that freedom which was necessary, and besides Dick was a standing testimony of the transition through which the Seminary had passed from the old to the new.

Ebrard in the main was in harmony with the previous teaching in the Seminary, with which Dr. Wolff was in close and intelligent sympathy. On the subject of the person of Christ and the Incarnation Ebrard's system strikes the same key-note, whose tones had already become so familiar in the Seminary.

Christ is the second Adam, who in His incarnation joined Himself with the stream of our fallen life, and became the source of a deutero-Adamic life for the world. He teaches most distinctly the mystical union of the believer with Christ. The new birth with Him, as given in the thirty-third paragraph of his Practical Theology, is the real implantation of the glorified humanity of Christ into the centre of our psychical being, thus introducing into our human life the germ of a life heavenly and divine. He has no fear of pantheism in such an assertion. He is equally pronounced on the subject of the sacraments. While he in the main falls in with the idea of the Church previously taught in the Seminary—substituting as Dr. Nevin had done the distinction between the ideal and actual instead of the visible and invisible, yet he was not in full harmony here nor on the subject of the ministry, which is the weak point in all German theology, in part growing out of the want of independent Church organization there. So, too, while Ebrard is pronounced on baptism he differs somewhat from the views of the Seminary on infant baptism.

But this system, as already said, possessed many advantages over the English or Presbyterian systems, and in many points led to real progress in the Theological thinking of our Church. Although not studied as Dick had been, yet in the hands of Dr. Wolff, and under the general teaching in the Seminary, Ebrard's Dogmatics was not slavishly received, but complemented at certain points, while in the main it was entirely harmonious with the theological life there. In addition to his work in the Seminary Dr. Wolff furnished some interesting and valuable articles for the Mercersburg Review on Reformed Dogmatics, translated from Ebrard, in which the freedom of theology to advance instead of being tied to a procrustean bed is warmly advocated, as in harmony with the genius of the Reformed Church. No one Reformed symbol should be the full, absolute measure of the truth, in such sense as to take the place of the Scriptures, much less the theological systems of the centuries

that immediately followed the Reformation. Dr. Wolff, whose memory is cherished in our Reformed Church, and whose life was so largely devoted to the interests of the Seminary, both in its earlier and later history, exemplified this spirit in the freedom with which he himself advanced from the earlier to the later theological status of that Church which he so much loved. While he possessed a sound judgment, a conservative spirit, and an intelligent apprehension of the spirit of the Church, he also exerted a wholesome influence on the life of the Seminary, by reason of his practical experience in the work of the ministry, and his knowledge of the practical wants of the Church.

Drs. Harbaugh and Higbee.

When Dr. Wolff retired from the Seminary, and Dr. Harbaugh was called to his place, the teaching underwent only such modification as might be expected in a change of professors where the general system remains the same. Dr. Harbaugh already indicated the spirit which was to govern his teaching in his elaborate inaugural address, entitled *Christological Theology*. He was fully imbued with the spirit of the theology previously taught in the Seminary, had gone with it through its early struggles and trials, had supported and defended it in his writings and on the floor of Synod, and tested it in his preaching and labor as a pastor. With the flow of years it had undergone some modifications. The discussions of the Church question had reached their results. The Church had pretty much settled down in its own position, had attained a status. Many changes had also come over the theological culture of the Seminaries of the land. A broader and more catholic spirit had been infused into them by increased familiarity with the later German theological science. New England had its German teachers and German scholars now too. Some things which in earlier years had been looked upon with suspicion, as for instance the Apostles' Creed, were now becoming familiar on every side.

Dr. Harbaugh laid himself out especially to methodize and model our theology after the Christ idea. And for this he had some special qualifications. He was a good thinker, a good organizer, and a fluent writer. He had become a hard worker and a distinguished author. He did not shrink from the task of attempting to *organize* our theology, as he spoke of it. With the elaborate system of Lange, as somewhat of a help and guide he entered upon his work, and within the short space of four years he had his course of lectures on Dogmatic and Practical Theology fully wrought out, though not finally revised, when he was called away from his labors by the hand of death. A peculiarity of his system is that he employed the Christ idea to rule in the beginning of his system, in treating of the being and nature of God. His view was that the consciousness of God primarily posits God in Christ, as shown in the anthropomorphic conceptions of God, everywhere dimly revealed in all religions, and that there is an eternal ideal humanity in the Logos, pointing to the form in which God revealed Himself in the incarnation.

His theology is especially rich and glowing with life-fervor in the Christological section proper, which treats of the person of Christ, His incarnation, the infancy and development of the God-man, &c. His mystical and poetic tendency clothed these subjects with unusual interest, and brought out deep undertones in the symbolism of the Infant Word. The material had been wrought out in the previous work performed in the Seminary—there was no special demand for originality here, nor did he aim at it; but in organizing the material at hand, and presenting it in a way that mediated it for the grasp and apprehension of the student, he was eminently successful. His previous studies had prepared him to develop in its fulness the idea of Cultus—and his lectures on Catechetics were elaborate.

The department of Church History and Exegesis was ably filled by Dr. Higbee. He brought both scholarship and industry to bear in giving life and interest to the science which had been

so ably taught by Dr. Schaff. He too was imbued with the spirit of our theology, as it had advanced step by step through its trials and struggles from its formative period, and this spirit became a light for the pages of the Church's history, which were made to glow with interest and animation at every point, as by the skill of a master workman. The Seminary was highly prosperous under these able and diligent professors, and the teaching was now rendered the more efficient, by the addition of a third teacher or tutor, a department established already in connection with their immediate predecessors. The first Tutors were Revs. W. M. Reily and Jacob B. Kerschner, who both, after a full course of literary and theological study in this country, spent several years in the Universities in Germany, in order to prepare themselves for their work. Their labors in the Seminary were of immense value, in keeping up a high grade of scholarship, and enabling the other professors to enlarge their labors in their separate departments. The third Tutor was Rev. Frederick A. Gast, who is now a full professor in the Seminary.

We have said that during this period the Seminary enjoyed greater calm than in its earlier years. The great discussions were substantially over. True, the agitation on the question of the liturgy was stirring the Church, but this was not directly a Seminary matter. The Synod had prepared the liturgy, and the responsibility rested with it. The discussions on the Church Question, if they had not settled all they expected or proposed, had at any rate exhausted their strength, and revealed more clearly what could not be settled except in the way of history.

Among some of the changes that had taken place in the theology whose history we have been narrating, this was one. It was not just a change in the original premises or principles, for these, as we have seen, were antagonistic to the claims of Rome and Oxford, as well as to rationalism and sectarianism from the beginning. But there was a period when the evils of Protestantism were emphasized, and an isolated position to a

considerable extent was assumed in relation to other Protestant denominations around us. The necessity for that had largely passed away. The evils of Protestantism are not to be overcome by any sudden movement or work. History must take its time to do that. There were indications favorable to a tendency in the right direction. The movements towards union began to possess a life that was unknown before. Sectarianism was not defended as a good thing as it had been.

Our own Church had reached a more independent position. At first we were fighting for this inch by inch. Other bodies would have patronized us—provided we would consent to hang on by their skirts. We had outgrown that. It was felt that we could fraternize and mingle freely with Churches around us, without compromising our independent standing.

Then in relation to Romanism, changes had taken place, which modified somewhat the attitude assumed before. Romanism has moved on to something like a *reductio ad absurdum*. Instead of enlarging its spirit and softening its tone towards Protestantism, it has exceeded the violence of Trent, and established the most extreme ultramontanism.

We say changes had taken place, but they were changes that maintained the first principles and premises, while foibles were left behind, and a more advanced standing was obtained. And why should it not be so? To fix upon the precise mode of thought, and the particulars of theological teaching at one time, say thirty years ago, and look to it as a fixed standard for all subsequent time, would be slavery, not freedom. During those later years the Church was studied more, perhaps, in the light of the Christ idea. The storms of controversy in England, Germany, and America, on this subject had concentrated special thought on the one feature of the Church, and in a calmer time this would assume more natural proportions. True, Christ is in His Church as His mystical body, and in one sense the Church idea is the Christ idea, but a proper distinction between the ideal and the actual Church, or Christianity and the Church,

must serve to modify an ecclesiasticism to which our theology was never willing to commit itself. It is not to be wondered at that something of one-sideness should attach to a movement so deep, so earnest, and involving so great an advance on the old as was the case with the theology whose history we have been considering. That its history was even attended with great dangers, and some loss, was natural.

All great truths stand near to corresponding great errors. A movement which is historical, as this was, not only with us, but in England and Germany as well, would likely give occasion to some to carry it to an extreme. In the Reformation the anabaptistic sects pressed on beyond where Luther was willing to go, and in England Newman, Wilberforce and Manning passed beyond the venerable Pusey. In our own Church some have not been willing to move with history, but sought to anticipate it, and cut the Gordian knot. The Seminary may be said to have furnished the occasion for this one-sideness, because it brought forward earnestly the Church Question, but it was not the cause. It continues to stand firmly in the true faith of the Protestant Reformation, though it refuses to be slavishly bound by any human tradition, whether from Pope or Reformers.

Here we propose to stop in our history, leaving the present status of teaching in the Seminary to be judged by those whom Synod appoints to superintend it, to the young men who go out from its walls, and to the historian who shall hereafter write or comment on our history.

I shall detain you a few moments longer while in conclusion I refer briefly to some of the good fruits which the teaching in the Seminary for the last half century has produced for our Church.

The number of ministers the Seminary has furnished to the Church belongs to its external history, but we may refer, as belonging to our subject, to the principles and animus of their work.

1. Take first the subject of Catechization and Christian nurture. Never was there a time in the history of our Church in this country, when the work of catechization was so faithfully and earnestly attended to as during the time of the Seminary's history, especially after the first decade. And the Church has abundantly prospered under these labors. We are not called to condemn other modes, they may accomplish good for Christ too, but for our Church we cling to that which was so prominent a feature in all the Church work in the Palatinate in the first period of our Church life. Never before was the Heidelberg Catechism more exalted in the faith of the Church and its use more faithful. It has not been idolized. It is not perfect, for it is a human production. It has defects—it is not heresy nor disloyalty to say that; but it has been highly honored in its use by the young men that have gone out from the Seminary, and the Church has reaped a rich and lasting benefit.

2. It has rehabilitated the Church festivals and the order of the Church year in such a way as to give them a real spiritual power in the Church. A sacred year is just as necessary for Christianity as the weekly sacred season. It has characterized the history of the Church from the beginning, in reference to two yearly festivals at least, going back to the age of the Apostles. The original Reformation did not cast these off, but only aimed here as elsewhere to clear away Romish abuses. The late developments in the secondary movements after the Reformation went farther, and did away with all sacred days except Sunday—which, itself, however, is a Christian festival. Our Church, before the life of the Seminary began to be felt, in the English portions had lost this feature of Christian Cultus, and even where retained, it was in a sort of traditional spirit only. But the views of Christianity, disseminated by the Seminary, have made this feature something that has life. The influence goes out for good among our congregations, and has already done much to inspire our Sunday Schools. It lays hold of the young men and becomes an immense power to bind them to the mysteries of our holy religion.

3. It has infused new life into the ordinary forms of Church service and government. According to the individualistic theory of Christianity these have but little real significance. Individual experience is magnified above the life of the Church. Each side has its rights. But with the view of the Church and her ordinances that has come to us through the teaching of the Seminary, the one is made to stand properly in the other. The worship of the sanctuary is a real transaction, in which God comes to man and man meets God. The powers of the Church in its government and discipline are realities according to our Saviour's word—"Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Synodical and classical authority is respected. The spirit of independence is passing away, and with all our theological discussions, the consciousness of Church unity has held us bound together, while other bodies have succumbed and broken into fragments.

Time would fail me to speak of the richness and freshness that have been given to Christianity in the views and feelings of our people, to the incarnation and life and death of Christ, to His resurrection and ascension, to the deep significance of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit—the founding of the Church and the means of grace—the nearness of Christ in His mystical presence with all believers. A system that has helped us as a Church to such spiritual views of our holy religion, that has given us such a strong position over against various forms of error, should be sacredly cherished. It has its defects, its faults; let these be overcome and corrected, but may the day never come when the Reformed Church in these United States, under the influence of any denunciations or persuasions, come from what quarter they may, shall cast from it this system as a whole. But may this Synod continue to cherish it in the future as it has cherished it in the past, as a great and glorious heritage for our beloved Reformed Zion! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all! Amen!

ART. III.—THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D.

A CHAPTER FROM HIS FORTHCOMING "HISTORY OF THE CREEDS OF CHRISTENDOM," TO BE PUBLISHED IN 3 VOLS.

Literature. I. Standard Editions of the Catechism.

OFFICIAL German editions of 1563 (three),1585,1595,1684,1724.1863 (American.) The original title is "Catechismus | Oder | Christlicher Underricht, | wie der in Kirchen und Schu= | len der Churfürstlichen | Pfaltz getrieben | wirdt. | Gedruckt in der Churfürst= li= | chen Stad Heydelberg, durch | Johannem Mayer. | M. D. LXIII.' With the Electoral arms. 95 pages.

There is but one copy of the first edition known to exist, and this did not come into public notice till 1864. It belonged to Prof. Hermann Wilken, of Heidelberg, whose name it bears, with the date 1563; was bought by Dr. Treviranus, of Bremen, in 1823, given by him to Dr. Menken, bought back after Menken's death, 1832, and is now in the University Library at Utrecht. I examined it in October and November, 1865, at Bremen. It has the remark, "*Diesses ist die allererste Edition, in welcher Pag.* 55 *die* 80*ste Frag und Antwort nicht gefunden wirdt. Auff Churfürstlichen Befehl eingezogen. Liber Rarissimus.*" The Scripture texts are quoted in the margin, but only the chapters, since the versicular division (which first appeared in Stephens's Greek Testament of 1551) had not yet come into general use. A quasi fac-simile of this copy was issued by the Rev. ALBRECHT WOLTERS, then at Bonn (now at Halle), under the title, '*Der Heidelberger Katechismus in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt, herausgegeben nebst der Geschichte seines Textes im Jahre* 1563.' Bonn (Ad. Marcus), 1864.

NIEMEYER, in his collection of Reformed Confessions, pp. 390 sqq., gives, besides the Latin text, a faithful reprint of the *third* German edition, with the eightieth question in full.

PHILIP SCHAFF: *Der Heidelberger Katechismus. Nach der ersten Ausgabe von* 1563 *revidirt und mit kritischen Anmerkungen, sowie einer Geschichte und Charakteristik des Katechismus versehen.* Philadelphia (J. Kohler), 1863; second edition, revised and enlarged, 1866. This edition was prepared for the tercentenary celebration of the Heidelberg Catechism, and gives the received text of the third edition with the readings of the first and second editions, and the Scripture proofs in full.

The Latin translation was published in 1563, and again in 1566, under the title, "CATE- | CHESIS RELIGIONIS CHRISTIANÆ, | *quæ traditur in Ecclesiis* | *et Scholis Pala-* | *tinatus.* | *Heydelbergæ.* | *Excusum anno post Christum* | *natum M. D. LXVI.*" I saw a copy of this *ed. Latina* in the library of the late Dr. Treviranus in Bremen (1865). On the title-page the words are written, "*Editio rara et originalis;*" also the name of G. Menken, the former owner. The Scripture references are marked on the margin, including the verses. The eightieth question is complete (with "*execranda idololatria*") pp. 62 and 63, and supported by many

Scripture texts and the *Can. Missæ*. The questions are divided into fifty-two Sundays. "*Precationes aliquot privatæ et publicæ*," a "*Precatio scholastica*," and some versified prayers of Joachim Camerarius (the friend and biographer of Melanchthon), are added.

The best *English*, or rather *American*, edition of the Catechism is the stately triglot tercentenary edition prepared at the direction of the German Reformed Church in the United States, by a committee consisting of E. V. Gerhart, D.D., John W. Nevin, D.D., Henry Harbaugh, D.D., John S. Kessler, D.D., Daniel Zacharias, D.D., and three laymen, and issued under the title, "*The Heidelberg Catechism, in German, Latin, and English with an Historical Introduction* (by Dr. Nevin), New York (Charles Scribner), 1863." 4to. The German text is a reprint of the third edition after Niemeyer, with the German in modern spelling added; the English translation is made directly from the German original, and is far better than the one in popular use, which was made from the Latin. It is the most elegant and complete edition of the Catechism ever published, but it appeared before the discovery of the *editio princeps*, and repeats the error concerning the eightieth question (see Introd. p. 38).

II. Commentaries.

The commentaries and sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism are exceedingly numerous, especially in the German and Dutch languages. The first and most valuable is from the chief author, Zach. Ursinus: *Corpus Doctrinæ orthodoxæ, or Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, ed. by his pupil, David Pareus, and repeatedly published at Heidelberg and elsewhere—1591, 1618, etc.—in Latin, German, Dutch, and English. An American edition, on the basis of the English translation of Bishop Dr. H. Parry, was issued by Dr. Williard (President of Heidelberg College, Tiffin, O.), Columbus, O., 1850. Other standard commentaries are by Coccejus (1671), D'Outrein (1719), Lampe (1720), Stähelin (1724) and van Alpen (1800). See a fuller list by Harbaugh in *Mercersburg Review* for 1860, pp. 601–625, and at the close of Bethune's Lectures, vol. I.

Of more recent works we name—

Karl Sudhoff: *Theologisches Handbuch zur Auslegung des Heidelberger Catechismus*. Francf. a. M. 1862.

Geo. W. Bethune (D.D., and minister of the Reformed Dutch Church, New York; (d. at Florence, 1862): *Expository Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism*. New York, 1864, 2 vols.

Hermann Dalton (Ger. Ref. minister at St. Petersburg): *Immanuel. Der Heidelberger Katechismus als Bekenntniss und Erbauungsbuch der evangelischen Kirche erklärt und an's Herzgelegt*. Wiesbaden, 1870.

III. Historical Works.

H. Alting (Prof. of Theology at Heidelberg and Gröningen, d. 1644): *Historia Ecclesiæ Palatinæ*. Frankf. a. M. 1701.

B. G. Struve: *Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*. Frankf. 1721, Ch. V. sqq.

D. L. Wundt: *Grundriss der pfälzischen Kirchengeschichte bis zum Jahr*. 1742. Heidelb. 1798.

Jaques Lenfant: *L'innocence du Catéchisme de Heidelberg*. Heidelb. 1688 (1723).

J. CHR. KÖCHER: *Katechesische Geschichte der Reformirten Kirche, sonderlich der Schicksale des Heidelberger Katechismi.* Jena, 1756, pp. 237–344.

G. J. PLANCK: *Geschichte der Protestantischen Theologie von Luther's Tode,* etc. Vol. II. Part II. pp. 475–491. (This is vol. V. of his great work on the *Geschichte der Entstehung,* etc., *unseres protestant. Lehrbegriffs.*)

HEINR. SIMON VAN ALPEN: *Geschichte u. Literatur des Heidelb. Katechismus.* Frankf. a. M. 1800. Vol. III. Part II. (The first two volumes and the first part of the third volume of this catechetical work contain explanations and observations on the Catechism, which are, however, semi-rationalistic.)

JOH. CHR. W. AUGUSTI: *Versuch einer hist.-kritischen Einleitung in die beiden Haupt-Katechismen* (the Luth. and Heidelb.) *der evangelischen Kirche.* Elberfeld, 1824, pp. 96 sqq.

RIENÄCKER: Article on the Heidelb. Catechism in *Ersch und Gruber, Allgem. Encyklop.* Sect. II, Part IV. pp. 386 sqq.

LUDWIG HÄUSSER: *Geschichte der Rhein-Pfalz.* Heidelb. 1845. Vol. II.

D. SEISEN: *Geschichte der Reformation zu Heidelberg, von ihren ersten Anfängen bis zer Abfassung eis Heidelb. Katechismus. Eine Denkschrift zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier daselbst am 3. Jan.* 1846. Heidelb. 1846.

AUG. EBRARD: *Das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl und seine Geschichte.* Frankfurt a. M. 1846. Vol. II. pp. 575 sqq.

K. FR. VIERORDT: *Geschichter der Reformation im Grossherzogthum. Baden. Nach grossentheils handschriftlichen Quellen.* Karlsruhe, 1847.

JOHN W. NEVIN: *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism.* Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. (The best work on the Catechism in English.) Comp. Dr. NEVIN'S able Introduction to the triglot tercentenary edition of the H. C. New York, 1863, pp. 11–127.

KARL SUDHOFF: *C. Olevianus und Z. Ursinus. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften.* Elberfeld, 1357.

G. D. J. SCHOTEL: *History of the Origin, Introduction, and Fortunes of the Heidelberg Catechism* (in Dutch). Amsterdam, 1863.

Several valuable essays on the Heidelberg Catechism, by PLITT, SACK, and ULLMANN, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1863.

TERCENTENARY MONUMENT. *In Commemoration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism.* Published by the German Reformed Church of the United States of North America, in English and German. The German ed. by Dr. SCHAFF, with an historical introduction. Chambersburg and Philadelphia., Pa., 1863. This work contains about twenty essays, by European and American theologians, on the history and theology of the Heidelberg Catechism.

J. I. DŒDES (Prof. at Utrecht): *De Heidelbergsche Catechismus in zeine eerste Levensjaren)* 1563-1567. *Historische en Bibliografische Nalezing met 26 Fac-similes.* Utrecht, 1867 (pp. 154). Very valuable for the early literary history of the H. C., with fac-similes of the first German, Latin, and Dutch editions.

THE REFORMATION IN THE PALATINATE.

The Palatinate, one of the finest provinces of Germany, on both sides of the upper Rhine, was one of the seven electorates

(*Kurfürstenthümer*), whose rulers, in the name of the German people, elected the Emperor of Germany. After the dissolution of the old empire (1806) it ceased to be a politico-geographical name, and its territory is now divided between Baden, Bavaria, Hesse Darmstadt, Nassau, and Prussia. Its capital was Heidelberg (from 1231 till 1720), famous for its charming situation at the foot of the Königsstuhl, on the banks of the Swabian river Neckar, for its picturesque castle, and for its university (founded in 1346).

Luther made a short visit to Heidelberg in 1518, and defended certain evangelical theses. In 1546, the year of Luther's death, the Reformation was introduced under the Elector Frederick II. Melanchthon, who was a native of the Palatinate, and twice received a call to a professorship of theology at Heidelberg (1546 and 1557), but declined, acted as the chief counselor in the work, and aided, on a personal visit in 1557, in reorganizing the university on an evangelical basis under Otto Henry (1556–59). He may therefore be called the Reformer of the Palatinate. He impressed upon it the character of a moderate Lutheranism friendly to Calvinism. The Augsburg Confession was adopted as the doctrinal basis, and the cultus was remodeled (as also in the neighboring Duchy of Würtemberg) after Zwinglian simplicity. Heidelberg now began to attract Protestant scholars from different countries, and became a battle-ground of Lutheran, Philippist, Calvinist, and Zwinglian views. The conflict was enkindled as usual by the zeal for the real presence. Tilemann Heshusius, whom Melanchthon, without knowing his true character, had recommended to a theological chair (1558), introduced, as General Superintendent, exclusive Lutheranism, excommunicated Deacon Klebitz for holding the Zwinglian view, and even fought with him at the altar about the communion cup. This public scandal was the immediate occasion of the Heidelberg Catechism.

FREDERICK III.

During this controversy FREDERICK III., surnamed the PIOUS (1515–1576), became the elector of the Palatinate, 1559. He made it the chief object of his reign to carry out the reformation begun by his predecessors. He tried at first to conciliate the parties, and asked the advice of Melanchthon, who, a few months before his death, counseled peace, moderation, and Biblical simplicity, and warned against extreme and scholastic subtleties in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.* He deposed both Heshusius and Klebitz, arranged a public disputation (June, 1560) on the eucharist, decided in favor of the Melanchthonian or Calvinistic view, called distinguished foreign divines to the university, and intrusted two of them with the composition of the Heidelberg Catechism, which was to secure harmony of teaching and to lay a solid foundation for the religious instruction of the rising generation.

Frederick was one of the purest and noblest characters among the princes of Germany. He was to the Palatinate what King Alfred and Edward VI. were to England, what the Electors Frederick the Wise and John the Constant were to Saxony, and Duke Christopher to Würtemberg. He did more for educational and charitable institutions than all his predecessors. He devoted to them the entire proceeds of the oppressed convents. He lived in great simplicity that he might contribute liberally from his private income to the cause of learning and religion. He was the first German prince who professed the Reformed Creed, as distinct from the Lutheran. For this he suffered much reproach, and was threatened with exclusion from the benefits of the Augsburg Treaty of Peace (concluded in 1555), since Zwinglianism and Calvinism were not yet

* *Responsio Ph. Mel. ad quæstionem de controversia Heidelbergensi* (Nov. 1, 1559), in *Corp. Reform.* Vol. IX. pp. 960 sqq. It is the last public utterance of Melanchthon on the eucharistic question, and agrees substantially with the doctrine of Calvin, as it was afterward expressed in the Heidelberg Catechism.

tolerated on German soil. But at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1566, he made before the Emperor a manly confession of his faith, and declared himself ready to lose his crown rather than violate his conscience. Even his opponents could not but admire his courage, and the Lutheran Elector Augustus of Saxony, applauded him, saying, "Fritz, thou art more pious than all of us." He praised God on his death-bed that he had been permitted to see such a reformation in Church and school that men were led away from human traditions to Christ and His divine Word. He left in writing a full confession of his faith, which may be regarded as an authentic explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism; it was published after his death by his son, John Casimir (1577).

URSINUS AND OLEVIANUS.

Frederick showed his wisdom by calling two young divines, Ursinus and Olevianus, to Heidelberg to aid in the Reformation and to prepare an evangelical catechism. They belong to the reformers of the second generation. Theirs it was to nurture and to mature rather than to plant. Both were Germans, but well acquainted with the Reformed Churches in Switzerland and France. Both suffered deposition and exile for the Reformed faith.

ZACHARIAS URSINUS (BÄR), the chief author of the Heidelberg Catechism, was born at Breslau, July 18, 1534, and studied seven years (1550–1557) at Wittenberg under Melanchthon, who esteemed him as one of his best pupils and friends. He accompanied his teacher to the religious conference at Worms, 1557, and to Heidelberg, and then proceeded on a literary journey to Switzerland and France. He made the personal acquaintance of Bullinger and Peter Martyr at Zurich, of Calvin and Beza at Geneva, and was thoroughly initiated into the Reformed Creed. Calvin presented him with his works, and wrote in them the best wishes for his young friend. On his return to Wittenberg he received a call to the rectorship of the Elizabeth College at Breslau. After the death of Melanch-

thon he went a second time to Zurich (Oct. 1560), intending to remain there. In the following year he was called to a theological chair at Heidelberg. Here he labored with untiring zeal and success till the death of Frederick III., 1576, when, together with six hundred steadfast Reformed ministers and teachers, he was deposed and exiled by Louis VI., who introduced the Lutheran Creed. Ursinus found a refuge at Neustadt an der Hardt, and established there, with other deposed professors, a flourishing theological school under the protection of John Casimir, the second son of Frederick III. He died in the prime of his life and usefulness, March 6, 1583, leaving a widow and one son. In the same year Casimir succeeded his Lutheran brother in the Electorate, recalled the exiled preachers, and re-established the Reformed Church in the Palatinate.

Ursinus was a man of profound classical, philosophical, and theological learning, poetic taste, rare gift of teaching, and fervent piety. His devotion to Christ is beautifully reflected in the first question of the Heidelberg Catechism, and in his saying that he would not take a thousand worlds for the blessed assurance of being owned by Jesus Christ. He was no orator, and no man of action, but a retired, modest, and industrious student.* His principal works, besides the Catechism, are a Commentary on the Catechism (*Corpus doctrinæ orthodoxæ*) and a defense of the Reformed Creed against the attacks of the Lutheran Formula of Concord.

CASPER OLEVIANUS (OLEWIG), born at Treves, Aug. 10, 1536, studied the ancient languages at Paris, Bourges, and Orleans, and theology at Geneva and Zurich. He enjoyed, like Ursinus, the personal instruction and friendship of the surviving reformers of Switzerland. He began to preach the evangelical doctrines at Treves, was thrown into prison, but soon released, and called to Heidelberg, 1560, by Frederick III., who felt under personal obligation to him for saving one

* On the door of his study he inscribed the warning, "*Amice, quisquis huc venis, aut agita paucis, aut abi, aut melaborantem adjuva.*"

of his sons from drowning at the risk of his own life. He taught theology and preached at the court. He was the chief counsellor of the Elector in all affairs of the Church. In 1576, he was banished on account of his faith, and accepted a call to Herborn, 1584, where he died, Feb. 27, 1585. His last word was a triumphant "*certissimus*," in reply to a friend who asked him whether he was certain of his salvation. Theodore Beza lamented his death in a Latin poem, beginning

"Heu, quibus suspiriis,
Heu, quibus te lacrymis,
Oleviane, planxero?"

Olevianus was inferior to Ursinus in learning, but his superior in the pulpit and in church government. He wrote an important catechetical work on the covenant of grace, and is regarded as the forerunner of the federal theology of Coccejus and Lampe. He labored earnestly, but only with moderate success, for the introduction of the Presbyterian form of government and a strict discipline, after the model of Geneva. Thomas Erastus (Lieber), Professor of Medicine at Heidelberg, and afterwards of Ethics at Basle (died 1583), opposed excommunication, and defended the supremacy of the state in matters of religion; hence the term "Erastianism" (equivalent to Cæsaropapism).

PREPARATION AND PUBLICATION OF THE CATECHISM.

The HEIDELBERG Catechism, as it is called after the city of its birth, or the PALATINATE (also PALATINE) Catechism, as it is named after the country for which it is intended, was prepared on the basis of two Latin drafts of Ursinus and a German draft of Olevianus. The peculiar gifts of both, the didactic clearness and precision of the one, and the pathetic warmth and unction of the other, were blended in beautiful harmony, and produced a joint work which is far superior to all the separate productions of either. In the Catechism they surpassed themselves. They were in a measure inspired for it. At the same time, they made free and independent use of the Catechisms of

Calvin, Lasky, and Bullinger. The Elector took the liveliest interest in the preparation.

In December, 1562, Frederick submitted the work to a general synod of the chief ministers and teachers assembled at Heidelberg, for revision and approval. It was published early in 1563, in German, under the title "Catechismus, or Christian Instruction, as conducted in the Churches and Schools of the Electoral Palatinate."* It is preceded by a short preface of the Elector, dated Tuesday, January 19, 1563, in which he informs the superintendents, clergymen, and school-masters of the Palatinate that, with the counsel and co-operation of the theological faculty and leading ministers of the Church, he had caused to be made and set forth a summary instruction or Catechism of our Christian religion from the Word of God, to be used hereafter in churches and schools for the benefit of the rising generation.

THE THIRD EDITION AND THE EIGHTIETH QUESTION.

There appeared, in the year 1563, three official editions of the Catechism with an important variation in the eightieth question which denounces the Romish mass as "a denial of the one sacrifice of Christ, as an accursed idolatry." In the first edition this question was wanting altogether; the second edition has it in part; the third in full, as it now stands.† This question was inserted by the express command of the Elector, perhaps by his own hand, as a Protestant counter-blast to the Romish anathemas of the Council of Trent, which closed its sessions Dec. 4, 1563. Hence the remark at the end of the second and third editions: "What has been overlooked in the first print, as especially on folio 55 [which contains the eightieth question], has now been added by command of his electoral grace. 1563."

* See the original title in the literature above.

† Before the discovery and examination of the only remaining copy of the first edition (in 1864) there was a difference of opinion on the origin of the eightieth question, which is now satisfactorily settled. See the details in my tercentenary edition, pp. 103–115, also the note on the eightieth question in Vol. III. p. 326.

The same view of the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass was generally entertained by the Reformers, and is set forth as strongly in the Articles of Smalcald and other symbolical books, both Lutheran and Reformed. It must be allowed to remain as a solemn protest against idolatry. But the wisdom of inserting controversial matter into a catechism for the instruction of the youth has been justly doubted. The eightieth question disturbs the peaceful harmony of the book, it rewards evil for evil, it countenances intolerance, which is un-Protestant and unevangelical. It provoked much unnecessary hostility, and led even, under the Romish rule of the Elector Charles Philip, in 1719, to the prohibition of the Catechism; but the loud remonstrance of England, Prussia, Holland, and other Protestant states forced the Elector to withdraw the tyrannical decree within a year, under certain conditions, to save appearances.

TRANSLATIONS.

The Heidelberg Catechism was translated into all the European and many Asiatic languages. It has the pentecostal gift of tongues in a rare degree. It is stated that, next to the Bible, the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," no book has been more frequently translated, more widely circulated and used. Whole libraries of paraphrases, commentaries, sermons, attacks, and defenses were written about it. In many Reformed churches, especially in Holland (and also in the United States), it was and is to some extent even now obligatory or customary to explain the Catechism from the pulpit every Sunday afternoon. Hence the division of the questions into fifty-two Sundays, in imitation of the example set by Calvin's Catechism.*

* This division was first introduced in the Latin edition of 1566, perhaps earlier. Van Alpen, Niemeyer, and others are wrong in dating it from the German edition of 1573 or 1575.

A Latin translation, for the use of colleges, was made by order of the Elector, by JOSHUA LAGUS and LAMBERT LUDOLPH PITHOPŒUS, and appeared soon after the German, since Olevianus sent a copy of each to Bullinger, in Zurich, as early as April, 1563.* It is, however, much inferior to the German in force and unction. The Latin text was often edited separately as well as in the works of Ursinus, in connection with his commentary and other Latin commentaries, and in collections of Reformed symbols.†

There are three Dutch translations: the first appeared at Emden, 1563; the second, by PETER DATHENUS, in connection with a Dutch version of the Psalter, in 1566, and very often separately.‡

A Greek translation was prepared by a distinguished classical scholar, D. FRID. SYLBURG, 1597.§

Besides these there are editions in modern Greek, in Hebrew, Arabic, etc.‖

* Dœdes gives a fac-simile of the title-page of the Latin edition of 1563, from a copy in the University Library at Utrecht. It is nearly the same as the title of the edition of 1566, given in the literature above.

† Niemeyer (pp. 428 sqq.) reproduces the edition of 1584, which agrees with the *ed. princeps* of 1563 (as far as I can judge from the few fac-simile pages given by Dœdes), and with the text in the Oxford *Sylloge*, while that in the Græco-Latin edition of Sylburg slightly differs. Dr. Louis H. Steiner, of Frederick City, Md., published an elegant and accurate edition under the title "*Catechesis Religionis Christianæ seu Catechismus Heidelbergensis.* Baltimore, 1862." He gives the variations of three Latin editions: of Cambridge, 1585; of Geneva, 1609 (formerly in the possession of Chevalier Bunsen); and the Oxford *Sylloge*, 1804.

‡ On the Dutch translations, see especially the learned work of Professor Dœdes, of Utrecht, pp. 74–128, with fac-similes at the end of the volume.

§ I have before me a Græco-Latin edition of the Catechism (*κατεχήσεις τῆς χρισπανικῆς θρησκείας*), by Sylburg, and of the Belgic Confession by Jac. Revius, printed at Utrecht, 1660. Earlier editions I see noticed in catalogues.

‖ Niemeyer (*Proleg.* p. lxii.) mentions a Polish translation by *Prasmovius*, a Hungarian by *Scarasius*, an Arabic by *Chelius*, a Singalese by *Konyer*, besides French, Italian, Spanish, English, Bohemian, modern Greek, and Hebrew versions. Dœdes (p. 41) adds a Persian and Malayan translation. There are no doubt many other versions.

Three or four English translations were made from the Latin, and obtained a wide circulation in Scotland, England, and America.* A more correct one from the German original was prepared for the tercentenary celebration of the Catechism, by a learned and able committee appointed by the German Reformed Synod in Pennsylvania, but has not yet come into public use.†

The merits of the Latin and English translations, and their relation to the German original, may be seen from the following specimens:

THE GERMAN ORIGINAL, 1563.

Frage 1. Was iſt dein einiger Troſt im Leben und im Sterben?

Daß ich mit Leib und Seele, beides im Leben und im Sterben, nicht mein, ſondern meines getreuen Heilandes Jeſu Chriſti eigen bin, der mit ſeinem theuren Blute für alle meine Sünden vollkommen bezahlet, und

THE LATIN VERSION, 1563.

Qu. 1. *Quæ est unica tua consolatio in vita et in morte?*

Quod animo pariter et corpore, sive vivam, sive moriar, non meus, sed fidissimi Domini et Servatoris mei Jesus Christi sum proprius, qui pretioso sanguine suo pro omnibus peccatis meis

* An English edition, without the name of the translator, appeared A. D., 1591 at Edinburgh, "by publick Authority, for the Use of Scotland," and also repeatedly in connection with the "Psalm-Book and the Book of Common Order." It is embodied in Dunlop's *Collection of Confessions of Faith, etc., of publick authority in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1719–1722), Vol. II. pp. 273–361, and reproduced by Dr. Horatius Bonar in his *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation* (London, 1866), pp. 112–170. Dr. Bonar says (p. 171): "There are several translations of the Heidelberg or Palatine Catechism; and our Church [the Church of Scotland] seems not to have kept to one. In the edition of the Book of Common Order before us (1615) the Catechism is given alone; in that which Dunlop has followed, it has the 'Arguments' and 'Uses' of Bastingius." Another translation by Bishop HENRY PARRY, of Worcester (d. 1616), appeared (together with the commentary of Ursinus) at Oxford, 1509 and 1601. It was often republished —at Edinburgh, 1615 (with sundry variations, see Bonar, p. 172), again in London, 1633, 1645, 1728, 1851, and quite recently, (from the Oxford edition of 1601, with the variations of the edition of 1728) by Dr. Gerhart and Dr. Louis Steiner in the "Mercersburg Review" for 1862, pp. 74 sqq. The one now in use in the Dutch and German Reformed Churches in America, is traced (by the late Dr. De Witt of New York) to Dr. LAIDLIE, originally from Scotland, minister at Flushing, Long Island, and was adopted, 1771, by the Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church. These three English translations seem to be only different recensions of one translation from the Latin text.

† See the tercentenary triglot edition of 1863, noticed in the literature above.

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mich aus aller Gewalt des Teufels erlöset hat; und also bewahret, daß ohne den Willen meines Vaters im Himmel kein Haar von meinem Haupte kann fallen, ja auch mir alles zu meiner Seligkeit dienen muß. Darum er mich auch durch seinen heiligen Geist des ewigen Lebens versichert, und ihm forthin zu leben von Herzen willig und bereit macht.

Frage 2. Wie viele Stücke sind dir nöthig zu wissen, daß du in diesem Troste seliglich leben und sterben mögest?

Drei Stücke: Erstlich, wie groß meine Sünde und Elend sei. Zum Andern, wie ich von allen meinen Sünden und Elend erlöset werde. Und zum Dritten, wie ich Gott für solche Erlösung soll dankbar sein.

SCOTCH EDITION OF 1591.

From Dunlop's Collection (1722).

Ques. 1. *What is thy only comfort in life and in death?*

That in soul and body, whether I live or die, I am not mine own, but I belong unto my most faithful Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ: who by His precious blood most fully satisfying for all my sins, hath delivered me from the whole power of the Devil; and doth so preserve me, that without the will of my heavenly Father, not so much as a hair can fall from my head: yea, all things are made to serve for my salvation. Wherefore by his Spirit also, He assureth me of everlasting life, and maketh me ready and prepared, that henceforth I may live unto him.

plenissime satisfaciens,* me ab omni potestate diaboli liberavit, meque ita conservat, ut sine voluntate Patris mei cœlestis, ne pilus quidem de meo capite possit cadere: imò verò etiam omnia saluti meæ servire oporteat. Quo-circa me quoque suo Spiritu de vita æterna certum facit utque ipsi deinceps vivam promptum ac paratum reddit.

Qu. 2. *Quot sunt tibi scitu necessaria, ut ista* † *consolatione fruens, beatè vivas et moriaris?*

Tria. Primum quanta sit peccati mei et miseriæ meæ magnitudo. Secundum, ‡ quo pacto ab omni peccato et miseria liberer. Tertium, quam gratiam Deo pro ea liberatione debeam.

BISHOP PARRY'S TRANSLATION (1591).

Oxford Edition of 1601.

Ques. 1. *What is thy only comfort in life and death?*

That both in soul and body, whether I live or die, I am not mine own, but belong wholly ? unto my most faithful Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who by His precious blood most fully satisfying for all my sins, hath delivered me from all the power of the devil, and so preserveth me, that without the will of my heavenly Father not so much as a hair may fall from my head, yea, all things must serve for my safety. Wherefore by His Spirit also He assureth me of everlasting life, and maketh me ready, and prepared, that henceforth I may live to Him.

* So also the Oxford *Sylloge*. The *ed. Græco Latina* of Sylburg reads instead: *plenissima solutione facta.*

† Al. edd. *illa.*

‡ Al. *Alierum.*

? The redundant "wholly" occurs also in the Edinburgh edition of 1615, which, to judge from the specimens given by Horatius Bonar (in *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, p. 172), is a reprint of Parry's translation with a few variations.

Ques. 2. *How many things are needful for thee to know, to the end* [*that*] *thou, enjoying this Comfort, mayest live and die an happy man?*

Three things. First, What is the greatness of my sin, and of my misery. Secondly, By what means I may be delivered from all my sin and misery. Thirdly, What thankfulness I owe to God for that deliverance.

THE RECEIVED AMERICAN VERSION, 1771.

Ques. 1. *What is thy only comfort in life and death?*

That I with body and soul, both in life and death, am not my own, but belong unto my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who, with His precious blood, hath fully satisfied for all my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my heavenly Father, not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must be subservient to my salvation; and therefore, by his Holy Spirit, he also assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready henceforth, to live unto Him.

Ques. 2. *How many things are necessary for thee to know, that thou, enjoying this comfort, mayest live and die happily?*

Three; the first, how great my sins and miseries are; the second, how I may be delivered from all my sins and miseries; the third, how I shall express my gratitude to God for such deliverance.

Ques. 2. *How many things are necessary for thee to know, that thou enjoying this comfort mayest live and die happily?*

Three. The first, what is the greatness of my sin and misery. The second, how I am delivered from all sin and misery. The third, what thanks I owe unto God for this delivery.

THE NEW AMERICAN VERSION, 1863.

Ques. 1. *What is thy only comfort in life and in death?*

That I, with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with His precious blood has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me, that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must work together for my salvation. Wherefore, by His Holy Spirit, He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me heartily willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him.

Ques. 2. *How many things are necessary for thee to know, that thou in this comfort mayest live and die happily?*

Three things: First, the greatness of my sin and misery. Second, how I am redeemed from all my sin and misery. Third, how I am to be thankful to God for such redemption.

NOTE.—All the English versions, except the last, follow the Latin in its departures from the German, as "*most* faithful Lord" (*fidelissimi Domini*) for "faithful" (*getreuen*) "heavenly Father" (*Patris cœlestis*) for "Father in heaven" (*Vater im Himmel*). The dependence on the Latin may be seen also in the words, "most fully satisfying" (*plenissime satisfaciens*), "delivered" (*liberavit*) for "redeemed" (*eorlöst*), "delivery" (*liberatio*) for "redemption" (*Erlösung*), and in the omission of "heartily" (*von Herzen*), for which, however, the common American version (which seems to have made use also of the Dutch version) substitutes "sincerely."

CHARACTER AND AIM.

The Heidelberg Catechism answers the double purpose of a guide for the religious instruction of the youth and a confession of faith for the Church.

As a catechism it is an acknowledged masterpiece, with few to equal and none to surpass it. Its only defect is that its answers are mostly too long for the capacity and memory of children. It is intended for a riper age. Hence an abridgement was made as early as 1585, but no attempts to simplify and popularize it have been able to supersede it.

As a standard of public doctrine the Heidelberg Catechism is the most catholic and popular of all the Reformed symbols. The German Reformed Church acknowledges no other. The Calvinistic system is herein set forth with wise moderation, and without its sharp, angular points. This may be a defect in logic, but it is an advantage in religion, which is broader and deeper than logic. Children and the mass of the people are unable to appreciate metaphysical distinctions and the transcendent mysteries of eternal decrees. The doctrine of election to holiness and salvation in Christ (or the positive and edifying part of the dogma of predestination) is indeed incidentally set forth as a source of humility, gratitude, and comfort (Ques. 1, 31, 53, 54), but nothing is said of a *double* predestination, or of an eternal decree of *reprobation*, or of a *limited* atonement (comp. Ques 37). These difficult questions are left to private opinion and theological science. This reserve is the more remarkable since the authors (as well as all other Reformers, except Melanchthon in his later period) were strict predestinarians.

PLAN AND ARRANGEMENT.

The Heidelberg Catechism follows the order of the Epistle to the Romans, and is divided into three parts. The first two questions are introductory. The first part treats of the sin and misery of man (Ques. 3-11; comp. Rom. 1. 18–iii. 20); the second of the redemption by Christ (Ques. 12-85; comp. Rom. iii. 21–xi. 36); the third of the thankfulness of the redeemed, or the Christian life (Ques. 86–129; comp. Rom. xii. xvi.) The second part is the largest, and contains an explanation of

all the articles of the Apostles' Creed under the three heads of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of the sacraments is rightly incorporated in this part, instead of being treated in separate sections, as in the Roman and Lutheran Catechisms. The third part gives an exposition of the Decalogue (as a rule of obedience, viewed in the light of redemption) and of the Lord's Prayer.

This order corresponds to the development of religious life and to the three leading ideas of repentance, faith, and love. The conception of Christian life, as an expression of gratitude for redeeming grace, is truly evangelical. In older catechisms the five or six parts of a catechism—namely, the Creed, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, the Lord's Supper—are mechanically co-ordinated; here they are worked up into an organic system.

The execution is admirable throughout. Several answers are acknowledged gems in the history of catechetical literature—*e. g.*, the definition of faith (Ques. 21), on providence (Ques. 27 and 28), on the significance of the Christian name (Ques. 31 and 32), on the benefit of the ascension (Ques. 49), and on justification by faith (Ques. 60).

THE SPIRIT OF THE CATECHISM.

The genius of the Catechism is brought out at once in the first question, which contains the central idea, and strikes the key-note. It is unsurpassed for depth, comfort, and beauty, and, once committed to memory, can never be forgotten. It represents Christianity in its evangelical, practical, cheering aspect, not as a commanding law, not as an intellectual scheme, not as a system of outward observances, but as the best gift of God to man, as a source of peace and comfort in life and in death. What can be more comforting, what at the same time more honoring and stimulating to a holy life than the assurance of being owned wholly by Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour, who sacrificed His own spotless life for us on the cross? The

first question and answer of the Heidelberg Catechism is the whole gospel in a nutshell; blessed is he who can repeat it from the heart and hold it fast to the end.*

It would be difficult to find a more evangelical definition of faith than in Ques. 21: "Faith is not only a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in His Word; but also a hearty trust, which the Holy Spirit works in me by the gospel, that not only to others, but to me also, forgiveness of sins, everlasting righteousness, and salvation are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits." How rich and consoling is the lesson derived from God's all-ruling Providence in Ques. 28! "That we may be patient in adversity, thankful in prosperity, and for what is future have good confidence in our faithful God and Father, that no creature shall separate us from His love, since all creatures are so in His hand that without His will they can not so much as move."

The Catechism is a work of religious enthusiasm, based on solid theological learning, and directed by excellent judgment. It is baptized with the pentecostal fire of the great Reformation, yet remarkably free from the polemic zeal and intolerance which characterized that wonderfully excited period—by far the richest and deepest in Church history next to the age of Christ and His inspired apostles. It is the product of the

* Dr. Nevin (*Tercentenary Edition*, Introd. p. 95) says: "No question in the whole Catechism has been more admired than this, and none surely is more worthy of admiration. Where shall we find, in the same compass, a more beautifully graphic, or a more impressively full and pregnant representation of all that is comprehended for us in the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? For thousands and tens of thousands, during the past three hundred years, it has been as a whole system of theology in the best sense of the term; their pole-star over the sea of life, and the sheet-anchor of their hope amid the waves of death. But what we quote it for now is simply to show the mind that actuates and rules the Catechism throughout. We have here at once its fundamental conception and the reigning law of its construction; the key-note, we may say, which governs its universal sense, and whose grandly solemn tones continue to make themselves heard through all its utterances from beginning to end."

heart as well as the head, full of faith and unction from above. It is fresh, lively, glowing, yet clear, sober, self-sustained. The ideas are Biblical and orthodox,and well fortified by Scripture proofs.* The language is dignified, terse, nervous, popular, and often truly eloquent. It is the language of devotion as well as instruction. Altogether the Heidelberg Catechism is more than a book, it is an institution, and will live as long as the Reformed Church.

COMPARISON WITH THE LUTHERAN AND WESTMINSTER CATECHISMS.

The Heidelberg Catechism stands mediating between Luther's Small Catechism, which appeared thirty-four years earlier (1529), and the Shorter Westminster Catechism, which was prepared eighty-four years later (1647).

These are the three most popular and useful catechisms that Protestantism has produced, and have still the strongest hold upon the churches they represent. They have the twofold character of catechisms and symbolical books. They are alike evangelical in spirit and aim; they lead directly to Christ as the one and all-sufficient Saviour, and to the Word of God as the only infallible rule of the Christian's faith and life.

Luther's Catechism is the most churchly of the three, and adheres to the Catholic tradition in its order and arrangement. It assigns a very prominent place to the Sacraments, treating them in separate chapters, co-ordinate with the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; while the others incorporate them in the general exposition of the articles of faith. Luther teaches baptismal regeneration and the corporeal presence, and even retains private confession and absolution as a quasi-sacra-

* Ques. 44 is hardly an exception; for the idea therein expressed is no error *per se*, but only a false interpretation of the article on Christ's descent into hell (Hades) in the Apostles' Creed, which places it, as an actual fact, between death and the resurrection, in accordance with the Scriptures (Luke xxiii. 43; Acts ii. 27, 31; 1 Pet. iii. 19; iv. 6; Eph. iv. 9, 10); while the Catechism, following Calvin and Lasky, understands it figuratively of Christ's suffering on the cross.

ment. Heidelberg and Westminster are free from all remnants of sacerdotalism and sacramentalism, and teach the Calvinistic theory of the sacraments, which rises, however, much higher than the Zwinglian.

On the other hand, the Lutheran and the Heidelberg Catechisms differ from the Westminster in the following points: 1. They retain th e Apostles' Creed as the basis of doctrinal exposition; while the Westminster Catechism puts it in an appendix, and substitutes a new logical scheme of doctrine for the old historical order of the Creed. 2. They are subjective, and address the catechumen as a church member, who answers from his real or prospective personal experience; while the Westminster Catechism is objective and impersonal, and states the answer in an abstract proposition. 3. They use the warm and direct language of life, the Westminster, the scholastic language of dogma; hence the former two are less definite but more expansive and suggestive than the Presbyterian formulary, which, on the other hand, far surpasses them in brevity, terseness and accuracy of definition.

Upon the whole we prefer the catechetical style and method of the creative Reformation period, because it is more Biblical and fresh, to that of the seventeenth century—the age of scholastic orthodoxy—although we freely concede the relative progress and peculiar excellences of the Westminster standards.*

* "It may be questioned," says Dr. Bonar, of the Free Church of Scotland, "whether the Church gained any thing by the exchange of the Reformation standards for those of the seventeenth century. The scholastic mould in which the latter are cast has somewhat trenched upon the ease and breadth which mark the former; and the skillful metaphysics employed at Westminster in giving lawyer-like precision to each statement have imparted a local and temporary aspect to the new which did not belong to the more ancient standards. Or, enlarging the remark, we may say that there is something about the theology of the Reformation which renders it less likely to be the covenant. The simpler formulas of the older age are quite as explicit as those of the latter; while by the adoption of the Biblical in preference to the scholastic mode of expression they have secured for themselves a buoyancy which will bear them up when the others go down. The old age of that generation is likely to be greener than that of their posterity." (*Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, Preface, p. viii).

The Heidelberg Catechism differs from that of Luther—1. By its fullness and thoroughness, and hence it is better adapted to a maturer age; while that of Luther has the advantage of brevity and childlike simplicity, and adaptation to early youth. The one has one hundred and twenty-nine, the other only forty questions and answers, and of these only three are devoted to the exposition of the Apostles' Creed, while the Sacraments receive disproportionate attention. 2. The Heidelberg Catechism gives the words of the Decalogue in full, according to the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and follows the old Jewish and Greek division, which is adopted by the best commentators; while Luther presents merely an abridgement,* and follows the Roman division by omitting the second commandment and splitting the tenth in two.† 3. The former gives a summary of the law, through which comes the knowledge of sin, in the first part (Ques. 3 and 4), but explains the Decalogue in the third division, viewing it in its Christian aspect as a permanent rule of life; while Luther regards the law in its Jewish or pedagogic aspect, as a school-master leading men to Christ, and hence he put it as the first head before the Creed. Ursinus correctly says: "The Decalogue belongs to the first part so far as it is a mirror of our sin and misery, but also to the third part as being the rule of our new obedience and Christian life."‡ 4. In the rendering of the Creed, besides minor verbal differences, the Heidelberg Catechism retains "the holy catholic Church," with the addition of "Christian" (*eine heilige Allgemeine Christliche Kirche*); while Luther's omits "catholic," and substitutes for it "Christian."§ 5. In the Lord's Prayer the Heidelberg Cate-

* For example, the fourth (third) commandment is thus condensed: "*Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen*" (Thou shalt keep holy the rest-day).

† Comp. p. 251, note 2.

‡ The Germans express the different aspects of the law by calling it a *Sündenspiegel Sündenriegel,* and *Lebensregel,* a mirror of sin, a bar of sin, and a rule of life.

§ Hence in Germany the term "Catholic" and "Romanist" are used synonymously, and the proverb "*Das ist um katholish zu werden*" expresses a desperate condition of things. The English Churches have properly retained the term "catholic" in its good old sense, instead of allowing Romanists to monopolize it.

chism uses the modern form "Our Father" (*Unser Vater*), while Luther in his Catechism (though not in his translation of Matt. vi. 9 and Luke xi. 2) adheres to the Latin and old German form of "Father our" (*Vater unser*), a difference tenaciously maintained by German Lutherans. The former divides the Prayer into six petitions (with the Greek commentators), and renders ἐκ πονηροῦ "from the evil one" (*vom Bösen*, i. e., from the devil); while Luther (with Augustine) numbers seven petitions, and translates (herein agreeing with the English version) "from evil" (*vom Uebel*).

The difference between the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms is chiefly one of nationality. Where the choice is between the two, the former will be used in preference by Germans, the other by Scotch and English Presbyterians. The Westminster Shorter Catechism has the advantage of greater condensation and precision. It is not impossible to make a better one than either by blending the excellencies of both. They represent also two types of piety: the one is more emotional and hearty, the other more scholastic and intellectual. This appears at once in the first question. The Heidelberg Catechism asks: "What is thy only *comfort* in life and in death?" The Westminster: "What is the chief *end* of man?" The one goes clearly into the heart of evangelical piety—the mystical union of the believer with Christ; the other goes back to the creation and the glory of God; but both teach the same God and Christ, and the same way of salvation, whereby God is glorified, and man is raised to everlasting felicity in his enjoyment.

HISTORY OF THE CATECHISM.

1. The Heidelberg Catechism was greeted with great joy, and was at once introduced into the churches and schools of the Lower Palatinate; while the Upper Palatinate, under the governorship of Louis (the eldest son of Frederick III.), remained strictly Lutheran.

But, like every good book, it had to pass through a trial of

probation and a fire of martyrdom. Even before it was printed an anonymous writer attacked the Heidelberg Synod which, in December, 1562, had adopted the Catechism in manuscript, together with sundry measures of reform.* After its publication it was violently assailed by strict Lutherans for its alleged Zwinglian and Calvinistic heresies, and by Jesuits on account of the condemnation of the idolatry of the mass in the eightieth question. The first opponents were Lutheran princes (Margrave Charles II. of Baden, Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, the Palatine of Zweibrücken), and Lutheran divines, such as Heshusius, Flacius, Brentius, and Andreæ.† Ursinus wrote an able apology of his Catechism, which is embodied in several older editions since 1584. A theological colloquy was held at Maulbronn in April, 1564, where the theological leaders of the Lutheran Duchy of Würtemberg and the Reformed Palatinate, in the presence of their princes, debated for six days in vain on the eucharist and the ubiquity of Christ's body. Both parties were confirmed in their opinions, though the Reformed had the best of the argument.‡

Frederick III., notwithstanding his appeal to Melanchthon and the Altered Augsburg Confession, was openly charged with apostasy from the Lutheran faith, and seriously threatened with exclusion from the peace of the empire. Even the liberal Emperor Maximilian II. wrote him a letter of remonstrance. His fate was to be decided at the Diet of Augsburg, 1566. At this

* This curious document, which throws light upon that Synod hitherto little known, has been recently recovered and published by Wolters in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1867, No. 1, pp. 15 sqq. The Lutheran author, perhaps a dissenting member of the Synod, gives a list of the measures for the introduction of the Catechism and the abolition of various abuses, and accompanies them with bitter marginal comments, such as: "This is a lie and against God's Word;" "This is the Anabaptist heresy;" "To spread Zwinglianism;" "*Friss Vogel oder stirb;*" "*Ad spargendam zizaniam;*" "*Ut citius imbibant venenum;*" "*Evangelii abrogatio;*" "*Hispanica inquisitio.*"

† See on this Lutheran opposition Wolters, l. c., and in his earlier book, *Der Heidelb. Katechismus in seiner Urgestalt* (1864), pp. 141—196; Nevin, Introd. to the *Tercent. Ed.* pp. 42 sqq.; and especially Sudhoff, *Olevianus und Ursinus*, pp. 140 sqq.

‡ See above, pp. 288 sqq.

critical juncture the pious Elector boldly defended his Catechism, which, he said, was all taken from the Bible, and so well fortified with marginal proof-texts that it could not be overthrown. He declared himself willing to yield to God's truth, if any one could show him anything better from the Scriptures, which was at hand for the purpose. Altogether he made, at the risk of his crown and his life, such a noble and heroic confession as reminds us of Luther's stand at the Diet of Worms. Even his Lutheran opponents were filled with admiration and praise, and left him thereafter in quiet possession of his faith. "Why do ye persecute this man?" said the Margrave of Baden; "he has more piety than the whole of us." The Elector Augustus of Saxony gave similar testimony on this memorable occasion.*

Thus the Catechism had gained a sort of legal existence in the German empire, although it was not till after the Thirty-Years' War, in the Treaty of Westphalia, that the Reformed Church, as distinct from the Lutheran, was formally recognized in Germany.

After the death of Frederick it had to pass through another persecution in the home of its birth. His successor, Louis VI. (1576–1583), exiled its authors, and replaced it by Luther's Catechism and the Formula of Concord. But under the regency of Frederick's second son, Prince John Casimir, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Reformed Church were restored to their former honor, and continued to flourish till the outbreak of the Thirty-Years' War.

This war brought terrible devastation and untold misery upon Heidelberg and the Palatinate, which were laid waste by the merciless Tilly (1622). Then followed the repeated invasions

* Hundeshagen says of Frederick III.: "He is acknowledged to be the greatest ruler which the evangelical Palatinate ever had, and as to personal piety and loyalty to his faith the shining model of an evangelical prince." See his art. on the City and University of Heidelberg, in the *Gedenkbuch der 300 jährigen Jubelfeier de Heidelb. Kat.* pp. 58, 59.

of Turenne, Melac, and Marshal de Lorges, under Louis XIV. The Palatinate fell even into the hands of Roman Catholic rulers (1685), and never again rose to its former glory. Thousands of Protestants emigrated to America, and planted the Catechism in Pennsylvania, so that what it lost in the old world it gained in the new. The indifferentism and rationalism of the eighteenth century allowed all creeds to go into disuse and neglect. In the nineteenth century faith revived, and with it respect for the Heidelberg Catechism; but owing to the introduction of the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Grand Duchy of Baden, to which Heidelberg now belongs, it was merged into a new catechism compiled from it and from that of Luther.*

The history of the Palatinate Catechism extends far beyond the land of his birth. It took deeper root and acquired greater influence in other countries. Soon after its appearance it commended itself by its intrinsic excellences to all Reformed Churches of the German tongue. It was introduced in East Friesland, Juelich (Juliers), Cleve (Cleves), Berg, the Wupperthal, Bremen, Hesse Casel, Anhalt, Brandenburg, East and West Prussia, the free imperial cities, in Hungary, Poland, and in several cantons of Switzerland, as St. Gall, Schaffhausen and Berne.† In the royal house of Prussia it is still used in the instruction of the princes, even after the introduction of the union of the two confessions.‡

* On the symbolical status of the Evangelical Church in Baden, see two essays of Dr. Hundeshagen, *Die Bekenntnissgrundlage der vereinigten evangelischen Kirche im Grossherzogthum Baden* (1851), and an address delivered before a Pastoral Conference at Durlach, on the same subject, 1851, republished in his *Schriften und Abhandlungen*, ed. by Dr. Christlieb, Gotha, 1875, Vol. II. pp. 119 sqq.

† The editions used in the Canton Berne have an anti-supralapsarian addition to Question 27: "*Und obwohl die Sünden durch Gottes Fuhrsehung, werden regiert, so ist doch Got keine Ursache der Sünden; denn das Ziel unterscheidet die Werke. Siehe Exempel an Joseph und seinen Brudern, an David und Simei an Christo und den Juden.*" This addition is found as early as 1697. Noticed by Trechsel in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1867, p. 574.

‡ So I was informed by the late court chaplain, Dr. Schnethlage, of Berlin, who was originally Reformed, and who confirmed several members of the royal family

It was surrounded with a large number of learned works: which fill an important place in the history of Reformed theology. Eminent professors made it the basis of lectures in the University.

In no country was the Catechism more honored than in Holland and her distant colonies in Asia and Africa. It soon replaced the catechisms of Calvin and Lasky. The synods of Wesel, 1568, of Emden, 1571, and of Dort, 1574, recommended and enjoined its use; and ministers were required to explain it to the people in fifty two lessons throughout the year in the afternoon service of the Lord's day. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Arminians called for a revision of it, to remove certain features to which they objected. But the famous General Synod of Dort, after a careful examination, opposed any change, and, in its 148th Session, May 1, 1619, it unanimously delivered the judgment that the Heidelberg Catechism "formed altogether a most accurate compend of the orthodox Christian faith; being with singular skill, not only adapted to the understanding of the young, but suited also for the advantageous instruction of older persons; so that it could continue to be taught with great edification in the Belgic churches, and ought by all means to be retained." This judgment was agreed to by all the foreign delegates from Germany, Switzerland, and England, and has thus an œcumenical significance for the Reformed communion.

The Heidelberg Catechism was also clothed with symbolical authority in Scotland, and was repeatedly printed "by public authority," even after the Westminster standards had come into use. It seems to have there practically superceded Calvin's Catechism, but it was in turn superseded by Craig's Catechism, and Craig's by that of the Westminster Assembly.

3. From Holland the Heidelberg Catechism crossed the Atlantic to Manhattan Island (1609), with the discoverer of the Hudson River, and was the first Protestant catechism planted on American soil. A hundred years later, German

emigrants, driven from the Palatinate by Romish persecution and tyranny, carried it to Pennsylvania and other colonies.* It has remained ever since the honored symbol of the Dutch and German Reformed Churches in America, and will continue to be used as long as they retain their separate denominational existence, or even if they should unite with the larger Presbyterian body.

One of the first acts of the reunited Presbyterian Church in the United States, at the session of the General Assembly in Philadelphia, May, 1870, was the formal sanction of the use of the Heidelberg Catechism in any congregation which may desire it.†

4. In the year 1863, three centuries after its first publication, the Heidelberg Catechism witnessed its greatest triumph, not only in Germany and Holland, but still more in a land which the authors never saw, and in a language the sound of which they probably never heard. The Reformation was similarly honored in 1817, and the Augsburg Confession in 1830, but no other catechism so far as I know.

In Germany the tercentenary celebration of the Heidelberg

* The early German settlers of Pennsylvania came mostly from the Palatinate See the interesting volume of Professor Daniel Rupp: *A Collection of over Thirty thousand Names of Immigrants in Pennsylvania from* 1727—1776. Philad. 1876

† A special committee, appointed by the Old School Assembly of 1869, reported to the first reunited Assembly of 1870, after a laudatory description of the Heidelberg Catechism, the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly recognizes in the Heidelberg Catechism a valuable Scriptural compendium of Christian doctrine and duty.

2. *Resolved*, That if any churches desire to employ the Heidelberg Catechism in the instruction of their children, they may do so with the approbation of this Assembly.

See the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America for* 1870, p. 120, and the Memorial volume on *Presbytery*.

Catechism was left to individual pastors and congregations, and called forth some valuable publications.*

The German Reformed Church in the United States took it up as a body, and gave it a wider scope. She made the three-hundredth-anniversary of her confession the occasion for a general revival of theological and religious life, the publication of a triglot edition of the Catechism, the endowment of a tercentenary professorship in her seminary, and the collection of large sums of money for churches, missions, and other benevolent objects. All these objects were accomplished. The celebration culminated in a general convention of ministers and laymen in Philadelphia, which lasted a whole week, January 17–23, 1863, in the midst of the raging storm of the civil war. About twenty interesting and instructive essays on the Catechism and connected topics, which had been specially prepared for the occasion by eminent German, Dutch, and American divines, were read in two churches before crowded and attentive assemblies. Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Frederick III., Ursinus, and Olevianus were called from their graves to reproduce before an American audience the ideas, trials, and triumphs of the creative and heroic age of the Reformation. Altogether the year 1863 marks an epoch in the history of the Heidelberg Catechism and of the German Reformed Church in America.†

* Among these we mention the articles on the Heidelberg Catechism by Ullmann, Sack, Plitt, Hundeshagen, Wolters, and Trechsel, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1863, 1864, and 1867, the discovery and reprint of the *ed. princeps* by Wolters (1864), and a collection of excellent sermons by distinguished Reformed pulpit orators, under the title, "*Der einiget Trost im Leben und Sterben*," Elberfeld, 1863.

† See the *Tercentenary Monument* (574 pages), and the *Gedenkbuch der dreihundertjährigen Jubeleier des Heidelberger Katechismus* (449 pages), both published at Philadelphia, 1863. The German edition gives the correspondence and essays of Drs. Herzog, Ebrard, Ullmann, Hundeshagen, Lange, and Schotel, in the original German, together with a history of the Catechism by the editor. The Anglo-American essays and addresses of Drs. Nevin, Schaff, Gerhart, Harbaugh, Wolff, Bomberger, Porter, De Witt, Kieffer, Theodor and Thomas Appel, Schneck, Russell, Gans, and Bausman, are found in full in the English edition.

OPINIONS ON THE CATECHISM.

We close this chapter with a selection from the many warm commendations which the Heidelberg Catechism has received from distinguished divines of different countries.

HENRY BULLINGER, the friend and successor of Zwingli, himself the author of a catechism (1559) and of the Second Helvetic Confession (1566), wrote to a friend:

"The order of the book is clear; the matter true, good, and beautiful; the whole is luminous, fruitful and godly; it comprehends many and great truths in a small compass. I believe that no better catechism has ever been issued."*

The HESSIAN divines quoted by David Pareus:

"There is no catechism more thorough, more perfect, and better adapted to the capacity of adults as well as the young."

The English delegates to the Synod of Dort, George Carleton, (Bishop of Llandaff), John Davenant (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), Archdeacon Samuel Ward, Dr. Thomas Goade, and Walter Balcanqual, said:

"That neither their own nor the French Church had a catechism so suitable and excellent; that those who had compiled it were therein remarkably endowed and assisted by the Spirit of God; that in several of their works they had excelled other theologians, but that in the composition of this Catechism they had outdone themselves."†

The favorable judgment of the Synod of Dort itself has already been quoted.

Dr. ULLMANN (d. 1865), formerly Professor at Heidelberg, and one of the best Church historians of the nineteenth century.‡

"The Heidelberg Catechism, more systematically executed than Luther's, unfolds upon the fundamental thoughts of sin, redemption, and thankfulness, the Reformed doctrine, yet without touching upon predestination, with rare pithiness and clearness, and obtained through these excellences not only speedy and most extended recognition in the Reformed Churches, but is to-day still regarded by all parties as one of the most masterly productions in this department."

* "*Arbitror meliorem Catechismus non editum esse, Deo sit gloria qui largiatur successum*" (1563). See Ursinus, *Apol. Catech.* in the *Præfatio.*

† This judgment is quoted on the title-page of the later editions of Bishop Parry's translation, London ed. 1728; reprinted, London, 1851.

‡ In Piper's *Evang.-Kalender* for 1862, p. 191. Comp. also his art. in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1863, and in the *Gedenkbuch*, etc.

Dr. AUG. EBRARD, one of the ablest and most prolific German Reformed divines:*

"For wonderful union of dogmatic precision and genial heartiness,† of lucid perspicuity and mysterious depth, the Heidelberg Catechism stands alone in its kind. It is at once a system of theology and a book of devotion; every child can understand it at the first reading, and yet the catechist finds in it the richest material for profound investigation."

MAX GÖBEL, the author of an excellent history of Christian life in the Reformed Church:‡

"The Heidelberg Catechism may be properly regarded as the flower and fruit of the entire German and French Reformation; it has Lutheran fervor, Melanchthonian clearness, Zwinglian simplicity, and Calvinistic fire blended in one, and therefore—notwithstanding many defects and angles—it has been (together with the Altered Augsburg Confession of 1540), and remains to this day, the only common confession and doctrinal standard of the entire German Church from the Palatinate to the Netherlands, and to Brandenburg and Prussia."

KARL SUDHOFF, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, then pastor of the German Reformed Church at Frankfort-on-the-Main:§

"A peculiar power and unction pervades the whole work, which can not easily be mistaken by any one. The book, therefore, speaks with peculiar freshness and animation directly to the soul, because it appears as a confident, joyous confession of the Christian heart assured of salvation. It is addressed to the heart and will as much as to the head. Keen and popular unfolding of ideas is here most beautifully united with the deep feeling of piety, as well as with the earnest spirit of revival and joyous believing confidence. And who that have read this Catechism but once can mistake how indissolubly united with these great excellences is the powerful, dignified, and yet so simple style! What a true-hearted, intelligible, simple, and yet lofty eloquence speaks to us even from the smallest questions!"

Dr. K. B. HUNDESHAGEN, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, afterwards in Bonn (d. 1873), calls the Heidelberg Catechism a "witness of Reformed loyalty to the Word of

* *Das Dogma v. heil. Abendmahl*, Vol. II., p. 604.

† Or, fulness of soul (*gemüthlichh Innigkeit*).

‡ *Geschichte des Christl. Lebens*, Vol. I. p. 392.

§ *Theol. Handbuch zur Auslegung des Heid. Kat.* p. 493.

God, of Reformed purity and firmness of faith, of Reformed moderation and sobriety," and a work "of eternal youth and never-ceasing value."*

Dr. PLITT, formerly Pastor in Heidelberg, then Professor of Theology in Bonn:†

"The Heidelberg Catechism still lives; it has not died in three hundred years. It lives in the hearts of Christians. How many catechisms have since then disappeared, how many in the last thirty or forty years, and have been so long sunk in the 'sea of oblivion,' that one scarcely knows their titles. The Heidelberg Catechism has survived its tercentenary jubilee, and will, God willing, see several such jubilees. It will not die; it will live as long as there is an Evangelical Church."

Dr. HENRY HARBAUGH, late Professor of Theology at Mercersburg (d. 1867), a gifted poet and the author of several popular religious works:‡

"It is worthy of profound consideration, that the Heidelberg Catechism, which has always ruled the heart, spirit and body of the Reformed side of the Reformation, has no prototype in any of the Reformers. Zwingli and Calvin can say, It is not of me; it has the suavity but not the compromising spirit of Melanchthon. It has nothing of the dashing terror of Luther. What is stranger than all, it is farthest possible removed from the mechanical scholasticism and rigid logic of Ursinus, its principal author. Though it has the warm, practical, sacred, poetical fervor of Olevianus, it has none of his fire and flame. It is greater than Reformers: it is purer and sounder than theologians."

Dr. J. W. NEVIN, successively Professor of Theology in the Presbyterian Seminary at Alleghany, in the German Reformed Seminary at Mercersburg, and President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.:§

"In every view, we may say, the Catechism of the Palatinate, now three hundred years old, is a book entitled, in no common degree, to admiration and praise It comes before us as the ripe product of the proper confessional life of the Re

* See his instructive review of Sudhoff's *Handbuch*, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1864, pp. 153—180. It is gratifying to me that this distinguished divine fully indorses, on p. 169, the view which I had previously given to the theology of the Heidelberg Catechism and its relation to Calvinism in opposition to Sudhoff on the one hand and Heppe on the other.

† In the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1863, p. 25.

‡ In the *Mercersburg Review* for 1857, p. 102.

§ *Tercentenary Edition*, Introd. pp. 120—122.

formed Church, in the full bloom of its historical developement, as this was reached at the time when the work made its appearance. Its wide-spread and long-continued popularity proclaims its universal significance and worth. It must have been admirably adapted to the wants of the Church at large, as well as admirably true to the inmost sense of its general life, to come in this way into such vast credit. Among all Protestant symbols, whether of earlier or later date, there is no other in which we find the like union of excellent qualities combined and wrought together in the same happy manner. It is at once a creed, a catechism, and a confession; and all this in such a manner, at the same time, as to be often a very liturgy also, instinct with the full spirit of worship and devotion. It is both simple and profound; a fit manual of instruction for the young, and yet a whole system of divinity for the old; a text-book, suited alike for the use of the pulpit and the family, the theological seminary, and the common school. It is pervaded by a scientific spirit, beyond what is common in formularies of this sort; but its science is always earnestly and solemnly practical. In its whole constitution, as we have seen, it is more a great deal than doctrine merely, or a form of sound words for the understanding. It is doctrine apprehended and represented continually in the form of life. It is for the heart, every where full as much as for the head. Among its characteristic perfections deserves to be noted always, with particular praise, its catholic spirit, and the rich mystical element that pervades so largely its whole composition. . . . Simple beautiful, and clear in its logical construction, the symbol moves throughout also in the element of fresh religious feeling. It is full of sensibility and faith and joyous childlike trust. Its utterances rise at times to a sort of heavenly pathos and breathe forth almost lyrical strains of devotion."

Dr. HAGENBACH, the well-known historian (d. at Basle, 1874):*

"The Heidelberg Catechism was greeted not only in the Palatinate but in all Reformed Churches as the correct expression of the Reformed faith, and attained the authority of a genuine symbolical standard. It was translated into nearly all languages, and has continued to be the basis of religious instruction to this day. . . . Its tone, notwithstanding the scholastic and dogmatizing or (as Ullmann says) constructive tendency, is truly popular and childlike."

Then he quotes several questions as models of the catechetical style.

Dr. DALTON, of St. Petersburg:†

"The Heidelberg Catechism exhibits the harmonious union of the Calvinistic and the Melanchthonian spirit. It is the ripe fruit of the whole Reformation and the true heir of the treasures gathered, not in ten years, but during that entire period. It is thoroughly Biblical, and represents its particular denominational type with great wisdom and moderation. We feel from beginning to end in the clear and expressive word the warm and sound pulse of a heart that was baptized by the fire and Spirit from above, and knows what it believes."

* *Kirchengeschichte*, Leipz. 1870 (3d edition), Vol. IV. p. 312.

† *Immanuel. Der Heidelb. Kat.*, etc. 1870, p. 15.

It is gratifying that the Lutheran hostility of former days has given way to a sincere appreciation. Drs. GUERICKE and KURTZ, two prominent champions of Lutheran orthodoxy in the nineteenth century, in almost the same words praise the Heidelberg Catechism for "its signal wisdom in teaching, its Christian fervor, theological ability, and mediating moderation."* Dr. JULIUS STAHL, an eminent jurist and the ablest apologist of modern Lutheranism within the Prussian Union, derived the religious revival of the Lutheran Church in his native Bavaria and his own conversion chiefly from the late venerable Reformed pastor and Professor, Dr. J. Chr. G. L. Krafft, in Erlangen (died 1845). "The man," he said, before the General Synod at Berlin, 1846, "who built up the Church in my fatherland, *the most apostolic man I ever met in my life.* Pastor Krafft, was a strict adherent of the Reformed creed. Whether he carried the Heidelberg Catechism in his pocket I know not, but this I know, that he caused throughout the whole land a spring to bloom whose fruits will ripen for eternity."†

* Guericke *Kirchengeschichte,* Vol. III. p. 610 (7th edition), and his *Symbolik.* Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte,* p. 508 (5th edition).

† See art. *Krafft* by Goebel, in Herzog's *Encycl.* Vol. VIII. p. 37.

ART. IV.—EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

I. THE TRUE CHRISTIAN RELIGION: Containing The Universal Theology of The New Testament, Foretold by the Lord in Daniel vii. 13, 14; and in Revelation xxi. 1, 2. By Emanuel Swedenborg, Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. A New Translation, From The Original Latin Edition. Printed at Amsterdam, in the Year 1771. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1874.

II. HEAVEN AND ITS WONDERS AND HELL: From Things Heard and Seen. By Emanuel Swedenborg. Originally Published In Latin at London, A. D. 1758. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1874.

III. Emanuel Swedenborg. An Essay. By Henry Maudsley. M. D. Fellow of The Royal College of Physicians; Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College, London, Etc. Author of "Responsibility in Mental Diseases;" "Physiology and Pathology of the Mind;" "Body and Mind:" "An Inquiry into their Connection and Mutual Influences, Specially in Reference to Mental Disorders." An Enlarged and Revised Edition. To which are Added "Psychological Essays." New York: D. Appleton & Co., 549 and 551 Broadway. 1875.

IV. THOUGHTS ON THE WRITINGS OF BARON SWEDENBORG. Wesley's Works. In Seven Volumes. Vol. VII. Pp. 426–441.

V. EMANUEL SWEDENBORG: His Life and Writings. By William White. In Two Volumes. 1867.

IT is far from our purpose to present any special theory on Swedenborg and his "Revelations." We have none; and did we have one, modesty would forbid us, we think, to obtrude it on the public, after every attempt of every corypheus has thus far proven a failure in this direction. And, perhaps, our paper may be none the worse for such a want. What we aim at is, something of a fair statement of the man and his works, however meager, accordingly as we view him and his labors, from this or that position. Swedenborg is a many-sided mortal, and only after a complete portraiture confronts the thinking world, is

there room made to hope that a just and definite conclusion will be reached with regard to the wonderful character. We are not prepared to accept the conclusions which our authorities proffer, on the one hand; nor, on the other, we are bound to say, their refutations, as far as they have come before us. We project our Article, more as a challenge, directed "to whom it may concern," than as a solution of the scholar, philosopher and mystic.

The partial revival of Swedenborg and his writings, of late, is owing, in some measure, to the enthusiasm and generosity of some of the Baron's ardent followers, who have handsomely published and are ready gratuitously to distribute, among the Clergy and candidates for the Holy Ministry, the substance of his "Revelations," as embodied in the two first named volumes, noted above. They bear this Imprimatur:—"This Book is presented by the American New Church Tract and Publication Society, Philadelphia." The Lippincott Firm has added more glory to itself by arraying the most important Theological works of Swedenborg in so attractive a garb. We regard the tasks performed by the generous donors and apt publishers, as a combined stroke of good policy, whereby to scatter the Teachings and multiply the readers of the New Jerusalem Prophet. Two very respectable volumes may be added to many a clerical library, without cost. An acquaintance will, in this way, be made with Swedenborg, on the part of not a few who may have known him merely by name. And others, who never could muster sufficient heroism to toil through his numerous and heavy volumes, or never thought it worth their while to study his writings at all seriously, may now enter by a shorter and easier road in the Arcana of his Creed. Once thus far on, they may become anxious for a still closer relation to the man and his mysteries, and qualify themselves to aid the thinking world to arrive at some more definite conclusion, in reference to the character and claims of Swedenborg. His writings merit an earnest and candid study, and only thereby can any

one venture to pronounce upon him. Swedenborg has lived, and immortalized himself in a mass of literature, and in a train of respectable followers. Such a character cannot be ignored by a course of contemptuous silence pursued against him.

We have grouped certain volumes and essays of his own and of others, with a view of obtaining and conveying, by their help mainly or wholly, some idea of what he was, did, and claimed to do, as well as of what we ought to think of him and his professed mission. We shall not in every instance refer to these authorities, although the material entering into the building of our article is confessed to be not our own. We quote largely from his "Diary," and embody the "Brockmer Narrative," both of which we had never known before. We have in no instance gone beyond our authorities, but held ourselves to the letter, and should be glad even to be convinced that our authorities are fictions. We certainly set down naught in malice. For the amiable enthusiast's sake, we would be glad to be informed that his "Diary," kept by himself between 1743 and 1744, had *not* been discovered in 1858, and that it is *not* now in the Royal Library at Stockholm. We should be glad to hear, too, a conclusive testimony against the "Brockmer Narrative." We have not been able to learn of his lineage and family back of the Grandfather. The patronymic was written SWEDBERG. Emanuel was ennobled in the year 1719, by queen Ulrica Eleonora, and named Swedenborg, from which time he took his seat with the nobles of the equestrian orders in the triennial assembly of the States.

Following him through his life, and over not a few pages of his writings, we felt that we were constantly in fellowship with a human paradox—the maddest sane man, or the sanest mad man that ever left his foot-prints on the world. He is an incarnate puzzle, no matter in what light you view him, or on what theory you would solve him. His writings seem to embody a mass of absurdities and a wealth of philosophic research, at once. He apparently sinks down to a level with the chat-

tering lunatic, and rises to the grandeur of a seer all on one and the same page. It is almost a re-enacting of the ghostly spectacle, recorded of Michael, the Archangel, contending with the devil, over the body of Moses, that one witness in his history—now this one, and then that one possessing the Baron, and manipulating him into a saint and demon, turn and turn about. Like a dragon, let us say, Swedenborg ploughs his own fiery furrow amid and athwart the numberless ancestral and contemporary systems of philosophy and religion, with the utmost complaisancy, and seems to relish nothing better than to whirr his wondrous tail against every theory and every body —the Gospel, David and Paul not excepted. The earnest reader finds himself in a strait betwixt two all along. Try to hold him as a Seer, and you sadly miss all that reverence and modesty that you naturally associate with such a character. Amid prophets, apostles and other acknowledged spiritual worthies, he walks as a stalwart giant over them all. Aside of the eagle-eyed St. John, whom we accept as a Seer of the first order, Swedenborg is an intolerable babbler. Surely, *if* Emanuel Swedenborg is a prophet, all hands will believe him to have been the last, since no successor would have anything further to relate. He exhausted the Spiritual world, which, indeed, he claims to have done.

But, set him down as a madman, and you are in amazement again. He displays marvelous powers in his rendering of the Holy Scriptures, whenever they fit in and upon his theories, and challenges you besides, to write him down with Emerson, as "one of the mastodons of literature." He is rich in words of wisdom, fruitful in veins of original thought, and edifying to the best of minds. All that Swedenborg has written is surely not the offspring of madness and folly, if, indeed, any part of it is.

We know well, that the whole task, imposed upon him who would render a verdict upon Swedenborg, is generally reduced down to the plain duty of pronouncing on, and distinguishing

between what is supposed to be chaff or wheat, dross or gold; to sift and prove the mass, and simply to hold fast to that which is good. Normal and abnormal states are assumed to have been predominant at various seasons in turn, and consequently no charge of inconsistency holds, it is claimed, if we accept much that he has written, and reject much too. Even the fallen star is still to be held as a star—it may glitter in the mud indeed. There are lucid intervals, it will be said, during which the madman is capable of a rational intellectual exertion. Genius will flash out and brood brilliantly over the murkiest atmosphere, will it not?

But to entitle one's opinion on Swedenborg to any degree of respect, on such a theory, it is necessary to originate and establish a new theory on *insanity itself*. The common notion concerning the mental abnormity will not afford sufficient standing-room for all the phenomena which crowd into the life and history of this literary and religious Goliath. The mania itself then becomes more mysterious than the man, and the difficulty is thus merely lifted from the one, to be located on the other. Conceding the theory of insanity, as the true one, by which to solve this human riddle, by what theory, then, are we to explain such an order of insanity, which allows the rational and the irrational thus continually to mingle and shade across the several territories of the one and the other? It seems a fair and easy statement to put:—"David and Paul were impostors, or Swedenborg was mad." Who, that accepts the Holy Scriptures, may deny this alternative? But Swedenborg had undoubtedly seasons of mental health, or rational saneness, to such a degree as that we might almost wish to be afflicted in the same way and degree, rather than not prove capable of such mental acuteness. Now to explain this constant interlacing of the philosophic day and anarchical night, at irregular intervals, and on so indefinite a line of demarkation—*this can* hardly be done on the ordinarily accepted theory of sanity or insanity. What shall we call this spirit which can thus at times sport with

the grand original? John Wesley disposed quite poetically, but not very satisfactorily, of Swedenborg by denominating him "majestic, tho' in ruins." Granted. But insanity is not the thing it is supposed to be, if it is competent in this way to disturb the harmony existing between the centripetal and centrifugal forces, which properly determines the orbit of human thought.

Psychology obliges us, we think, to a revision of the whole subject of insanity, if we would dispose of the case of Emanuel Swedenborg, on it as a basis.

But let us lay the axe to the root of the tree, and trace his genealogy. It is something to know whence a man is, since blood will tell.

Swedenborg's Grandfather was a coppersmith and miner, industrious in habit, rich in fortune, and pious in disposition. His large family he counted a favor and blessing; for he was accustomed to say after dinner—"Thank you, my children, for dinner. I have dined with you, and not you with me. God has given me food for your sake."

Jasper Swedenborg, the Father of Emanuel, showed an early love for books, and a fancy for public speaking. He was educated for the ministry, and, by energy and tact, became Bishop of Skara. Charles XI. looked kindly on him. In high station, under royal favor, of good health, ambitious, self-confident, and always busy, he not only discharged his Episcopal duties with more than routine alacrity, but performed a vast deal of extraordinary labor. "I can scarcely believe," says he, "that anybody in Sweden has written so much as I have done; since, I think, ten carts would scarcely carry away what I have written and printed at my own expense, yet there is as much, verily, there is nearly as much not printed."

Not only had he the satisfaction of being appreciated by himself and his cotemporaries, but, what is more, he held himself a favorite of the Lord. "It is incredible and indescribable," he exclaims when made Dean of Upsala, "what consolation and peace are felt by the servants of the Lord when raised

to a high and holy calling; and contrariwise how down-hearted they must be who experience no such elevation."

In his domestic relations he experienced joy and sorrow, in turn. By the death of his first wife, he was left a widower with eight children, the eldest of them not twelve years old; but he soon took to himself a second wife, distinguished for her "piety, meekness, liberality to the poor," and who was moreover "well-off, good-looking, a thrifty housewife, and had no family." She died, and within a year after her death, he married for the third time, being then in his sixty-seventh year. "My circumstances and my extensive household required a faithful companion, whom God gave me in Christina Arhusia." In choosing his wives he seems to have followed a rule which he felt prompted to suggest to his son, and which lies hidden in these words:—"You write well, you reckon well, and, thank God, you are not married. See that you get a good wife, *and something with her.* Pray God to lead you in His holy way."

He believed ardently in the efficacy of Prayer, persuading himself that he could perform miraculous cures thereby. "There was," he says, "brought to me at Strabo a maid-servant named Kerstin, possessed with devils in mind and body. I caused her to kneel down with me and pray, and then I read over her, and she arose well and hearty, and quite delivered." On another occasion he called over the same hysterically affected servant, in a loud voice:—"Wake up, and arise in the name of Jesus Christ!" Another servant had a severe pain in her elbow. For days and nights she went about moaning without rest or sleep, and found no relief. "I rose, touched her arm, and commanded the pain in the name of Jesus Christ to depart, and in a moment the one arm was as well as the other. Glory to God alone!"

When nearly eighty years of age he composed his autobiography, making with his own hand six copies of it, and dedicating them to "my children and posterity as an example how to conduct themselves after my death."

Emanuel Swedenborg was his second son, and born on the 29th of January, 1688. His name was designed, "thereby to be reminded continually of the nearness of God." His mother is thus spoken of by the Bishop:—"Although she was the daughter of an assessor, and the wife of a rector in Upsala, and of a wealthy family, she never dressed extravagantly. As every woman in those days wore a sinful and troublesome *fontange*, or top-knot, she was obliged to do as others did and wear it; but hearing that a cow in the island of Gothland had, with great labor and pitiable bellowing, brought forth a calf with a top-knot, she took her own and her girl's hoods and threw them all into the fire; and she made a vow that she and her daughters, as long as they were under her authority, should never more put such things on their heads."

Emanuel's childhood and early youth are discovered to us in his own spare words, written in old age:—

"From my fourth to my tenth year, my thoughts were constantly engrossed in reflecting on God, on salvation, and on the spiritual affections of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth. From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith; to whom I observed that 'charity or love is the life of faith.'"

A notable peculiarity which he declares to have distinguished him in his early years, and made him unlike other children, was a power of almost suspending his breathing; when deeply absorbed in prayer, he hardly seemed to breathe at all. On this nervous spasm he, in later days, founded a theory concerning respiration, and his disciples see in it the root-power of entering into the spirit-world.

Of his later youth and early manhood we may speak more fully. He was educated at the University of Upsala, where he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the age of twenty-one. He solidified his knowledge through travel, remaining

some time in London, Paris, and Hamburg, ever seeking out men eminent in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics. On his return he located in the university town of Griefsvalde, diligently prosecuting his studies. He speaks of being engaged, at this period, on fourteen wonderful mechanical inventions Among these were, a sort of driving-ship, an engine, an air-gun, a balloon, a *Schiographia universalis*, or a mechanical method of delineating houses on any surface by fire, and a kind of omnibus tool-chariot set in môtion by horse power.

Emanuel, certainly, had not yet commenced his dream-life. He started out a very practical materialist, indeed.

In 1715, being now twenty-seven years old, he re-entered his father's house, having received the appointment of assessor in the Royal School of Miners from the hands of the king. In addition to his daily duties, he found time to indulge in speculation. The nature of his studies is indicated by the titles of numerous pamphlets published:—"Attempts to find the Longitude by means of the Moon;" "On the Level of the Sea and the Great Tides of the Ancient World;" "A Proposal for the Division of Money and Measures so as to facilitate Calculation and Fractions." His brother-in-law, Benzelius, having spoken against some of his schemes, drew out this brave reply:—

"It is a little discouraging to be dissuaded thus. For myself, I desire all possible novelties, ay, a novelty for every day in the year, provided the world will be pleased with them. In every age there's an abundance of persons who follow the beaten track, and remain in the old way; but perhaps there are only from six to ten in a century who bring forward new things founded on argument and reason." He falls out with his father's house and country, because his speculations and inventions find no favor or patronage. "Should I be able to collect the necessary means, I have made up my mind to go abroad and seek my fortune in mining. He must indeed be a fool, who is loose and irresolute, who sees his place abroad, yet remains in obscurity and wretchedness at home, where the furies, Envy

and Pluto, have taken up their abode, and dispose of all rewards, where all the trouble I have taken is rewarded with shabbiness."

His disposition becomes more manifest still in the following extract:—"I have taken a little leisure this summer to put a few things on paper, which I think will be my last productions, for speculations and inventions like mine find no patronage nor bread in Sweden, and are considered by a number of political blockheads as a sort of school-boy exercise, which ought to stand quite in the background, while their finesse and intrigues step forward."

He leaves his ungrateful country for a tour of fifteen months on the Continent, visiting Amsterdam, Leipsic, Liege, and Cologne. Numerous Pamphlets were trailed along, one of which is headed, "New Attempts to explain the Phenomena of Physics and Chemistry by Geometry," and another, "A New Method of finding the Longitude of Places on Land or at Sea by Lunar Observations." He returned to Sweden in 1722, and during the next twelve years—from his thirty-fourth to his forty-sixth year—he remained silent, though not idle. In this duodecimal period he prepared his three folios of the "Principia" and the "Opera Philosophica et Mineralia," which were published at Leipsic in 1734.

At his father's death, in 1735, having inherited a sufficient fortune to follow inclination, and bent on penetrating Nature to the core, he starts again on a tour, taking in Brussels, Paris, Turin, Milan, Venice, and Rome. Besides visiting theatres and operas, he occupied his time in studying Anatomy, reading and translating the works of the best authors, as well as entering the dissecting-rooms. Thus another seven years of his life were passed. In 1741 he gave to the world these results, in his "Economy of the Animal Kingdom," at Amsterdam, and in 1744 followed it with his "Animal Kingdom."

Not pretending to convey any notion of the matter of Swedenborg's writings, as thus far noted, we would call their atten-

tion to their intellectual character in the estimate of Dr. Maudsley. "Undoubtedly he possessed in a remarkable degree some of the elements of greatness which have existed in the greatest men; a wonderful originality of conception; a mind not subjugated by details and formulas, but able to rise above the trammels of habits and systems of thought; an extraordinary faculty of assimilation; a vast power of grasping analogies; a sincere love of knowledge; an unwearied industry, and a matchless daring. Having all these qualities, but entirely lacking intellectual self-restraint, he is scientifically as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; his originality unchecked degenerated into riotous fancy; his power of rising above systems passed into a disregard or disdain of patiently-acquired facts; though his industry was immense, he never more than half learned what he applied himself to, never patiently and faithfully assimilated the details of what was known, but seduced by his love of analogies and sustained by his boundless self-sufficiency, he was carried away into empty theories and groundless speculations."

This may be taken as a fair verdict, since the Baron, when he was subsequently admitted to the Spiritual World, himself discovered his speculations to be vain and fanciful, however firmly his disciples may still continue to perceive in them marks of superhuman philosophic insight and mysterious anticipations of important scientific discoveries.

And yet, that we may again see how Doctors disagree, let us hear the philosopher, Emerson. He speaks of Swedenborg as one who "seemed, by the variety and amount of his powers, to be a composition of several persons—like the giant fruits which are matured in gardens by the union of four or five single blossoms;" as one "who anticipated much science of the nineteenth century; anticipated in astronomy the discovery of the seventh planet; anticipated the views of modern astronomy in regard to the generation of the earth by the sun; in magnetism, some important conclusions of later students; in chemistry, the galvanic theory; in anatomy, the discoveries of Schlichting,

Munro and Wilson; and first demonstrated the office of the lungs."

"A colossal soul, he lies abroad on his times, uncomprehended by them, and requires a long focal distance to be seen; suggests, as Aristotle, Bacon, Selden, Humboldt, that a certain vastness of learning, or *quasi* omnipresence of the human soul in Nature is possible. * * * One of the mastodons of literature, he is not to be measured by whole colleges of ordinary scholars. His stalwart presence would flutter the gowns of a university. Our books are false by being fragmentary; their sentences are *bon mots*, and not parts of natural discourse, or childish expressions of surprise and pleasure in Nature. But Swedenborg is systematic, and respective of the world in every sentence; all the means are orderly given; his faculties work with astronomic punctuality; and his admirable writing is pure from all pertness or egotism."

Dr. Maudsley is out of all patience with such words of eulogy. He declares them untrue, out and out. The slow and tedious course of scientific discovery militates against the correctness of such panegyric. Only by an unpardonable anachronism, he holds, and by throwing Swedenborg back into the middle ages, or ignoring the intellectual development of his time, and looking on his writings as the Mussulman looks on his Koran, can we thus glory over his positive scientific acquirements. He would have us bear in mind that Swedenborg did *not* live and flourish in the thirteenth, but in the eighteenth century, cotemporary with Newton and Halley in science, with Berkeley, Hume and Kant in philosophy. This kept in mind, the roomy and vague romancings of Swedenborg about magnetism, chemistry, astronomy, anatomy, and everything, compared with the exact knowledge that existed concerning them at the time, will then appear in their superficial, defective, nude, barren and fanciful character.

But we must pass on now to another part of his history—we had almost said to another Swedenborg. The Philosopher becomes

a seer. Like the Apostle of the Gentiles, he and his work are henceforth of a heavenly calling and ordering. His conversion was in this wise:—"One night in London, after he had dined heartily, a kind of mist spread before his eyes, and the floor of his room was covered with hideous reptiles, such as serpents, toads and the like." "I was astonished, having all my wits about me, and being perfectly conscious. The darkness attained its height, and then passed away. I now saw a man sitting in the corner of the chamber. As I had thought myself entirely alone, I was greatly frightened, when he said to me, 'Eat not so much.' My sight again became dim, and when I recovered it I found myself alone in the room."

This revelation was repeated the following night. "I was this time not at all alarmed. The man said, 'I am God, the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to unfold to men the spiritual sense of the Holy Scriptures. I will myself dictate to thee what thou shalt write.'

Thenceforth he abandoned all worldly learning and labored only in spiritual things. The Lord had opened his spiritual eyes, that he might see the phenomena of the other world, and to converse with angels and spirits.

In 1858 a Diary kept by Swedenborg himself, between 1743 and 1744, was discovered and purchased for the Royal Library at Stockholm. It contains visions and dreams, and their interpretations. They run through the gamut, from the lowest tone of melancholy to the highest pitch of angelic ecstacy. Some are the cream of bliss and happiness; others are the essence of distress. Now it is all temptation, persecution, and suffering, then again, it is all filth and obscenity. Certain passages in the "Diary" are of such a character as to be quite unfit for publication, or suitable only for the pages of a medical journal. The entries break suddenly for the space of three weeks. Why is this? He was lodging at the house of a person named Brockmer, in Fetter Lane, who, twenty-four years afterwards, related the following story to Mathesius, a Swedish clergyman. This is known in history as

BROCKMER'S NARRATIVE.

It is testified to by the said Mathesius, an honest and trustworthy man, in the name and presence of Mr. Burgman, a minister of the German church, the Savoy, London, while Swedenborg lived, dated Stora Hallfara, Aug. 27, 1796.

Wesley tells us what he knows in the following extract:—

"Many years ago the Baron came over to England, and lodged at one Mr. Brockmer's, who informed me (and the same information was given me by Mr. Mathesius, a very serious Swedish clergyman, both of whom were alive when I left London, and, I suppose, are so still) that while he was in his house he had a violent fever; in the height of which, being delirious totally, he broke from Mr. Brockmer, ran into the street stark naked, proclaimed himself the Messiah, and rolled himself in the mire."

But let the reader peruse the famous "Narrative" entire:—

"In the year 1744 one of the Moravian brethren, named Seniff, made acquaintance with Mr. Emanuel Swedenborg while they were passengers in a party-yacht from Holland to England. Mr. Swedenborg, who was a God-fearing man, wished to be directed to some house in London where he might live quietly and economically. Mr. Seniff brought him to me, and I cheerfully took him in. Mr. Swedenborg behaved very properly in my house. Every Sunday he went to the Church of the Moravian Brothers in Fetter Lane. He kept solitary, yet came often to me, and in talking, expressed much pleasure in hearing the Gospel in London. So he continued for several months, approving of what he heard at the Chapel.

"One day he said to me he was glad the Gospel was preached to the poor, but complained of the learned and rich, who, he thought, must go to hell. Under this idea he continued for several months. He told me he was writing a small Latin book, which would be gratuitously distributed among the learned men in the universities of England.

"After this he did not open the door of his chamber for two days, nor allow the maid-servant to make the bed and dust, as usual.

"One evening, when I was in the coffee-house, the maid ran in to call me home, saying that something strange must have happened to Mr. Swedenborg. She had several times knocked at his door, without his answering, or opening it.

"Upon this I went home, and knocked at his door, and called him by name. He then jumped out of bed, and I asked him if he would not allow the servant to enter and make his bed. He answered, 'No,' and desired to be left alone, for he had a great work on hand.

"This was about nine in the evening. Leaving his door and going up-stairs, he rushed up after me, making a fearful appearance. His hair stood upright, and he foamed round his mouth. He tried to speak, but could not utter his thoughts, stammering long before he could get out a word.

"At last he said that he had something to confide to me privately, namely, that he was the Messiah, that he was come to be crucified for the Jews, and that I (since he spoke with difficulty) should be his spokesman, and go with him to-morrow to the synagogue, there to preach his words.

"He continued; 'I know you are an honest man, for I am sure you love the Lord, but I fear you believe me not.'

"I now began to be afraid, and considered a long time ere I replied. At last I said:

"'You are, Mr. Swedenborg a somewhat aged man, and, as you tell me, have never taken medicine; wherefore, I think some of a right sort would do you good. Dr. Smith is near; he is your friend and mine; let us go to him, and he will give you something fitted for your state. Yet shall I make this bargain with you: if the angel appears to me and delivers the message you mention, I shall obey the same; if not, you shall go with me to Dr. Smith in the morning.' He told me several times the angel would appear to me, whereupon we took leave of each other and went to bed.

"In expectation of the angel, I could not sleep, but lay awake the whole night. My wife and children were at the same time very ill, which increased my anxiety. I rose about five o'clock in the morning.

"As soon as Mr. Swedenborg heard me move overhead he jumped out of bed, threw on a gown, and ran in the greates haste up to me, with his night-cap half on his head, to receive the news about my call.

"I tried by several remarks to prepare his excited mind for my answer. He foamed again and again, 'But how—how—how?' Then I reminded him of our agreement to go to Dr. Smith. At this he asked me straight down, 'Came not the vision?' I answered, 'No; and now I suppose you will go with me to Dr. Smith.' He answered, 'I will not go to any doctor.'

"He then spoke a long while to himself. At last he said: 'I am now associating with His spirits, one on the right hand and the other on the left. One asks me to follow you, for you are a good fellow; the other says I ought to have nothing to do with you, because you are good for nothing.'

"I answered, 'Believe neither of them, but let us thank God, who has given us power to believe in His Word.'

"He then went down stairs to his room, but returned immediately and spoke, but so confusedly that he could not be understood. I began to be frightened, suspecting that he might have a penknife or other instrument to hurt me. In my fear I addressed him seriously, requesting him to walk down stairs, as he had no business in my room. Then Mr. Swedenborg sat down in a chair and wept like a child, and said, 'Do you believe that I will do you any harm?' I also began to weep. It commenced to rain very hard.

"After this I dressed. When I came down I found Mr. Swedenborg also dressed, sitting in an arm-chair, with a great stick in his hand and the door open. He called, 'Come in, come in,' and waved the stick. I wanted to get a coach, but Mr. Swedenborg would not accompany me.

"I then went to Dr. Smith. Mr. Swedenborg went to the Swedish Envoy, but was not admitted, it being post day. Departing thence, he pulled off his clothes and rolled himself in very deep mud in a gutter. Then he distributed money from his pockets among the crowd which had gathered.

"In this state some of the footmen of the Swedish Envoy chanced to see him, and brought him to me very foul with filth. I told him that a good quarter had been taken for him near Dr. Smith, and asked him if he was willing to live there. He answered, 'Yes.' I sent for a coach, but Mr. Swedenborg would walk, and with the help of two men he reached his new lodging.

"Arrived there, he asked for a tub of water and six towels, and, entering one of the inner rooms, locked the door, and in spite of all entreaties would not open it. In fear lest he should hurt himself, the door was forced, when he was discovered washing his feet, and the towels all wet. He asked for six more. I went home, and left six men as guards over him. Dr. Smith visited him, and administered some medicine, which did him much good.

"I went to the Swedish Envoy, told him what had happened, and required that Mr. Swedenborg's rooms, in my house, might be sealed. The Envoy was infinitely pleased with my kindness to Mr. Swedenborg, thanked me very much for all my trouble, and assured me that the sealing of Mr. Swedenborg's chamber was unnecessary, as he had heard well of me, and had me in perfect confidence.

"After this I continued to visit Mr. Swedenborg, who, at last, had only one keeper. He many times vowed his gratitude for the trouble I had with him. He would never leave the tenet, however, that he was Messiah.

"One day, when Dr. Smith had given him a laxative, he went out into the fields and ran about so fast that his keeper could not follow him. Mr. Swedenborg sat down on a stile and laughed. When his man came near him, he rose to another stile, and so on.

"When the dog-days began, he became worse and worse. Afterward I associated very little with him. Now and then we met in the streets, and I always found he retained his former opinion."

Such is Brockmer's sad story, confirmed by the Swedish Pastor Mathesius and John Wesley. Its veracity, we are told, cannot be impugned. It fills out the break in Swedenborg's diary, and accords in spirit with his former entries. It, if true, tells but too plainly that madness, slowly and gradually developing, broke out in an acute mania in the fifty-sixth year of his life. Wesley speaks several times of the "violent fever which he had when he was fifty-five years old," as a fact well known.

In July, 1745, Swedenborg returned to Sweden, resigned his assessorship, abandoned all scientific pursuits, accounted all worldly interests and honors as worthless, and devoted himself exclusively to that sacred office, "to which the Lord Himself has called me; who was graciously pleased to manifest Himself to me, His unworthy servant, in a personal appearance in the year 1743; to open in me a sight of the spiritual world, and to enable me to converse with spirits and angels. * * * Hence it has been permitted me to hear and see things in another life which are astonishing, and which have never come to the knowledge of any man, nor entered into his imagination. I have been instructed concerning different kinds of spirits, and the state of souls after death—concerning hell, or the lamentable state of the unfaithful—concerning heaven, or the most happy state of the faithful, and particularly concerning the doctrine of faith, which is acknowledged throughout heaven." Leaving all else, he now calmly and seriously enters upon his great mission, than which none can be greater—*that through him the Lord Jesus Christ made His Second Advent for the Institution of a New Church, described in the Revelation under the figure of the New Jerusalem.*

Now he is the favorite of God. "An experience like mine

no one from creation has had," he asserts. And what was his experience? That of a seer, possessing the singular gift of seeing into and through the Spiritual World.

In 1749, Swedenborg published his first volume of his "*Arcana Cœlestia*," a work which came to its completion in eight volumes, the last appearing in 1756. London seems to have been his home for the time. He subsequently returned to Sweden, and, in 1761, took an active part as a member of the House of Nobles, in the deliberations of the Swedish diet. He soon ceased to attend, however, and retired. He built himself a small house in one of the suburbs of Stockholm, a gardener and his wife being his servants. He gave but little work and trouble, living on a simple diet, making his own coffee, which he drank freely, day and night, and dining usually on a small loaf of bread boiled in milk. He slept between blankets, not liking sheets, and, as he told the Rev. Mr. A. Ferelius, "never washed his face or hands, and never brushed his clothes, for no dirt or dust would stick to him." He paid little regard to day and night, sometimes sleeping through the one and working through the other, at other times, lying in bed for days together entranced. He talks aloud with the spirits, who caused him toothache, tried to enter his brain to kill him, tempted him to adultery and blasphemy.

His was not an unruffled course. It is recorded: "Sometimes he would weep bitterly and cry, with a loud voice, 'Lord, help me! O Lord, my God, forsake me not!' When seen in these states, he appeared as sick. When delivered from them, he would say, "God be eternally praised!' All suffering has passed away. Be comforted, my friends; nothing happens to me which the Lord does not permit."

After one of these trials, he went to bed and did not rise for several days. His servants grew uneasy; perhaps he had died of fright; and they debated whether they should not summon his relatives, and force open the door. At length the gardener climbed to the window, and, to his great relief, saw his master

turn in bed. Next day he rang the bell. The wife went to the room, and related how anxious they had been, to which he cheerfully replied, "he had been very well, and had wanted for nothing."

He was accessible, and free with visitors. Women, however, were not admitted to his company. His general topic of conversation was his intercourse with the spiritual world. A positive test of his pretended gifts and powers, nevertheless, he would smoothly evade. Nicholas Collin, a student of Upsal, and ardent admirer of his writings, visited him, and requested as a great favor, that he should mediate an interview with his brother, who had died a few months before. Swedenborg inquired what his motives were for such a communion. "Merely the gratification of my brotherly affection," said the young man, "and the satisfaction of exploring a scene so sublime and interesting to a serious mind." Swedenborg conceded the purity of his motives, but did not deem them weighty enough to solicit a communication. Nothing short of a matter, important to the temporal and spiritual concern of the subject, was able to move him to consult the angels, who regulate these things. Lavater, who addressed him from Zurich, with a great deal of respect and sincerity, directed four pointed questions which he was anxious to have answered, but he was no more successful, Swedenborg did not answer. A second letter, of like nature, was likewise left unanswered. To a Minister of State, who applied to him for information concerning a certain young prince, who had mysteriously disappeared, he replied that the young man was in a spiritual circle, to which he had no access ; that the angels did not know that circle; and that the matter was too small to trouble the Lord with. Liberal as he was with Revelations when no effort for detection or trial was at hand, he evaded or shirked a test.

About 1771, during the beginning of August, Swedenborg visited England for the last time. He resided in Cold Bath Fields, a place he had lived at during a former stay, at the

house of Richard Shearsmith, a wig-maker. There, on a Christmas Eve, he had a stroke of apoplexy which deprived him of the power of speech, and produced paralysis. He rallied for a time, but on the 27th of March, 1772, he quietly died, on the day, it is said, he predicted. His servant says of the event: "He was as pleased as I should have been if I was going to have a holiday or going to some merry-making." Thus lived and died this singular man. His works are left us, however, from which we must form our estimate of the author. He confronts us as a Scientist and Seer, under which two-fold character he must be judged separately.

He claimed, at one time, to have analyzed, examined and mastered nature. In his "Principia" he undertakes to investigate the Elemental Kingdom. Nature's method is everywhere the same, he holds. Hence Analogy is his mode of reasoning. In Suns, Planets and Particles, Nature is ever similar to herself. Size is nothing. The same ratio exists between 1,000,000 and 5,000,000 as there is between .0,000,001 and .0,000,005; what is true of the least is true of the greatest. Since then, the whole world is mechanical, even the intangible particles must be so, too; visible matter is geometrical as to figure, mechanical as to motion; therefore invisible matter must be so also. Everything in Nature originated in points as lines and forms, in geometry, originate in points. These points are immediate products from the Infinite. The Infinite produces a congress of points, or First Finites; and from these grew an order of Second Finites; from these a series of Third Finites, and so on, until the world became a fact.

It is easy to see the weak link in his chain. He does not tell us how he gets his point produced from the Infinite. He postulates whenever he pleases. Analogies are arguments for him. He imagines, concludes, declares, and very often forgets all about the verification and proof. We mean him no harm, but involuntarily we were haunted by a certain bold, bad man, who dealt out this advice: "Talk! Talk! Talk! Some will stick!"

Some of Swedenborg's teachings did hold out, and do yet, even though we subsequently pronounced his speculations vain and idle. As a writer on Anatomy and Physiology he is far above many of later days. The human body is for him *a living organization*—a vital harmony. Still, time, which tests all things, has not dealt kindly with his wisdom. His publications were received with indifference, and men of to-day, engaged seriously and scientifically, will hardly sit down soberly to a table of imagination run riot, as it seems to them.

But who will deny him a comprehensive grandeur of method? He drank at the fountain of all sciences. If an Emerson sees so much in an author as he tells us he recognizes in Swedenborg, we must, at all events, not dismiss him with contempt, or pronounce him a trimmer. And, what is very significant Swedenborg never pretended to write for his day, or expected to be appreciated by his cotemporaries. But, still he looked for a day in which he *would* be recognized. Nor can any serious student deny, that Swedenborg's writings are just now beginning to be studied and respected. Even Carlyle acknowledges that he greatly wronged the man, by severely ignoring him. Carlyle seldom begs any man's pardon, remember!

His subsequent career now claims our notice—as a seer. Here the celebrated "Brockmer's Narrative" does us good service. But it is necessary to know something more of the character of his dreams, which his Diary furnishes. Here is one specimen:—

"I went to bed.* * * Half an hour after I heard a tumbling noise under my head. I thought it was the Tempter going away. Immediately, a violent trembling came over me from head to foot with a great noise. This happened several times. I felt as if something holy were over me. I then fell asleep, and about 12, 1, or 2, the tremblings and the noise were repeated indescribably. I was prostrated on my face, and at that moment I became wide-awake and perceived that I was thrown down, and wondered what was the meaning. I spoke as if awake, but felt that these words were put into my mouth:—

"'Thou, Almighty Jesus Christ, who, by Thy great mercy, deigns to come to so great a sinner, make me worthy of Thy grace.'

"I kept my hands together in prayer, and then a hand came forward and firmly pressed mine. I continued my prayer, saying: —

"'Thou hast promised to have mercy upon all sinners; Thou canst not but keep Thy word.'

"At that moment I sat in His bosom, and saw Him face to face. It was a face of holy mien and altogether indescribable, and He smiled, so that I believe His face had indeed been like this when He lived on Earth. * * * *

"So I concluded it was the Son of God Himself, who came down with the noise like thunder, who prostrated me on the ground, and who called forth the prayer."

The above vision, of the 7th of April, 1744, was of the better sort. It is to be regretted that all his nightly trances were not of this class. Here is one of another stripe :—

"I had horrible dreams; how an executioner roasted the heads which he had struck off, and hid them one after another in an oven, which was never filled. It was said to be food. There was a big woman who laughed, and had a little girl with her."

"I had troublesome dreams about dogs, that were said to be my countrymen, and which sucked my neck without biting.* * * In the morning, I had horrid thoughts, that the Evil One had got hold of me, yet with the confidence that he was outside of me and would let me go. Then I fell into the most damnable thoughts, the worst that could be."

His sensual dreams are numerous, the recital of which are of such a character as to be quite unfit for the public eye. Another nocturnal experience is thus related :—

"When I was about to go to sleep, it was stated that certain spirits were conspiring to kill me; but, because I was secure, I feared nothing, and fell asleep. About the middle of the

night, I awoke and felt that I did not breathe from myself, but, as I believed, from Heaven. It was then plainly told me that the whole hosts of spirits had conspired to suffocate me, and as soon as they had made the attempt, a heavenly respiration was opened in me, and they were defeated."

The spirits tried hard to make a thief out of Swedenborg. He tells us:—"I observed that certain spirits often wished to excite me to steal things of small value, such as are met within shops; and so great was their desire that they actually moved my hand. I ascertained that in the world these spirits had been tradespeople, who by various artifices defrauded their customers, and thought it allowable. Some had been celebrated merchants, at which I wondered. * * * When they were with me, as soon as I saw anything in shops, or any pieces of money, or the like, their cupidity became manifest to me; for thinking themselves to be me, they urged that I should stretch forth my hand to steal, quite contrary to my usual state and custom."

The spirits perverted his senses often. "It has sometimes, yea rather often," says he, "happened that what had tasted well has been changed in my mouth to what is nasty, or to another taste. Since, if I mistake not, sugar tasted almost like salt. The liquid I drank had infused into it a salty taste expressed by spirits from the juices of the body. * * * The taste of man is thus changed according to the phantasies of spirits."

Suicide was urged upon by his nightly companions, as well as during their daily visit. Hear him tell his sore trials in this direction:—

"It was often observed that, when I was in the streets, evil spirits wished to cast me under the wheels of carriages; the effort was, in fact, habitual to them. To-day, I noticed particularly that they were in the constant endeavor to do so. I was enabled to perceive that evil spirits made the attempts, and that indeed such mischief is their life." * * * *

"Some time before, the faculty of conversing with spirits

was opened in me. I was impelled to commit suicide with a knife. The impulse grew so strong that I was forced to hide the knife out of sight in my desk.

"I have now discovered that Sarah Herselia was the spirit who excited the suicidal impulse as often as I saw the knife. From this it may appear that men may be unconsciously infested with spirits who hated them during their life on earth."

His war with the Quakers is amusing, until it becomes so obscene and filthy as to disgust the reader. Here is but a taste of the narrative on this point: —

"When I awoke in the night, I found in the hair of my head a multitude of very small snakes. It was perceived that Quaker spirits had been plotting against me, while I was asleep, but without effect. It was only by their phantasies that they were among my hair where I felt them.

"The secret worship of the Quakers, sedulously concealed from the world, was made manifest. It is a worship so wicked, execrable, and abominable, that, were it known to Christians, they would expel Quakers from society, and permit them to live only among beasts.

"They have a vile communion of wives." * * * *

The reader will not wonder at this harshness towards his fellows, when he comes to learn the little respect or reverence Swedenborg shows, even towards prophets, apostles, and other spiritual worthies. He was above all such holy characters, since his mission was the very highest that could be allotted to man. The Lord Jesus Christ had made His Second Advent for the Institution of the New Church, typified under the New Jerusalem in Revelation, in him. Yea, he was the Messiah. Had he not come in the year 1757—the year in which the Last Judgment occurred in the world of spirits? Why should he bow before any spirit—David and Paul not excepted?

"David is possessed with the lust," says Swedenborg, "of being chief in heaven. * * * Persuaded that he was a god, he proclaimed himself one."

"When I went to bed, evil spirits formed a design to destroy me, and for this end took measures to call out hell, and every malicious spirit. * * * They evoked David also, who appeared before me in a dense cloud."

Paul is thus disposed of:—

"A certain devil fancied himself the very devil who deceived Adam and Eve. * * * It was given me to hear Paul speaking with him, and saying he wished to be his companion, and that they would go together and make themselves gods."

"During my sleep I have been infested by adulterers, and this devil and Paul have lent their aid to my infesters, and so stubbornly held me in an adulterous train of thought that I could scarcely release myself. * * * Hence Paul's nefarious character was made known."

"Paul is among the worst of the apostles, as has been made known to me by large experience. * * * Besides, he connected himself with one of the worst devils, would fain rule all things, and pledged himself to obtain for him his end. It would be tedious for me to write all I know about Paul."

It is well to know too the *kind* of Spiritual World which Swedenborg entered and became so familiar with. It is wholly man-made, and not as good a sphere as the Natural World, by much. Not far away lies his mysterious region, into which Swedenborg continually went, and that, too, without going away. A certain writer remarks:—"Swedenborg's representation of the spiritual world needs an inscription, like to that painter's picture of a lion, which needed the 'This is a Lion,' underneath." A man daring enough to make a Heaven or a Hell, a Spiritual World out and out, he, surely, needs no additional boldness to make its denizens as he wants them. Aside of Virgil's portraitures, or Dante's, or even Jacob Behmen's, Swedenborg's is a miserable daub. Mahomet, indeed, exceeds the Baron's efforts immeasurably. Wesley's remark is in point here:—"His ideas of heaven are low, grovelling, just suiting to a Mohammedan paradise." * * * * "His dreams—just as

authentic as Quevedo's "Visions of Hell." The less spiritually one is minded, it seems, the more readily one will incline to Swedenborg's manufactured spiritual order. It is the nearest approach to a spiritual world that is not spiritual at all, that can possibly be made. It is, in fact, only *another* natural world. "The whole natural world corresponds," says he, "to the spiritual world collectively and in every part; for the natural world exists and subsists from the spiritual world, just as an effect does from its cause." . . .

"Whenever I have been in company with angels, the objects in heaven appeared so exactly like those in the world, that I knew no other than that I was on earth."

"There is so little difference between the life of the spirit and the life of the body, that those who have died can hardly realize that a change has been made."

"A man is equally a man after death, and a man so perfectly that he knows no other than that he is still on earth. He sees, hears and speaks as on earth; he walks, runs, and sits as on earth; he eats and drinks as on earth; he sleeps and wakes as on earth; he enjoys sexual delights as on earth; in short, he is a man in general and every particular as on earth, whence it is plain that death is a continuation of life, and a mere transit to another plane of being."

It is, indeed, no hardship for us to concede that Swedenborg possessed the gift (?) of entering into and interpreting the mysteries of a spiritual world—such a world as it was!

Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to suppose that all which he says in his "Arcana Cœlestia" is equally foolish, absurd, and wicked. There is much of a very different character. Consider, for example, how nicely he discourses on *character*. This is the only passport to heaven. Virtue in man is of the good angel; Vice, of a bad angel. The heavenly life cannot enter the infernally formed soul. Many of the first on earth, apparently, are the last, actually, in that plane and sphere. The Lord, indeed, permits man to go where he pleases;

He never saves nor damns. "When, however, they make the attempt, they are seized at the threshold with such anguish that, in their torment, they cast themselves down headlong." No change of character is possible after death. To change it is to destroy it. Man is himself; he takes with him, as it were, tastes, feelings, habits and opinions. The heavenly-minded here will be heavenly habitated there—and they only. The angels know him instantly. There is something solemn in the manner in which these heavenly inquisitors read a man. He puts it very nervously:—

"When a man's deeds are discovered after death, his angels, who are inquisitors, look into his face, and extend their examination over his whole body, beginning with the fingers of each hand. I was surprised at this, and the reason was thus explained to me:—

"'Every volition and thought of man is inscribed on his brain; for volition and thought have their beginnings in the brain, whence they are conveyed to the bodily members, wherein they terminate. Whatever, therefore, is in the mind is in the brain, and from the brain into the body, according to the order of its parts. Thus, a man writes his life in his physique, and thus the angels discover his autobiography in his structure.'"

His Scriptural Commentaries would hardly pass for orthodox. We will furnish the reader with some specimens of these too. Three senses are to be discerned in the Word, the literal, the spiritual and the celestial. After this rule let him render the Decalogue:—

"By the fourth commandment, in the spiritual sense, is meant the regeneration and reformation of man. The work of regeneration is successive." * * * "Answering in its several stages to man's conception, formation in the womb, his birth, and his education. The first act of the new birth is reformation; the second act of it is regeneration."

"In a spiritual sense, by honoring father and mother is meant

revering and loving God and the Church. In a celestial sense, by father is meant God; by mother, the communion of saints."

"The celestial meaning of the sixth commandment is, Thou shalt not hate God.

"Committing adultery, in a spiritual sense, is adulterating the word of God.

"Stealing, in the celestial sense, is the taking away divine power from the Lord.

"In Scripture, by a garden, a grove, woods, are meant, wisdom, intelligence, science; by the olive, the vine, the cedar, the poplar, and the oak, are meant the good and truth of the church, under the different characters of celestial, spiritual, rational, natural, and sensual; by a lamb, an ox, a sheep, a calf, a goat, are meant innocence, charity, and natural affection; by Egypt, is signified what is scientific; by Ashur, what is rational; by Edom, what is natural; by Moab, the adulteration of good; by Ammon, the adulteration of truth; by Jacob, is meant the church natural; by Israel, the church spiritual; and by Judah, the church celestial."

The damnable heresy, according to the Baron, is the Dogma of the Trinity. He excludes all who believe in it from salvation.

OF GOD THE CREATOR,

we are told, "God is one, in essence and person, and Jesus Christ is He. Jesus Christ is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. * * * The Church is now in so ruinous a state, that there are scarce any traces left of its ancient glory. And this has come to pass, in consequence of their dividing the Divine Trinity into three persons, each of which is declared to be God and Lord. This is the true source of all the Atheism in the world."

"The Nicene and Athanasian doctrine concerning Trinity, have given birth to a faith which has entirely overturned the Christian church."

"He that confirmeth himself into a plurality of gods, by a

plurality of persons, becomes like a statue formed with movable joints, in the midst of which Satan stands and speaks through its mouth."

"In the spiritual world (which lies mid-way between heaven and hell, having heaven above and hell below,) are climates and zones as in the natural. The frigid zones are the habitation of those spirits, who, while on earth were lazy and indolent. Having once a desire to visit them, I was carried in the spirit to a region covered with snow. It was on the Sabbath day; and I saw a number of men, that is, human spirits, who had their heads covered with lions' skins, by reason of the cold; their bodies, with the skins of leopards; and their legs and feet with bears' skins. I also observed several riding in chariots, made in the shape of dragons with horns; they were drawn by small horses without tails, which ran with the impetuosity of terrible fierce beasts. They were all flocking toward a church, in which hung a tablet inscribed, 'A Divine Being, consisting of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in essence one, but in persons three.' "

And a still worse fate awaits some Trinitarians, beyond the riding in gigs and chaises. Of one poor soul, he says:—"I once saw a spirit as lightning falling from heaven. I asked him the reason of it. He replied: I was cast down, because I believed that God the Father and God the Son are two persons."

OF THE LORD THE REDEEMER,

we are told much of this order:—"The Lord received His soul from Jehovah, and the divinity of the Father was the Lord's soul."

"The humanity whereby God sent Himself into the world was the Son of God."

"The passion of the cross was the final temptation which the Lord endured as the Grand Prophet; and it was the means of the glorification of His humanity; that is, of its union with the divinity of the Father."

Let us hear somewhat, OF THE HOLY GHOST.

"The Holy Ghost is not God Himself, but the divine operation of God.

The Holy Ghost is divine truth. Therefore, our Lord Himself is also the Holy Ghost.

"The divine operation, signified by the Holy Ghost, consists in reformation and regeneration; and, in proportion as these are effected, in renovation, vivification, sanctification, and justification; and, in proportion as these are effected, in purification from evils, remission of sins, and final salvation."

A late writer thus briefly sums up Swedenborg's theories:—

Swedenborgianism is Unitarianism. "God is one in Essence and in Person. In Him there is, however, a Trinity, distinct and essential, called the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The Lord Jesus Christ is this God, whom we must worship. There is no vicarious atonement; no justification by faith. A large portion of the Canon is ignored, and the received parts are supplemented, as it were, in their plain and literal rendering, by an inner and spiritualistic sense. The law of correspondence between things natural and things spiritual is greatly emphasized. The doctrine of the Resurrection is rejected, as commonly held. At death each individual leaves back his gross, material body, and enters, after a brief interval, upon his eternal state. Once in it, the experience and history of the man is similar to his earthly career, only on a higher plain. All Swedenborgianism stands in Emanuel Swedenborg, and falls with him too. He is the first and last of it. This is what condemns it in the eyes of all—save, of course, in those of the initiated."

REDEMPTION.

This is bringing the hells under subjection, and reducing the heavens into order. His passion on the cross was not the act of redemption; it lay in this rather, that He executed the last judgment in the spiritual world, separating the sheep from the goats, forming a new heaven of the former, and a new hell of the latter.

"The Lord is now accomplishing redemption; that is, subduing the hells, and bringing the heavens into order; which was begun in the year 1757, together with the last judgment executed at the same time."

We will merely add the Baron's narrative of a soul in the "Great Beyond," in substance and briefly:—

There are three heavens and three hells. A soul enters the spiritual world without knowing of its new home, for some days. The knowledge comes presently, and the realization is that the spirit is *between* the heavens and the hells. Then begins a journey, or visitation rather. The spirit is led about to various circles, good and bad, in order to learn its affinity. If the drawing is towards a good society, the introduction is consummated, first in this grade of goodness, and then in that, until a society is found, corresponding with its own natural level. There a disrobing of the natural, and a clothing upon by the spiritual finds place, and the soul enters heaven. A bad man has a similar experience, and history, but in a contrary direction. Those of authority and power, in this life, are set over societies and orders beyond; but as they betray a weakness, they are degraded. After several such experiences, they are ready to retire in sadness, till they are translated to a desert, and dwell there in cottages. They are put to work now; and as they are diligent and faithful, they are fed. If indifferent and lazy, they are fasted well-nigh to starvation. No work, no bread. "Hell consists of * * * * endless work-houses." "Some are set to prepare vermilion, and to mix it into a paint for the faces of harlots."

Our final extract shall be Swedenborg's photograph of the Devil:—

"Satan was once permitted to ascend out of hell with a woman to my house. She was of the tribe of Sirens, who can assume all figures, and all habits of beauty and ornament. All such are harlots in the world of spirits. I asked Satan if the woman was his wife. He answered, 'Neither I, nor any of

our society have wives; she is my ——. She then inspired him with wanton ——, and he kissed her and cried, 'Ah, my Adonis!' I said, what do thou and thy companions think of God? He said, 'God, heaven, angels, and the like, are all empty words.' I answered, 'O Satan, thou hast lost thy understanding; Recollect that thou hast lived in another world!' Immediately his recollection returned, and he saw his error. But the cloud soon returned upon his understanding, and he was just the same as before."

From the thread of his life, and the extracts of his works, we may form a summary estimate of his character. Above all men, in heaven and on earth, as he claims to be; beyond law and criticism and error, even, Swedenborg cannot get away from himself. He is his own best commentary and exhibition.

The founder of Methodism, in this way, tested him. "I sat down to read, and seriously to consider some of the writings of Baron Swedenborg. I began with huge prejudices in his favor, knowing him to be a pious man, and one of a strong understanding, of much learning, and one who thoroughly believed himself. But I could not hold out long. Any one of his visions puts his real character out of all doubt. He is one of the most ingenious madmen that ever set pen to a paper. But his waking dreams are so wild, so far remote, both from Scripture and common sense, that one might as easily swallow the stories of 'Tom Thumb' or 'Jack the Giant Killer.' * * * *

"I find but one instance of an insanity parallel to this: I mean that related by the Roman poet, of the gentleman at Argos, in other respects a sensible man—

Tui se credebat miros audire Tragœdos,
In vacu lætus sessor plausorque Theatro,—

who imagined himself to hear admirable tragedies, and undoubtedly saw as well as heard the actors, while he was sitting alone, and clapping them in the empty theater." To convince us that he meant him no ill, he says this for the Baron:—"He was a man of piety, of a strong understanding, and most lively

imagination; but he had a violent fever when he was five-and-fifty-years old, which quite overturned his understanding. Nor did he ever recover it; but it continued 'majestic, though in ruins.'"

But on the question of Swedenborg's insanity, he is decided. "I have abundant proof," he writes, "that Baron Swedenborg's fever, which he had thirty years before he died, much affected his understanding."

Maudsley likewise judges the man from his ancestry, history, and writings, and arrives at the same conclusion. He believes the father to have been thus predisposed already. The boy, Emanuel's, power of suspending his breath, borders nigh on *chorea*, and is to be regarded as an affliction, rather than as a gift. His whole "subsequent career, as seer and theologian, was the natural development of his character, but it was a morbid development, and the history which remains to be told, is the history of a learned and ingenious madman, the character of whose intellectual aberration testifies to the greatness of his original intellectual structure."

Relying on Spinoza's dictum, that the visions in a dream may remain and produce hallucinations after awakening, he reads this confession in Swedenborg's vagaries. "While dreams may be considered a temporary insanity, insanity is a waking dream, and there is a border land, in which they are so confounded as to be indistinguishable. * * * * The notable circumstances in connection with Swedenborg's dreamings, are the indistinguishable blending of dreams and waking visions, and the entire faith with which he accepts and interprets them as spiritual revelations. * * * * Even in the dirtiest details of an unchaste dream, he discovers a wonderful spiritual meaning. Had it not been for this spiritual interpretation of his dreams and visions, probably no one would ever have doubted the derangement of his intellect. * * * * Those, however, who reject angrily the supposition of any unsoundness of mind, must admit, if they know anything of its morbid phenomena,

that if he was not at this time, fast gliding into madness, he imitated exceeding well, the character of the incipient stages. But there is no need of conjecture, where something like certainty is attainable. "He then plants himself on the 'Brockmer's Narrative,' which proves an outbreak of acute insanity —a fruiting which might have been predicted by any medical psychologist, on the mere basis of what had transpired in the man before. If the 'Narrative' cannot be upset, there remains no doubt that Swedenborg was insane at the moment of his first pretended entrance into the spiritual world." After the acute attack had passed off, as it did in a few weeks, was he perfectly restored, or was he still the victim of a chronic mania or monomania, such as not unfrequently follows acute madness? "Two facts, according to Dr. M., forbid us to hope for an entire recovery: 1. The age of the patient; 2. The fact "that his madness was not a strange calamity coming on him unexpectedly from without, foreign to his nature, extrinsic, but that it was native to his character, the result of an unsound development of its tendencies—it was a natural, an intrinsic madness. In the former case, the *ego*, regaining power, may throw off the intruding affliction, and re-establish itself; in the latter, the mania absorbs and becomes the *ego*, wherefore, no return to entire sanity is possible. It was not then scientifically probable that Swedenborg would recover; it was, on the contrary, probable that he would suffer for the rest of his life, from the monomaniacal form of chronic mania."

From the facts broadly stated, to wit: that Swedenborg suddenly abandoned all his former pursuits, in the year 1744 or 1745; that he claimed to have been admitted to the spiritual world, and to have power to converse with angels; that his writings at this juncture savor of madness; and that he had indeed an acute attack of madness—from such *data*, Doctor M. asks—"Is it not reasonable to infer that his new and strange pretensions were the outcome of his madness?" Of course, says Dr. M., on the theory of his madness, all Swedenborg's

pretensions are quite consistent. "He lived and moved in the world, and saw it with his bodily eyes, as other persons see it; but his disordered intellect was continually occupied in spiritualistic recollections, to which his disordered imagination gave shape; the morbid creations being projected outward, and then represented as events of the spiritual world. * * * * His eyes were indeed opened to see what other people could not see, but the gift was nowise so singular as he imagined; every monomaniac being similarly gifted."

His good behaviour, rational course, in general, and sweet disposition, do not disconcert the doctor in the least. "The vulgar notion, says he, that a madman must be incoherent, or dangerous, or furious, prepared those who had read his extraordinary revelations, to find something strange in his behaviour; and when they were introduced to a calm and courteous old gentleman, who conversed sensibly on all ordinary subjects, and related his extraordinary spiritual experiences, with a quiet and assured confidence, they were naturally surprised, and found it hard to believe that his stories had not some real foundation. How little warranted by facts such a conclusion was, an hour's experience in a lunatic asylum would have proved to them."

Doctor Maudsley thinks, furthermore, that one not especially interested in him, would note all his eccentricities. On one of his voyages from Sweden to England, he had often been heard talking to himself. The steward and cabin-boy told the captain that their passenger was out of his mind. The reply was: "Out of his mind or not, as long as he is quiet, I have no power over him. He is always reasonable with me, and I have the best of weather when he is aboard."

His nephew, Bishop Filenius, and some of the clergy, once entertained the idea of sending him to an asylum on account of his doctrines; but happily it was never done.

From all that is said and written of Emanuel Swedenborg, for and against him, we may well expect the formula—"*Lunatic*

or Prophet." It is accordingly claimed that there is no middle ground. And yet, Dr. Brownson declares that Swedenborgianism and all other religious phenomena in Paganism, Mohammedanism, Protestantism, Spiritism, and every other territory, outside of the Roman Church, are but the fruitings of demonology. At furthest, then, we may regard him as a prophet of light or of darkness, it is claimed. And, verily, we feel like acquiescing in the verdict. But whether of the twain, we are not prepared to affirm.

The theory of a holy inspiration, alone satisfies his admirers. "Madness!" they exclaim. "Not so! All through his life we discern a consistent rising and ripening. From childhood, through youth, and into manhood, his has been an emerging from and out of the earthly, and an ascension into the spiritual. He mounted step by step from the study of the lowest forms of matter, to the investigation of its highest organic evolution. Verily, his 'new departure' was no departure at all, no abrupt breaking; but a natural fitting-on, a bright and blessed development, the glorious efflorescence of a life, perfectly in harmony with itself all through."

"Lunacy," it is persisted, on the other hand, "is the most charitable term that can be employed with reference to the man. With the Bible in one hand, and the life of Swedenborg in the other, we have no election. He is a good and learned, but mad man." With such a dilemma confronting us, it is, perhaps, wise to plead for a reopening of his case, on the part of the thinking world. It is on record, that the children have erected monuments over the tombs which the fathers had dug. And so, too, is it written, that from the second death there is no resurrection.

For our own self, we plead openly for a new trial, in the case of Swedenborg. Let the man and his works be studied by the thinking world, that it may become known whether he be a prophet of good, or of evil, or of neither; and in either or any event, to what degree a prophet of this, that, or the other. It

will result in a verdict as intelligent, as it will be in harmony with God's Word, we doubt not, no matter how many enigmas may remain unsolved in this singular man.

Nor need any earnest mind be startled at such a revision of Swedenborgianism. The gospel itself, must again be brought home to the mind and tribunal of our age. Not, indeed, to put the Divine System on trial, as it were, in order to discover whether it be a fact or a fable, do we mean; but rather that the gospel may be freed, in this way, from the disfigurements which its friends have unhappily inflicted, or its opponents ignorantly or maliciously clogged it with. The good genius of the XIX. century prays for such a consummation, which promises to result in a greater light than has ever dawned upon the Christian race before, in consequence of the proper understanding of the old and by-gone, which again will break the way for a new interpretation in the future. We do not see what should hinder the Christian scholar from considering what such a man as Emanuel Swedenborg may have contributed towards the grand result, as well as Adam Clarke, Matthew Henry, Richard Baxter, and a score of others. We do not fear the rejection of the Gospel, but hail, rather, the unfolding of its life-germ to men's hearts, that the race may find it to be indeed the bread and water of immortality.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

WAYSIDE GLEANINGS IN EUROPE BY BENJAMIN BAUSMAN, D. D., READING, PA.; DANIEL MILLER, 113 NORTH SIXTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA; REFORMED CHURCH PUBLICATION BOARD, 907 ARCH STREET.

DR. BAUSMAN is known as a ready and rapid writer. His work, Sinai and Zion, had prepared us to expect an interesting volume from his pen when it was announced that he was about to publish this second volume, entitled Wayside Gleanings. But what is there to glean when the reaping has been so thorough? Besides, can a book be fresh which purports to give observations of Europe twenty years ago? These questions we asked ourselves, and we confess we had some misgivings as to the success of the new book; but these, all gave way when we sat down to read it. Europe does not change as rapidly as the United States. History there is not as here, like the rapidly flowing torrent from the mountain-side, but rather like the steadily flowing stream through the plane. The old homesteads of England and the villages of Germany are pretty much the same now as they were a century ago. Political changes there have been, but with these the author does not pretend to deal. He takes us to the cities, towns, and rural districts of Europe, and enables us to look in upon the manners and customs of the people. These, as we have said, undergo very little change, especially in the villages and rural districts. Kings and politicians come and go, but the people remain substantially the same.

The chapter in which the author describes his visit to the home of his ancestors in Germany, near Bingen-on-the-Rhine, is an illustration of what we have said. There stands the village and the village church as they stood when his father, then a youth, left them in the beginning of the century. The narrative of his meeting with the family of his uncle, his father's brother, is full of tender pathos. The reader seems to be transported to that little German village, and to join the throng of devout worshipers as they wend their way to the village church. He reads the description of their simple worship, and their manner of life, and he says to himself, these Germans are still religious and devout. Whatever may be the condition of the cities and learned people, these plain peasantry are not poisoned by the learned rationalism of many of the professors.

We are satisfied and pleased. Without making any great pretensions the writer has given us a spicy, readable and instructiv

volume on a trite theme. He has gleaned successfully, and the reader will be fully repaid for his time and labor in reading this book. We venture to say that very few who make the tour of Europe see as much as he saw, and can describe as well what they saw. We commend the book especially to his numerous friends in the Reformed Church.

GERMAN REVIEWS.—JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE, No. 3, 1875.

The first article is a fitting tribute by Weizsäcker *to the memory of Dr. Christian Palmer.* Palmer was one of the original founders and editors of the "Jahrbücher," and during the twenty years' history of this celebrated German theological review, contributed numerous valuable articles to its pages. Born in 1811, he received his theological education in the University of Tübingen. For ten years he labored faithfully in the work of the ministry; but in 1852, after the death of Schmid, he was called to the chair of Practical Theology in Tübingen, where he toiled with German industry till his death, in May 29, 1875. The number and character of his literary productions prove him to have been a man of extraordinary diligence. He published valuable works on Homiletics, Catechetics, Pedagogics, Pastoral Theology, Christian Ethics, and Hymnology, besides issuing volumes of sermons and furnishing able contributions to Encyclopedias and Reviews. Palmer belonged to the so-called "Mediational School" in theology, which seeks to harmonize faith with science and culture. His point of view, however, was always that of Practical Theology. Weizsäcker rightly characterizes him as a late disciple of the older Tübingen School, represented by suchmen as Steudel, as distinguished from the modern Tübingen School of Baur. His personal character was blameless. Kind and gentle, he was yet severe toward all vulgarity, impurity and untruthfulness.

The second article of Prof. Sieffert, of Bonn, is an important contribution to the Biblical Theology of the New Testament. The subject discussed is "The Soteriological Significance of the Sufferings and Death of Christ, according to the First Epistle of Peter." The opinions of theologians in regard to the type of doctrine presented in this epistle are still widely divergent. What is the peculiar, characteristic manner in which the Apostle apprehends and sets forth the Christian doctrine? According to one, his doctrine is Jewish Christian, and is uninfluenced by Paulinism; according to another, it is simply a repetition of Pauline ideas. These are the extreme views between which the majority of Biblical theologians of the New Testament move, while they differ among themselves as to the degree in which Peter was influenced by Paul. To aid in settling the general question, Sieffert enters upon a careful investigation of

the doctrine of Peter, as contained in this epistle, so far as it relates to the sufferinge and death of Christ. His article, which extends over 70 pages, is worthy of close study.

An essay by Ritschl, in the third number of the "*Studien und Kritiken*" for 1875, on the prologue to the Gospel of John, furnishes the occasion for a few remarks by Wagenmann. The Apostle's course of thought is somewhat perplexing. Aparently it is twice interrupted, first by the introduction of the Baptist (vs. 6, 8), and again by v. 15. Various attempts have been made to meet the difficulty. Ritschl, following the precedent of Priestley, supposes a transposition, and arranges as follows:—*First*, The revelation of the Word to the Gentiles (vs. 1-5, 10); *Secondly*, The revelation to the people of Israel (vs. 11-13, 6-8); *Thirdly*, The revelation of the Word in the flesh (vs. 9, 14, 16-18, 15).

Wagenmann first eliminates vs. 6-8, 15, and thus obtains, as he thinks, a Christian logos psalm, rhythmically arranged according to the laws of Hebrew poetry in three strophes: *Strophe* 1, (vs. 1 5), The nature of the Word; strophe 2, (vs. 9-13), The coming of the Word; strophe 3, (vs. 14, 16-18), The incarnation of the Word and His dwelling among men. But how then are vs. 6-8, 15 to be regarded? Wagenmann thinks that if they were dropped, nothing essential would be lost. If they are retained they may be viewed 1, as a *gloss*, which stood originally in the margin, but at a later time crept into the text; or 2, as explanatory *parentheses* inserted by the author of the Gospel to prevent misconception; or 3, as a *transposition*. Wagenmann would place them between vs. 18 and 19, as a transition from the prologue to the historical narrative, and in the following order:—Vs. 18, 6, 7, 8, 15, 19.

"Remarks on Single Passages of the Gospel according to John," by Solms; and "A Historical Introduction to the Articles of Smalcald," by Sander, constitute the fourth and fifth articles, which are followed by the book notices.

THE BIBLE COMMENTARY—ISAIAH, JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS.

This is the fifth volume of the so-called Speakers' Commentary. The general character of the work is already well known to the theological public. It is, of course, conservative. This was only to be expected from the occasion that gave it birth; for it was during the excitement called forth by Bishop Colenso's attacks on the Pentateuch that the idea of preparing this Commentary was suggested by the Speaker of the House of Commons. Yet it is not altogether inaccessible to modern criticism. At times it exhibits surprising freedom, especially in the criticism of the text. The work may be taken as fairly representing the Biblical learning of the English Church. The Commentary on Isaiah was prepared by Dr.

Kay; that on Jeremiah, as well as that on Lamentations, by Dr Smith, Dean of Canterbury. These names are a sufficient guarantee that the work is well done.

The ATLANTIC MONTHLY is one of our best American monthlies, and we may say *the best* in its own character. It aims to be a *literary* magazine of high order, and it has realized its aim. That it will go on its way into a still brighter future, we may infer both from what it has been, and from the prospectus, which we herewith insert:

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY FOR 1876.

W. D. HOWELLS will contribute a new American Novel, entitled "Private Theatricals," the scene of which is laid in a New England summer boarding-place, and will also furnish Sketches of Life and Character. MRS. FRANCES ANNE KEMBLE will continue her charming autobiographical papers, "Old Woman's Gossip," commenced in the August ATLANTIC. MARK TWAIN will add to his capital sketches of "Old Times on the Mississippi" some new papers in his inimitable vein. GEN. O. O. HOWARD will contribute in three papers his recollections of three of the most famous battles of the war. CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, author of "My Summer in a Garden," will describe Oriental Travel in his graphic and delightful style. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR., a recognized authority on the subject, will treat ably and attractively of Railroad Matters in the many aspects in which they interest and affect the public. T. B. ALDRICH, fresh from a summer on the Continent, will contribute some sparkling sketches of European Travel. HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES and JOHN G. WHITTIER, will continue to furnish their latest poetical productions to the public through the ATLANTIC. Poetry may also be expected from J. T. TROWBRIDGE, T. B. ALDRICH, Mrs. Thaxter, and other favorite writers. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, E. P. WHIPPLE, W. D. HOWELLS, JOHN FISKE, and other well known and competent scholars will contribute literary articles and essays. HENRY C. LEA, author of "Superstition and Force," has promised some valuable papers on Witchcraft. Questions of public interest will be discussed upon the plan originated by the ATLANTIC of having both sides presented independently by representative and authoritative writers. The magazine will present, as in the case of Free Trade, the opposite sides of the questions of Currency, Catholicism and State Education, Railroads, State and Municipal Debts, State Rights and Centralization, by the leading publicists of the country. The Departments of Recent Literature, Music, Art and Education, will be filled monthly, as heretofore, with able and vigorous editorial articles and reviews. TERMS: Single or specimen numbers, 35 cents. Yearly subscription, $4.00, postage free.

CHRIST THE SOURCE OF SALVATION, By Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology, Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pa. Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1875.

This is a sermon preached by Dr. Gerhart, first in the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., on the 14th of March, 1875, then by request in the Salem Reformed Church, Harrisburg, Pa., and finally before the Synod that convened in Lancaster in November last. It was designed to set forth in a popular style the principles of the theology taught in the Seminary at Lancaster, and may be regarded, therefore, as intended to supplement the two discourses delivered during the meeting of the Synod on the external and internal history of the Seminary.

It presents, first, Christ as the *Source* of salvation, as contrasted with any view which regards Him as merely the *means* or *agent*. He is the source as contrasted with the Bible. In the second place, He is the *original* source. Here the author diverges from Romanism, as well as from Calvinism and Arminianism. As against Romanism it is asserted that there is no vice-gerent of Christ who stand between Christ and His people. The communion is with His Church as a whole directly, which is his mystical body. According to Arminianism the will of man, or human freedom, is the turning-point in theology, and according to Calvinism the source of salvation is the divine decree. Over against these the sermon presents Jesus Christ as the original source of salvation.

In the *third* place Christ is the source of *free* salvation. It is free in that it is for all, without any reference to natural distinctions in the world. All have alike sinned, and no one merits salvation. It is a free gift to every one.

In the *fourth* place, Christ is the source of *certain* salvation. This brings up the question in regard to certitude. The Reformers, following St. Paul in the Scriptures, taught that man is justified by faith, and that Christ authenticates Himself directly to the believing heart, giving him assurance of salvation. The Roman Church had interposed *media* between the believer and Christ, the only assurance that could be given was that of the Church, and this assurance was not certain but only probable. The sermon aims to show the superiority of the Protestant faith here over the Roman Catholic.

The sermon as now published forms a neat little pamphlet, and is deserving of wide circulation especially among our people. It is worthy of this for its own sake. It presents a precious theme, and its treatment is well calculated to bring strength and comfort to the heart. But it is worthy of circulation also, because it furnishes light on the character of the theology taught in the Seminary.

It does not profess to speak with authority for the Seminary. The author was not appointed by Synod to present the character of the present teaching in the Seminary. It has simply the authority of one of the professors. But its value is perhaps all the greater because it is thus informal and free. Some will say it differs from the old Mercersburg system. There is a difference, all can feel that, but this is owing to the fact that certain points are not now emphasized as then. The principle here given is the same—Christ the source of salvation. We hope the sermon will receive a wide circulation.

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The November and December ATLANTIC (containing the opening chapters of Mr. Howells' new story) will be sent free to all new subscribers for 1876 who remit the full subscription price of $4.00 direct to the Publishers. For $5.00 sent direct to them the Publishers will send the ATLANTIC through 1876, and a superb, life-size portrait of the poet Longfellow, just completed, and one of the finest pictures of the kind ever published. This portrait can be purchased only by subscribers to the ATLANTIC. Remittances by mail should be sent by a money-order, draft on New York or Boston, or registered letter to H. O. HOUGHTON & Co., Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass. H. O. HOUGHTON & CO., Boston. HURD & HOUGHTON, New York.

THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

APRIL, 1876.

ART. I.—THE PERICOPES; OR, SELECTIONS OF GOSPELS AND EPISTLES FOR THE CHURCH YEAR.

BY E. E. HIGBEE, D. D.

NO. V.

IN resuming, at the earnest solicitation of many friends, our remarks upon the Pericopes, we may say that we have seen no reason to change our view as to the principle governing their selection, which is that of the Apostles' Creed. This indeed governed the whole faith-apprehension of the early Church, conditioning the order of the canon of New Testament Scripture and the whole service of the Church.

Our last article closed with the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, and we now begin with the sixteenth, the selections for which are St. Luke, vii. 11–17, and Ephes. iii. 13–21. Here, both in Gospel and Epistle, the communion of saints in the Lord is viewed as lifted above the whole order of nature, transcending death, and reaching through the whole realm of the spiritual beyond the grave. The family of God is one unbroken family in the Lord, and death hath no power to sunder it. Death breaks up all natural relations. We seem to have no power naturally to pass out of our flesh-immersed vision and

see or understand what is beyond the grave. "Man dieth, and wasteth away; yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?" (Job xiii. 1–3.) The falling away of the external man seems to be the cessation of all personal life; and all that is left to us, therefore, is to weep and struggle after consolation, burying the dead from our sight, with some faint hope it may be that they are not lost from our gaze forever. Time may blunt the pain, or at least our mourning for the dead itself be hushed to forgetfulness by death. So the widow of Nain wept as her only son was borne upon his bier from the gates of the city. Nothing but the cold corpse seemed left, and that must soon vanish from sight. Life has fled vanquished by an all-conquering king of terrors, and what is left but sorrowing desolation, unsatisfied yearnings, and gloomy resignation to fate.

Christ, in the purpose of whose love to man, life and immortality is brought to light, and in the scope of whose contest with evil, death and hell are conquered—Christ, the source and substance of all life, meets this weeping widow and this gloomy pageantry of death. He is not, however, confined in the bosom of these external things, as though flesh and blood were all of life. Before His glance that spirit-world lies open in which the young man now is—a world in which the power of His Name can be exercised and felt—a world which surrounds each one of us, and is indeed within us, but not seen with the eyes of the external body unless these be opened by the Lord to let the inner spiritual seeing have place therein. To the materialist all this, of course, is but vain imagining. But there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy.

Christ compassionately looks upon the weeping mother. He calmly bids her not to weep. He walks up to the bier, and touches it, and, awe-struck, they that bear it stand still. The sad procession is checked in solemn pause, soon to return with joyful triumph within the gates of the city. Christ speaks, not addressing the surrounding crowd nor the corpse. He

sees beyond all this, into a realm which lies behind all this outer covering. He addresses the spirit, still the same young man, although unclothed as to the outer tabernacle of his earthly relations—not an undefined, wandering, unidentified ghost, but the same as before in another more inward state of seeing and hearing. He says, "Young man, I say unto thee, arise." These words, so far as sound, and grammatical sense, are concerned, reached the ears and understanding of the mother and the pall-bearers; but there was a content in them far beyond what carnal ears or understanding could grasp. They bore with them a spirit power and import, recognized at once in the spirit realm, and obeyed. The angels release their charge, and the young man takes possession again of the outer tabernacle, sits up, and begins to speak.

In our earthly life, spirit comes into contact with spirit, but through the medium of the earthy, so much so indeed that many suppose that the all of man is flesh. Thought, for instance, or rather the state of the inward man in thought, communicates itself to the various muscles and organs of the body, and utters itself at last through voice in word, which word in turn is grasped by the sensuous organs of another and translated by an understood correspondence back again to the spiritual base whence it proceeded. We know each other thus, and can come into communion partially at least with psychic realities around us. The communion here, however, is within the natural, and when the outer tabernacle of the flesh is gone, the communion after this order ceases. But in the Lord the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily, and the communion of the saints in Him is after an order quite transcending flesh and blood. His words, it is true, may and do address the carnal ear and logical understanding, yet when translated back again to their divine base by a correspondence grasped only in faith, they open up a fountain of light and life inexhaustible and eternal. His words also reach behind the outer world into the spirit realm. There is no separation here for Him. He is

Himself the full adunation of the two worlds, and His words therefore ever carry this reality along with them. (St. John v. 24–29).

The family is a communion, but reaching no farther than what is involved in the relations of natural generation. So the state, and national life, and humanity itself, as in the sphere of the natural, are but perishing forms of worldly life externally viewed. In such forms they are forever passing away. "Festinat decurrere velox flosculus." The communion of the saints, and this is the theme for meditation in the lesson, is something vastly broader than all this. It holds in one the two worlds, for its very substance is the Lord Jesus Christ, "of whom the *whole family in heaven and earth is named.*" Here death has no divisive power. The outflow of love here has no limiting bounds of this character. Its breadth and length and depth and height transcend all knowledge, sweep immeasurably beyond the external earthly, and hold in one indissoluble family embrace, cherubim and seraphim, archangel and angel, innumerable spirits, and the Church throughout all ages, world without end.

Keeping what we have now said in view, it will not be difficult to see the connection between the lesson of this Sunday and that which follows, the selections for which are St. Luke, xiv. 1–11, and Ephes iv. 1–6.

We have here, brought into view with particular emphasis, what may be called, for want of a better term, *positive* humility, the humility of love, grounding itself not in the negative sense of our own sinful worthlessness, but in the positive sense of the grandeur and glory of our privilege and calling in the Lord, before which we bow in adoring lowliness—a debasement which for the inner man is the very pivot of exaltation.

Humility of this character inheres in that necessary unselfing of self which is essential to any true ethical process in the formation of character. That mind, for example, which does not realize the broad orb of truth, whose rays reach it through

the systems of embodied reason which confront it in the world's historical life, is self-exalted in private judgment, perched proudly on its self-reared tower of ignorance. That mind, however, which recognizes truth as its very substance, and recognizes it as rising up from behind the individual existence, infinitely broader than the narrow processes of its analysis and logic, shining through these with a light of its own, illumining and inspiring—that mind is humble, awe-struck before the illimitable sweep of truth surrounding it. By oracular response Socrates was styled the wise, not so much because of his ignorance, as because he saw more clearly than others the vastness of the realm of possible knowledge that sank below the distant horizon of his far-seeing gaze.

Or again, take any one of the social organisms of our life, the family for instance. The child may be humiliated by an awakened sense of disobedience. He may feel abject in the presence of the necessary restraints imposed upon him, and his whole humility in the case be pivoted on pride. It is quite another thing to have his spirit filled with a reverent sense of the broad meaning and privilege of family life, so that the law commanding honor to Father and Mother seems to be the very echo of his own deepest sense of the relation, the spontaneous utterance of his own unselfish reverence of what is involved in home. This humility elevates, and enfranchises self from bondage.

It is needless, however, to illustrate farther. The communion of saints in the Lord is a sublime and infinite presence of divine love, before which the human spirit must bow in lowliest reverence. The vocation here is heavenly, looking toward that ineffable mystery of marriage between bride and Bridegroom to which we are called. A sense of all this must condition our whole activity and thought, filling us with lowliness and meekness, destroying the very roots of selfishness in will and understanding. All localizations of a mystery of this character, as though our comprehension thereof could be a fixed boundary

for it, will show itself in the end a self-exaltation which must meet with debasement. We may speak of the *Roman Catholic* Church, the *Greek* Church, the *Episcopal* Church, and of this communion and of that communion, some upper rooms and lower rooms of the marriage palace-hall; but the eye of the spirit must gaze with adoring humility upon that communion which holds heaven and earth in its embrace, which out-measures all empirical determinations—"one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in you all." We are here at once in the bosom of a new creation, and confronted with the powers of the world to come.

Enough has been written to suggest the significance of the selections for this Sunday, and to show that Gospel and Epistle are bound together by one purpose. We turn to the next Sunday, the eighteenth after Trinity, the selections for which (St. Matt. xxii. 34–46, and 1 Cor. i. 4–9), require a more detailed examination, as marking a transition or epoch of progress in the cycle of the church year.

The lessons now are reaching rapidly forward to the close of the church year. The presence of Christ in the Spirit unfolding through the Church its wondrous, divine energies, purifying the heart, enlightening the mind, cleansing the whole spirit, gathering into one unbroken family, one mystical body of love and life and light celestial, the otherwise fragmentary existence of our humanity, invading the kingdom of darkness, arousing its hostility, and unmasking thereby and challenging to conflict the whole vast antagonism of the world—the presence of Christ in the Spirit, accomplishing all this, is soon to be viewed as opening up a mystery still more grand, which the lessons now begin to intimate as rising into the horizon of faith, viz., a higher and last form of the presence of Christ, a presence still more substantial and real, when He shall come to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day. Towards this the whole movement of divine revelation

directs itself, and towards this also the whole inward disciplinary activity of grace looks, that God's children may be made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. Already, as anticipating such issue, the exhortations in the Epistles, which are also exemplified in various ways by the Gospel selections, look more directly forward to that most solemn and searching of all with which the year closes, which in the Gospel is, "watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh," and in the Epistle, "be diligent that ye may be found in him in peace without spot and blameless."

It were strange indeed, if the post-trinity Sundays, which have to do with the progress of the divine life of grace among men, should not bring into view the fellowship of the Church militant with the Church intermediate and triumphant. In fact, the Church militant involves in itself already the powers of the world to come. How then could the lessons be regarded as exhibiting the covenant of Grace in the full compass of its reality without considering its glorious element of promise so significantly brought into view by St. Paul in those words of precious significance, "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." It is not enough that the sense of our vocation as a present reality, with its precious array of sacramental powers, should stimulate us to walk with vigor in the way of life, abounding in love and meekness and forbearance and long-suffering, and in all the graces of the Spirit. There must be added to this the enlivening *hope of our calling*, the end or consummation towards which it looks, the unveiled inner revelation of the Lord as He is (1 Cor. xiii. 12), so that now we may wait in confirmed expectancy, and be blameless at that day.

It is quite plain that in the Epistle for this Sunday, we have the vocation or high calling of God, found directly in thought to its consummation at what is called the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Examine it for a moment and mark how the grace of God, given by Christ, enriching in all utterance and

knowledge, and full, so that there is coming behind in no gift, is directly pointed forward, giving to the spirit a waiting attitude for the Lord's coming, and making it possible that the saints be blameless in that day. Just as the spreading leaves and growing branches and ascending stem of the plant are made to look out towards the coming glory of blossom and fruit, waiting in their very activity for that without which they are themselves incomplete;—so the whole Christian life, the whole Church militant looks forward, according to the Epistle, waiting in the midst of its diversity of activities for that blossoming glory, the marriage of the bride and Bridegroom, as that higher mystery of revelation without which its whole process must be incomplete and vain.

This Epistle is also in most beautiful accord with the two preceding, summing up what has gone before, and pointing it all forward to what soon must confront the meditation of the Church in the close of its great year cycle of lessons.

It is not out of place here, at the risk of some repetition, to refer a moment to the general scope and connection of the three lessons now mentioned. In the first, the communion of saints is made to transcend the whole order of nature, involving powers over which death hath no sway, binding together in one the whole family in heaven and on earth, prophetic thus of the hallowed truth, not yet clearly articulated in the lessons, but soon to confront us in its fulness, the truth that His voice who bade the widowed mother weep not, and stopped the bier, and challenged the spirit of the young man, and stirred the very abode of death into obedience, shall call out from the world's seeming ruin, a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. The sense of this fellowship, thus embracing two worlds in that which, in the midst of tribulation bowed the knees of St. Paul, and drew from his yearning heart the prayer that all might come to know the breadth and length and depth and height of such love transcending all knowledge. In the next lesson, mark again, how reaching out into a Sabbath of re-

demptive glory, in which all the helpless palsy of this life shall be healed, and reaching out to a wedding feast, the marriage supper of the Lamb, where those now humbled shall be forever exalted, the same sense of that into which we are called brings out the beseeching exhortation that all walk worthy of such high vocation, humbled before its infinite reach of glory into lowliness and meekness and long-suffering. And now in the Epistle for this Sunday it is the same sense of given grace in Christ, reaching out into a confirmation so comprehensive that those who are called may be blameless in the day of the Lord, which awakens the Apostle's thanksgiving and makes it unceasing. "I thank God always on your behalf, that ye come behind in no gift, waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The theme is not what is termed the second Advent itself. Rather there is now to be a transition, in which through the mystery of forgiveness of sin and the resurrection, that Advent is to come directly before us; and now, the communion of saints, the fellowship of Christ into which we are called, is to be viewed as carrying in itself the warrant that we shall reach out to such consummation, and involves the powers also, in the presence and activity of which alone, we can be prepared for it. We are now, by the design of the lesson, to bring into the earnest study of our meditation the truth, that a glorious promise underlies the whole movement of our walk in the Spirit, which our faith must steadily grasp, and in the apprehension of which, the mystery of Christ must show itself in its greater fulness of revelation and redemptive grace.

Let us now, under the guidance of this preface, endeavor to unfold the solemn and pertinent warning designedly couched in the Gospel selection, as connected with the Epistle and the present position in the cycle of the Church year.

The Old Testament, as we have had occasion to say, was primarily a covenant of *promise* and not of *law*. The *promise* held out before the Jew in mystery, foreshadowed by historical

events, and by types and ceremonies, and by direct prophecy the positive element upon which his faith was to repose. No doubt the spiritual sense of the law included the same mystery. The whole covenant indeed looked toward one who in Himself should become the source and substance of that revelation and redemption which the promise declared was to come. The Word indeed, not yet come in the flesh, was the inward soul and principle of the whole Old Testament economy.

Now should the Jew, resting only in the representative external, fail to have his eyes opened to perceive this mystery of promise, and to rely upon it alone in the obedience of faith—should he fail to apprehend its spiritual content as opening the way through darkness to its fulness of revelation, and failing to apprehend not be prepared for such fulfillment—of course then, losing the positive element of the covenant in the interest of its representative clothing only, its whole force would be vitiated, and to him thus conditioned, its whole measure of preparatory grace would be of no effect. When the promise underlying the law and the types, should meet its responsive fulfillment in the Lord, the Jew, having lost the preparatory discipline, or rather having perverted it by a false reliance upon its merely external and representative side, could be in no condition to appreciate or receive the mystery of the Word made flesh and dwelling with Him. Therefore when met by the startling question which unmasked all this perversion, "what think ye of Christ," irrespective of your quibblings about the letter of the law, no answer could be given. The spirit was shut against the mystery, and the poor literal Pharisee stood dumb before the Lord.

But again; the mystery of the Old Testament promise inclosed within type, ceremony, prophecy and law, not being steadily held before his faith, not unreservedly submitted to as that alone which unveiling itself, should bring the fulness of redemption and reconciliation, the Jew must fail also in rightly apprehending the spiritual content of the law, and the relation

of Christ, the promised seed, to it. The law in its literal sense came to be made the base of the covenant itself, and obedience to it in such form was made the necessary condition of redemption. Outwardly God came in the law was the thought, and His coming in the promise is to be subordinate thereto, and must be measured by the statute, and not by its own fulness of life. Immersed in the mere police element of the law, the casuistic pharisaic spirit could devise no surer way, in its own estimation, to prove the claims of Jesus entirely void, than by placing the law in its literal sense and application over and above Him, and test Him throughout by its special precepts. Hence their tempting questions, and their quibbling tricks. Instead of endeavoring to grasp the true mystery of the promise, and seeking in the bosom of its illumination, to discern the Christ, and allowing the susceptibilities of their spirits—susceptibilities God-ward, cultured and strengthened by the old economy—instead of allowing these susceptibilities to reach out, and joyfully welcome and receive the Deliverer as He came to His own, and in the flesh healed the sick and raised the dead before their very eyes—instead of all this, they sought to turn the whole glorious reality into the appearance of a neglect, or wilful disobedience of a divine precept. Instead of pondering upon the miracle wrought, to catch if possible the hidden orb of glory in the person beaming forth therein, they shut their eyes to all this, and, with a soul hardened and a spirit dead in the letter, they made the cavilling remarks, He healeth on the Sabbath and maketh Himself greater than Moses and the Law. Just because they neglected, the positive element of their covenant; just because they looked upon everything, both promise and law, from the external representative side only, and failed to repose their faith upon the included mystery and to draw therefrom, as a fountain opening up in the house of David, supplies of strength, of nurturing and disciplining and confirming energies, by means of which they might await the coming seed, and welcome His day, as did the aged Simeon with his soul-sat-

isfied *nunc dimittis;* just because of this, they were speechless when answered from the stand-point of the law rightly grasped, as well as when asked from the stand-point of faith. The literal unspiritual Pharisee, in the Gospel for the day, when confronted with the Saviour's questioning answer, which comprehended the real content of law and type, and when confronted too with His person, as son of David and David's Lord, the very fulness of that covenant love, the very presence of its long-veiled glory now unveiled, the very Jehovah of the Old Testament in flesh—the poor Pharisee is dumb—has no gift of grace—is enriched with no utterance or knowledge, blameful not blameless—wrapped up in weakening prejudices, and quibbling literality—unconfirmed unto the end and not waiting for the coming of the Messias in the awakened susceptibilities of his spirit, or in the cleansed intuitions of his mind.

There is a solemn warning in all this most pertinent to the general theme of the lesson. We see here a sad counterpart, in this state of the old-covenant Jew, of that which awakens the thanks of the Apostle in behalf of those who in the New Testament dispensation are waiting for the coming of the Lord, and who are enriched in all utterance and knowledge; and it is well that we ask ourselves whether we have not before us some merely phenomenal outward flesh coming of the Lord, some pageantry of externalizing pomp, in place of the mystery of seeing Him as He is, not with carnal eyes, but with the opened eyes of the inner man. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." But we must turn to the lesson of the next Sunday (St. Matt. ix. 1–8, and Eph. iv. 17–32), where the very process by which old things are to pass away and all things are to become new, is brought before our view.

One can easily see that, in the second part of our Creed, which, from the Church and communion of saints, moves onward to the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting, there is and indeed must be the intermediate link of the forgiveness of sin. Without this, the resurrection can have for us

no inward reality. Through sin, the law of death reigns over our whole being, and of course unless this reign is broken in upon, so that sin may be eliminated in all its physical and spiritual forms, there can be no possibility of a glorified spiritual existence—no becoming meet for an inheritance of the saints in light.

Now in the lessons assigned by the Church as covering this second part of the Creed, we have not reached that which takes up the resurrection of the body. This is not presented to us in full definiteness as a theme of thought and comfort until the third Sunday before Advent, as can be easily seen by a moment's reference. There the Epistle at once enters upon it as related to the whole family of God, those asleep and those alive, and the collect pours forth the longing prayer, fresh with the breath of love, "that numbered with Thy saints in glory everlasting, we may share hereafter their joyful triumph in the resurrection of the last day."

Before this, especially in the collects, because the yearning emotions of prayer outspeed in anticipation the slower analysis of thought, the resurrection is shadowed forth and felt as an element of hope; but it does not in reality form a theme of meditation in the assigned lessons of the Church. The lesson on the miracle of raising to life the son of the widow of Nain is not an exception as we have seen. Not yet then we repeat have we been called upon to study the communion of saints in the mystery of the resurrection. We must first study it in the antecedent mystery of forgiveness, as flowing from the Lord among men, and forgiveness as reigning in the family of God, extending from one member to another, developing thus subjectively over against the bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and evil-speaking of mere worldliness, the kindness, tender-heartedness, and forgiving spirit of those who are members one of another in the Lord. This we have in this Sunday's lesson, in beautiful connection with the two preceding lessons; and this theme now enters into all the lessons up to

that of the resurrection, at times covertly and then again in most sharp articulation.

In this Sunday's pericopes we have at once a peculiar and beautiful correlation of parts between Gospel and Epistle, through which *designedly* (who can doubt it?) the whole conception of forgiveness is developed. The Gospel opens with a touching scene of brotherly kindness and tender-heartedness, in immediate connection with the sad ravages of sin. A band of sympathizing disciples of Christ, bear a poor sinful palsy-stricken man into the presence of Christ, manifesting both their sympathy with distress and their faith in Christ. Jesus, touched by this exhibition of love and faith, feels Himself challenged to manifest a still deeper sympathy and love, reaching quite beyond the physical into the profound and dark background of guilt in the spirit. He turns to the palsied sinner, regarding him also as one of the family, saying, "*Son, be of good cheer. Thy sins be forgiven thee.*" How could the communion of saints in the sphere of forgiveness be more profoundly or touchingly exhibited. Christ is the source of it, the very fountain whose freshness and purity carry themselves into the whole stream which flows therefrom. All this moreover is now heightened by the dark contrast of the evil, harsh, flesh-confined false piety of the murmuring scribes. They are only able to glory in the letter of the law which condemns, and cannot appreciate the grace which forgives. They can coldly grant that Jehovah in Heaven has power to forgive sins, but cannot acknowledge that such power has come to earth in the incarnate Christ. They cannot see the Divine in the human, and the words, "thy sins be forgiven thee" are but blasphemous imposture. The multitude, overwhelmed by the outer miracle, are constrained to recognize in the words spoken a kindred, though deeper power, and they glorify God, who hath given such power unto men. The Scribes, in a sort of mock piety, would reverse the whole order of grace, making what is remitted in heaven (some far removed theater of divine activity),

remitted then, if at all, on earth, while the whole mystery which confronted them was this, that what is remitted on earth is remitted in heaven, because there is no room for looking beyond the Lord to some other invisibly-acting God. He is Himself the power and heaven by and in which all forgiveness is possible. They would change the whole glorious parable of Jacob's ladder, and have the angels descend and then ascend, when the real mystery is that the heavens are in Him opened, and angels are ascending and descending on the Son of Man. He is the focal center, the radiating orb of all angelic ministrations. They would still cling to the old in the very presence of the new, and not see that love is before and within the law, and that grace is now among men to remove the terrors of condemnation.

Now in the Epistle, the same profound contrast is again before us in its fundamental character, in the *method* by which the old man and the new are contrasted. The contrast itself of the old and the new is not here the emphatic thought. The Church selected the Epistle not for that purpose, for already in the Epistle for the sixth Sunday after Trinity that was placed before us as a special theme. The emphasis rests upon the communion of saints, and with special reference to just that element of forgiveness to which we have already referred. A moment's examination will show this. The exhortation thus commences, "Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbor; *for we are members one of another.*" In the original, the meaning seems to be this, now having put off falsehood (which is here viewed as the very essence of sin in selfishness, the element of the old), realize the communion of one another in truth into which ye have entered, the one body of Christ. So again, anger is to be without resentment; its sinful element must be gone, because ye are a new brotherhood in Christ. So, again, the prohibition of stealing is at once linked with labor to gain something with which to help the needy. Again, communication with one another is to be for

mutual edification; and now in grand summary carrying the whole thought to its proper completion, all the work of the old, bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil-speaking, the very characteristics of the Scribes in the Gospel, is to give place to mutual kindness, tender-heartedness, and brotherly forgiveness, the characteristics of the band of disciples bearing their palsied brother, and this, because God hath forgiven you, not for Christ's sake, as in the translation, but *in Christ*, εν Κριστω, that is, God in Christ reconciling the world. There could not well be a more simple and beautiful unfolding of forgiveness than in this two-fold exhibition of Gospel and Epistle. Such, we repeat, is evidently the lesson assigned us for meditation for this Sunday; and the Collect, as we have already remarked, breathing the emotions of the soul, hurries beyond either thought or will, as John did outrun Peter, and looking towards the heavens where alone the new overwhelms the old in glory, prays that there we may have our conversation, a theme which is assigned for special thought not until the twenty-third Sunday, but which here naturally links itself to the lesson of the day, just as the confirmation and progress of salvation reaches out to the full vanishing of the old, and the continual emergence and effulgence of the new.

COMMENT.

The Scribes were willing at once to acknowledge that God forgives sin. This was especially a divine prerogative, belonging to a divine sphere, far removed from the earthly, and not to be accomplished by a spoken word alone. The Divine in the human in such form of fulness as here challenged them they either could not or would not grasp. Christ then works the miracle of physical healing, a sort of fact word for their eyes, that they may know that the *Son of man* hath power *on earth* to forgive sins. There is here plainly an emphasis against the false view which led the Scribes to murmur of blasphemy. The presence of the Lord is the presence of a power

to forgive sins. The power of His word not only reaches out to a full healing of bodily corruption, giving a resurrection from the helpless palsy of the grave, but before this and in order to this, it reaches the deep inward consciousness of alienation from God, removing the palsying guilt of conscience and planting heaven in the soul. How inadequate would be all release from the pains and disorganizations of the physical, if the restless deeps of the spirit could hear no quieting voice, saying, peace, be still? To break the fetters of corrupting flesh, and leave the spirit shackled, would be no entrance into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Guilt must be removed. The soul must have its inner marriage feast, its sabbatic rest from struggle, its resurgent victory and triumph before it can bear the image of the heavenly; and the palsied man, forgiven in the depths of his spirit, and then healed, stands as a fact symbol, a sublime parable, of the whole process of forgiving love.

The forgiveness of sin, as essential to the process through which our moral being is perfected, grounds itself ever in the fellowship of love and truth in the Lord. Sin is not simply the absence of the good—a mere negation in this form, as though the will could be indifferently active. It is a moral perversion in which the autonomy of our moral being is asserted in such form as to repel the Divine. The carnal mind is at enmity with God. The enmity here is not the separation of God from us, but our continual separation from Him. God is love, not enmity; and forgiveness of sin, to be real as touching our moral being, must rest upon the mystery of a new creation in grace, in the presence and power of which, the intelligence and will may be unselfed and find the true and the good, divinely derived, becoming their very substance, which is, in other words, an abiding in Christ. There are two sides here of the same process, the unselfing, which is repentance and submission; and regeneration, a process completed when the new life fully overwhelms the old and reaches a sabbatic rest where the struggling week days are ended.

We say nothing here of the outlying world of spiritual evil which enters the will and intelligence in their perversion, and nothing of the necessary combat with all this in the process to which we have referred. This belongs to the Epistle for the twenty-first Sunday, where with remarkable sublimity this whole theme is unfolded, and which will have to engage our attention, before the mystery of forgiveness of sin, as wrought out in the bosom of our moral being, can be adequately apprehended.

ART. II.—MARTENSEN ON CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

BY REV. PROF. NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER.

"KATHOLICISMUS und PROTESTANTISMUS, ein evangelisches Zeugniss von Dr. Theol. H. Martensen," is the name of a pamphlet which appeared last year in both the Danish and German languages. It is written from the stand-point of a Bishop—the office which the author at present holds in Seeland, and differs therefore very widely in style and method from his work on Dogmatics. The latter is a book rich in thought, concise in style, and very suggestive. It is a book such as a German Prof. would prepare for his students and his professional brethren. The pamphlet before us, on the other hand, is intended for the reading public generally. The author calls it a Gelegenheits schrift, because it grew out of the struggles occasioned by the decrees of the Vatican council, and is intended to bear witness to the truth of the gospel, over against the errors of Romanism, as these have come to light in our day. The first 106 pages accordingly discuss the defects of the Romish system; the next fifty bring out the reasons why we should stick to the principles of Luther and the Reforma-

tion; and the last 25 take up the modern efforts to remodel the Reformation. Under this last caption the name of NEVIN is mentioned among others.

The author starts out by drawing a distinction between Sicherheit and Gewissheit. He does this in a concrete way. If we inquire into the history of those, who in this century have gone over to Romanism, we find that in so far as they were actuated by religious motives, it was a felt need of authority which led them to take this step. They were either in quest of an infallible authority in matters of Faith and Doctrine,—an authority from which they might obtain a reliable answer to the question: What is truth? or else they were anxiously looking about for some authority, which might furnish them a certainty of the forgiveness of their sins. If, on the other hand, we examine the conversions from Romanism to the Protestant Church, we find the motive to have been a conviction, that in the Catholic Church there reigns an authority at variance with the gospel, an authority whose teachings and precepts cannot stand before the bar of an enlightened conscience. In both cases therefore the conversion turns on a question of authority, more especially on the relation, which faith and the life of faith sustain to authority. The Romanist maintains that in matters of faith he possesses absolute Sicherheit; the Protestant asserts and emphasizes the fact, that this Sicherheit must also carry along with it Glaubensgewissheit, that is, in the first place, a personal conviction and certainty, that the Christianity which we profess has neither been fabricated nor adulterated by man, but is in harmony and living connection with original Christianity, and in the second place, that this Christianity is the truth unto salvation, or in other words, saving truth for us and for all who believe. The words Sicherheit and Gewissheit are very often used interchangeably, as if they meant one and the same thing; but a very important shade of difference thus becomes visible, when we apply them to the inner spiritual life of man. Sicherheit denotes the state

in which we are free from risk and danger, and points to something objective, to an external authority, to guarantees and assurances, which remove every scruple and every doubt. Gewissheit, on the contrary, is that state in which all doubt is precluded or overcome by the thing being at hand in me in a living way, a state therefore in which there is an immediate relation between my personal consciousness and the objective truth. If any one says to me, I assure you that the thing is so and so, it behooves me to accept the thing said upon the authority and credibility of him who says it. But there are cases—especially when any one gives me assurances in reference to the supernatural,—in which I cannot rest satisfied with mere assurances, but must demand the possibility of convincing myself by personal inquiry and personal experience. Catholicism lays stress mainly upon the attribute of Sicherheit in faith, a word pointing to that peculiar relation of authority to the life of faith, which the Romish system emphasizes above everything else, whereas Protestantism, however much it may feel the need of an attitude of certainty towards the objective, will always lay more stress upon Gewissheit, upon that state of personal freedom in the life of faith in which the soul joins itself to the divine authority of the gospel in such a way as to stand related to this gospel, not as if it were something external and foreign, but as being the saving, emancipating truth itself.

Having drawn this distinction, the author passes on to what he calls Papistische Sicherheit, reserving the topic Evangelische Gewissheit for the second great division of his work. The train of thought by which the Romanist reaches his peculiar tenets in regard to papal Sicherheit, is the following:

If God has given to man a revelation unto salvation, He must at the same time have established the means by which this end can be attained. If Christ designed to bring to man saving truth, He must have willed the church by which this truth is to be preserved and communicated to successive generations. The church must have its organs, viz: Bishops. The Apostles were the first bishops. By means of ordination they made their

authority over to their successors. Apostolic authority is therefore at all times present in the church; hence the church can at any time speak and act in the name of Christ, and is throughout all history to be regarded as the infallible organ of His Holy Spirit. This prerogative cannot be predicated of any and every bishop in his single limited capacity; it belongs to the whole body when assembled in an Œcumenical Council. But this council itself must have an Einheitspunkt, a head, viz: the Pope, who by the Council of 1870 was declared infallible in matters of faith and morals. It is impossible, says the papist, to conceive of greater certitude than is furnished by this economy. The pope is the Vicar of Christ. In the name of Christ he figures as the executor of his threefold office. The prophetic office is involved in his infallibility in matters of doctrine. He exercises the priestly office in that he dispenses or withholds all the grace, blessings and powers of redemption. He is likewise bearer of the kingly office, although by reason of the dangerousness of our times he only exercises its functions at present within certain limits.

The value of the Sicherheit furnished by the Pope, depends upon its discernibility by each and every man. Just here there is a glaring weakness in the system. The learned are by no means agreed as to when the Pope speaks ex cathedra and when he does not. (If I am not mistaken, at least a dozen theories have been advanced.) There have been times when two or three rivals claimed the pontifical throne, each one anathematizing the others. How shall we ascertain who is infallible authority at such times? Again it has happened in the history of the church, that the Pope enjoined silence upon the contending parties, without settling the question between them. Where is the boasted Sicherheit under such circumstances?

In the second place, the dogma of infallibility can not stand at the bar of either Scripture or history. The passages cited by the Vatican council will never be referred by any one to infallibility, unless his mind is preoccupied by this thought.

Christ promised that when the Spirit of the truth would come, He would guide His followers into all truth. But how can Pope Pius IX. claim this for himself? For in the same connection Christ says of this Spirit: "For he shall not speak of himself; he shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and show it unto you." Now it is a notorious fact that the Pope is stronger on Mariology than Christology. Instead of glorifying Christ, he has glorified the Virgin Mary, glorified several Japanese martyrs by canonizing them, glorified himself in the proclamation of his own infallibility. Christ further says of this Comforter: "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will him send him unto you,"—a direct intimation that Christ's visible presence should not continue either in his own personality or in that of a vicar. The papal interpretation of the passage in Matthew,—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," is disproved by other passages. In 1 Cor. i. 11, Paul rebukes those who say, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, *i. e.* Peter, and I of Christ. In Gal. ii. 11 we read that Paul withstood Peter to the face. Peter is by no means the only pillar of the church, inasmuch as three other Apostles receive that designation in Gal. ii. 9.

The argument from church history is equally conclusive. In this connection our author reviews the early history of the church, bringing out with great force the fact that there is no sacrament for the elevation of man to the papal throne, no prescribed mode for his election. He traces the gradual development of papal claims and papal authority. The gist of his argument turns upon the Council of Constance and the case of Honorius. Rome is in the predicament of being obliged to recognize this Council because it elected one of the popes, and yet of setting it aside, because it passed a resolution to the effect that every Ecumenical Council has its authority directly from Christ and is in matters of faith superior to the pope. If the pope is to be judged in matters of faith by a council, he is

not infallible. Honorius was condemned for heresy by successive councils and popes. Hence reasoning upon the basis of the councils, which are accepted as infallible by all Catholics, the infallibility of the pope falls to the ground. The case of Honorius is detailed at length by our author; but his account contains nothing new, his facts being taken from Hefele, who is indeed the only historian that has had access to the original documents preserved in the Vatican.

Thus far the author makes common cause with the old Catholics, in that he argues from their premises against the infallibility of the pope. But now he turns his weapons against them. He points out a characteristic, which will always make the papal party more popular with the masses. Ecumenical Councils are a thing for the learned. So far as the multitude is concerned, it makes very little difference whether their faith is decided for them by one man, viz.: the bishop of Rome, or by a council composed of bishops from all parts of the world. In both cases they are in spiritual bondage to their superiors. It can not be denied that the papal system is of a far more practical nature. Councils are sometimes not in session for centuries; the pope can at any time be consulted. His decisions make it easy for us to ascertain the truth. They save us from the tedious process of investigating the subject for ourselves.

The issue of the late Vatican Council has disproved the fundamental position of the old Catholics, viz.: the infallibility of the councils. For no one who examines the number of bishops in attendance, can for a moment doubt the Ecumenical character of the Council of 1870. But this council decreed the infallibility of the pope, which is rejected by the old catholics; hence the proposition affirming the infallibility of Ecumenical Councils falls to the ground.

Our author likewise shows that the Episcopal theory held by the old Catholics is untenable.

The preceding line of argument shows how devoid of value is the certitude in matters of doctrine, which Catholicism claims

to furnish by means of its infallible organs. Equally unsatisfactory is the certitude which it furnishes so far as the salvation of the individual is concerned. If we ask the question: Where do I find saving truth? and through whom is it communicated unto us? the answer is: Saving truth is found in the Roman Catholic Church, and is communicated by those who have been set apart for this work through the Sacrament of Ordination. The certitude for all this is furnished by the pope or immediately by those who stand in the line of Apostolic succession. The Romish system therefore furnishes us what the author aptly styles eine Religion aus zweiter Hand, ein äuszerlicher Autoritätsglaube, inasmuch as we can not ourselves dip out of the fountains of truth, but must allow the Pope and the Church to prescribe for us what we are to accept and to believe. Religion thus becomes a matter of blind obedience. The essence of faith is obedience unto the church. Just as the gospel becomes worthy of acceptance by being stamped with the seal of an infallible Pope and an infallible Church, so all Christian religiousness receives its value by being stamped with obedience unto the church. Hofrath Beckedorff says: "Wenn jemand auch alle Lehren der Kirche als wahr annæhme, wenn er sich zu diesen Lehren bekennt, aber alles Dieses nicht aus unbedingtem Gehorsam gegen die Kirche thäte, sondern weil er auf andere Weise, durch Nachdenken und Forschen sich überzeugt zu haben meinte, dasz seine Lehren und Vorschriften wahr und weise seien; so würde er kein wahrer Katholik sein." Priests in the confessional act upon the same principle. In the case of those who unconditionally obey, the absolution can be granted no matter how grave the offence; but when such obedience is not rendered, the absolution is unmercifully refused. Indeed it seems as if authority and power were considered the highest good by Rome and its adherents.

This externality in the Romish system makes room for numberless surrogates and makeshifts. The personal falls into the background. No one knows all the acts of the councils; hence

the Church is satisfied with the intention to believe all. Since such faith lacks all Innerlichkeit, good works come in as a substitute. The Catechism furthermore teaches that one may make satisfaction for another. This is the loop-hole through which a host of abuses have crept into the Catholic Church. In some respects there has been considerable improvement since the days of the Reformation, but many abuses still exist. When a rich man lets his servant fast for him, when a lady of rank hires a peasant woman to say prayers for her at the door of a monastery, or when silent mass, involving according to the Roman theory a repetition of Christ's sacrifice, is offered up for purposes intended by him who pays, sometimes the priest himself being ignorant of the design, it shows to what extremes Romanism will go, in order to accommodate itself to the weaknesses of man.

Protestantism has often been accused of infidelity. During the Vatican council a resolution was brought forward to the effect that the Reformation was the cause of all the infidelity in the world. One of the German bishops protested very strongly; he was called to order. But next morning he found the Executive Committee had withdrawn the resolution. A telegram from Berlin had produced the change. It was Bismark's way of arguing the question. Martensen repels the charge and casts it back into the teeth of the Romanist himself. The demand for an external authority like that of the Pope, is in reality disbelief in the power of the truth to authenticate itself. It goes on the presumption that man must choose between the bottomless abyss of skepticism and a blind belief in the dictates of an outward authority. In such a system as far as it remains true to itself, no one has Glaubensgewissheit, not even the Pope, for as Pope, he need stand in no personal relation to the truth; he is simply the instrument through which the truth flows, as water through a pipe. Skepticism is repressed instead of being overcome. It is the highest prerogative of intelligence to be able to examine for one's-self, to think

one's-self through the misty regions of doubt into the clear realms of settled convictions. And so far as certitude in reference to the forgiveness of sins is concerned, the Catholic Church acknowledges her own weakness.

The validity of the absolution depends upon the valid ordination of the priest, and his standing in the line of the Apostolic succession. Since it is impossible in any particular case to prove that this condition is met, it follows that the individual can never feel certain of the forgiveness of his sins. The Council of Trent expressly declares that no one can feel certain that he has found favor in the sight of God, the words in the original being cum nullus scire valeat certitudine fidei, se gratiam dei esse consecutum, (Sess. viii. Cap. 9). Neither the Pope nor the council give us Sicherheit in matters pertaining either to faith, or to the forgiveness of our sins.

In taking up what he calls Evangelische Gewissheit, our author gives a very glowing account, such as only a Lutheran can give, of the inward struggles and the final victory of the monk, who, at Worms, exclaimed: "Hier stehe ich, Ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir. Amen." He had previously (at the Leipsic disputation) rejected the infallibility of Popes and Councils; on that memorable occasion he manifested a degree of certainty, which can only result from internal conviction. This Glaubens gewissheit did not result primarily from a perusal of the Scriptures, but from that inward change and peace of heart which he had experienced. He had gone through all the penances the Church prescribed; these gave him no peace. He only found peace when he embraced Christ in faith. Just as the sun does not need a heavenly body to diffuse his light and heat, but shows his enlightening and warming power by dispelling cold and darkness immediately, so the gospel showed its power by dispelling the darkness and terror of the monk's soul. He, however, based his salvation and his hope of salvation not upon this experience, but upon Him who was the author of this experience, viz., Christ. This justifying faith, which relies ex-

clusively upon Christ, forms the centre of Luther's life and doctrine. The life of faith was further developed and matured by a diligent study of God's word. The Holy Scriptures were for him the norm of faith, the standard by which matters of faith and worship were to be decided, the inexhaustible source of the knowledge of things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. And here be it observed, that he did not convert the Bible into a paper-pope. He subjected the Canon of the New Testament Scriptures to close scrutiny, going upon the supposition that the Ancient Church was not infallible, and that justifying faith was the touch-stone by which everything was to be tried. Faith and the Word exercise mutual influence upon each other. The classical productions in the realm of fine art can only be understood by one possessed of a sense of the beautiful. On the other hand, these productions of art will exert a reflex, normative influence upon the person's sense of the beautiful. A great moral phenomenon, be it an action or a personality, can only be appreciated by one possessed of an exalted sense of the moral. Just as the student of art must study the whole realm of art to determine the merits of an individual creation, so Luther studied single books by comparing them with the tenor of the whole. And just as a student having a sense of the beautiful in him, will never for a moment doubt the existence of such a thing as beauty, so did Luther, having Christ in his heart, never for a moment doubt the real existence of Christ.

We thus get two principles, which, in German, are denominated by the terms Glaubens- und Schrift-Princip. These are united in the so-called Geistes-Princip, that is, in the recognition of the Holy Spirit as being that one, who brought forth both the Scriptures and the faith that is in us; whose witness renders it sure that the certainty which is claimed by the Evangelical Christian, is not a merely human, subjective certainty, but one produced by the working of God's Spirit. Here lies the great difference between Romish Sicherheit and Evangelical Gewissheit. We do not derive our consciousness of cer-

tainty in matters of faith and salvation from an external authority, but from God Himself, *i. e.*, from the witness of His Spirit in our hearts.

This then makes us safe against the arrows launched by modern infidelity against our faith. If it were necessary to believe in the Bible first before believing in Christ, then, indeed, would we be at the mercy of the modern destructive criticism. For then, as often as a new discovery were made, we would have to hold our faith in suspense until criticism might reach a result favorable to faith. When the Apostles went forth to convert the world, they did not begin by preaching faith in a book. They proclaimed a crucified and risen Saviour. They spoke of sin and grace, of the fall, the regeneration and restoration of humanity. No matter where they preached, and how much they were ridiculed, the foolishness of preaching brought about good results, even as it still does. God works directly upon the hearts of men, when they listen to His word ; the efforts of criticism avail nothing over against the quiet progress of Christ's cause. In a word, the Gospel has self-authenticating power.

As a conclusion to his pamphlet our author refers to what he calls, "Unklare Experimente einer Umbildung der Reformation." By these he understands those tendencies, which have sought to complement the Reformation by introducing a movement towards Catholicism in the form of concession, and an attempt at a union of its principles with those of the Reformation. He mentions Irvingianism, which, while rejecting Catholicism, adopts the same fundamental principle in that a new authority, viz.: an apostolate with an extensive hierarchy, is introduced into the church. Of the same nature is Puseyism, which emphasized tradition and ordination in such a way as to lead many of its adherents into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Here belong also those attempts at Reformation which have started on the basis of the Apostles' Creed, following herein an impulse given by Lessing in his controversy with

Pastor Götze, which circumstance is the reason why the Papists still cite Lessing's authority, and lead his arguments into the field against Protestantism. To this category belong the views of the church developed by Delbrück, Daniel and Nevin, all views which give us Lessing in a somewhat modernized form. Lastly, he mentions in this connection the movement in the Danish Church, which goes by the name of Grundvigtianism.

He says it is common to all these tendencies that in the conflict with Naturalism and Rationalism, they find the Schrift Princip entirely untenable, and, despairing of this, have looked around for some other and better certitude. The Irvingites and Puseyites seek certitude in inspired and ordained organs; the others in a more or less extensive tradition in the bosom of the church, as the highest infallible authority in faith and in the interpretation of Scripture. When the Schrift-Princip is thus abandoned, when we admit that the Scriptures are not a sufficient norm in matters of faith, we cannot have any certainty that traditions have been handed down unadulterated through many generations, unless there be men who have been fitted to become bearers of the tradition in some extraordinary manner. An infallible tradition implies a hierarchy like that of the Romish Church. It will not do to say with Lessing, that during the second century, when the Scriptures were not fully discriminated, tradition answered every purpose, and that therefore the church of to-day is not in need of a surer guide than tradition. To this argument of Lessing's Götze replies by pointing out the difference between early Christianity and the Christianity of our day. Lessing, who was never willing to leave an objection unanswered, never replied on this point, which is sufficient evidence that he considered himself worsted on this particular point.

The pamphlet then gives a somewhat lengthy account of Grundvigtianism. Its adherents advocate the strange theory that the Apostles' Creed came directly from the lips of the Saviour, along with the formula of Baptism, and that the means

of grace are to be found exclusively in the Sacraments, but it is stranger still that a scholar like Martensen should put Dr. Nevin into the same category with such a tendency.

Such is the line of argument, as I apprehend it, in the pamphlet. The author, in passing along, takes up the abuses of the Romish system and points out the superior excellencies of the Protestant mode of worship, topics which can be used with telling effect in addressing the multitude; but the power of the book lies in the manner in which Papistische Sicherheit and Evangelische Gewissheit are compared. The historical portions are a reproduction of what Hase's Polemik gives; the style of the latter, however, being far more pungent. That it is a valuable contribution to the science of comparative Symbolics no one can deny; but it falls far below the master-piece of Möhler. A similar book, viewing the subject from the Protestant stand-point, remains yet to be written. The time is perhaps at hand for such a work. Marheineke, Baur, Nitzsch and Hase have fully opened up the subject, and the Vatican Council, besides bringing Romanism to its logical conclusion, became the occasion of throwing new light upon the subject. Because Theiner gave Bishop Hefele access to the original documents pertaining to Honorius, the Pope deprived him of his office as Librarian of the Vatican. Theiner revenged himself by publishing his copy of Masserelli's official minutes on the Council of Trent. Thus, what Rome succeeded in concealing for three centuries, has at last come to the light of day. There is, therefore, no longer a lack of material for a complete work on Symbolics from the Protestant stand-point. To succeed in this sphere it will be necessary for some historical student to live himself fully into the Romish system and explode it from within; for as Hegel somewhere says, Um ein System zu bekämpfen, musz man sich hineinleben um es dann von innen heraus zu sprengen. Martensen's pamphlet is merely a skillful attempt from without to repel and subdue Rome, hence a valuable contribution, but not a master-piece in the department of Polemic Theology.

Art. III.—"PHILOSOPHY OF TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE—A CONTRIBUTION TO THEOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND REFORM. BY REV. A. G. PEASE. PUBLISHED BY G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, N. Y."

BY E. E. HIGBEE, D. D.

The theme with which the work above cited has to do is one which, in spite of all past settlement, is ever rising up anew, and challenging the most earnest thought of the Church. No statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, in any of the old confessions, however rigidly formulated, can be said fully to satisfy the demands of a living and ever-progressing theology. That of the so-called Athanasian Creed, explicit as it is, and seemingly guarded on every side, is apprehended to a great extent in form only; while by its attempted logical determinateness the real content of the mystery is perhaps more likely to be dissipated from all possible grasp of the believing soul, than to be retained as a great fact of revelation for the world.

Often, also, do the very terms used in those past theological controversies, in the bosom of which the dogma of the Trinity found expression, come to have an altogether different meaning for the present age, and, therefore, when assented to without any historical analysis, mislead, and pervert the very faith which once they were to define and fortify.

It is not strange then that many at the present day, releasing themselves from the logical fixedness of past formularies, should address themselves to the work of reconstructing the doctrine of the Trinity by a thoughtful study of the Divine Word, whose fulness of revelation no age may be said to have entirely grasped. Or, if not to reconstruct, that many should

at least strive to make their assent to the old, not blind acquiescence, but the obedience of an intelligent will. Nor is such effort any mark of infidelity or irreverence, but the evidence rather of a serious and earnest spirit, searching for truth, and dispossessing itself of all formal dogmatic bias only to come with more childlike humility to the sole foundation and fountain of all life and truth, the Word of God.

Such at least we believe to have been the spirit of the author of the work now under review. There is no conscious effort to destroy merely but to rebuild. There is no zeal for orthodoxy so called, but for truth, which, as all know, may often be concealed and confined and made lifeless by the very word-forms which are tenaciously retained in the vain effort in this way to save it.

The author has been, and is now a great sufferer; yet, as in the example of the heroic Augustine Thierry, his mind has risen superior to his physical prostration, and glows with its own fire even more brightly amidst the ashes of his bodily decay. No doubt, however, from the fact of such suffering, connected with other disadvantageous circumstances, his work shows itself to be but fragmentary and somewhat incoherent in its parts. Indeed, in the preface, the author very properly guards the reader against expecting any full or finished treatment. He would but indicate the stand-point from which his view is taken, and submit some partial fruit only of his meditation. It appears also from the preface, and the same may be gathered from the work itself, that the author has been engaged on a much larger and more systematic treatise, the outline of which he sketches, to atone in some measure, as he says, for the fragmentary character of his present publication.

We hope he may be spared to bring out this larger treatise, and be encouraged to do so by the success of his present work—success, not so much in the way of propagating his own views, but, as the author himself most wishes, in the way of awakening the mind of the age to the necessity of examining and

bringing more and more into view the deep and neglected mysteries of the Divine Word. All hope indeed for the future of Christianity seems, with the author, to depend on this rather than on any attempt to reconcile established confessions one with another, or to raise any single denominational confession of doctrine so as to make it the nucleus around which others must in the end subordinate themselves.

It may be well to remark here that the author shows that he has been an earnest student in the field of philosophy, and that he is not dissatisfied with the views which he combats through any pride of ignorance. The incomplete system of Coleridge, as interpreted and advanced by the sainted Dr. Marsh, seems to be quite familiar to his thought. He is indeed a worthy pupil of that great teacher of New England, and is an example, among many others, of the deep and lasting impression which he made upon the thinking of those who had the great privilege and pleasure of listening to his lectures.

It is not our purpose to criticise the work in detail, but to give expression rather to the thoughts which its perusal has awakened, and to the views of Scripture which it has served to bring freshly up again before our mind. This we can best accomplish upon the base of the following fundamental questions with which the work in hand has mainly to do. *How can we know God and commune with Him? How can we apprehend the spiritual world which is above, beneath, and around us, and no doubt also within us? How can we apprehend the natural world in the bosom of which we are, and which must itself be in some way correlated to the spiritual and Divine?*

There may have been a time in the distant past—in that golden age universally pointed to by tradition—when man communed with God and with the spiritual world in the way of immediate converse, by a kind of spiritual sensation and perception; when all life around him was as it were transparent, revealing at once its own spiritual meaning to his gaze; when

all nature rose up before him as a vast parable and hieroglyph of the Divine, in such form, at once intuitively intelligible to his spirit; when the inner spiritual sense and content of things, which we anatomically search after, was seen to be so married to and clothed by the external form as to constitute these at once a language for the soul, without any effort of science, of metaphor, or of allegory. There may have been such a golden age, we repeat, when any question about knowing God and the spiritual world would be considered as absurd as any questioning about the reality of sensation itself; when only the fool in heart could say there is no God, and when no prayer of the prophet was needed to open the servant's eyes to see the chariots of Jehovah. But such age, if ever existing, has passed away, as a natural possession, and the method of knowing generally pursued by men in the historical period has been quite the reverse. Immersed through the senses in things external only, the general movement of thought has been to start with no recognition of the Divine and spiritual, and study the outer world—the kosmos as revealed in sensation, and to find therein, if possible, the principle, or αρχη of all that is—as though this had life in itself, underived and absolute. The old mythical theosophies of the Orient, the old symbolic forms of religious contemplation and art, which seem to point to an age still behind themselves, such as the golden age just mentioned, were generally cast aside at the outset of what is called philosophic thinking.

But the more thought tried to penetrate the outer world in search of a unifying principle there, the more it was forced to the necessity of postulating some inner psychic base to account for the physical itself. An invisible *esse* continually hid itself behind the visible existence, and this visible existence failed of itself to give any intuition of the nexus binding the two together. The psychic being of man then became the theme of investigation; but equally unable to find here any satisfactory stand-point from which to comprehend the unity of all things,

the restless philosophic activity sought after some absolute, some ἀρχη; and thus theosophy came back again, but more in the way of an abstraction, than in any form of a supposed celestial direct inner perception of God and the spiritual. Thus the Greek philosophy started and moved forward from the Hylozoism of the early Ionians to the theosophy of Plotinus, seen in the Enneads as arranged by Porphyry. Water, indeterminate infinite life-matter, air, fire; then thought and will, the psychic being of man; and then the primordial essence irradiating from itself an image whose substance is made up of ideas out from which the universe became existent—this was the order of movement.

This order also shows itself as a sort of model or norm for all subsequent philosophy, which runs, only more rapidly, through the same cycle, beginning and closing in much the same way, with some advance probably at every successive repetition, but without any more success in solving the problem, and dropping off either into bold skepticism or into a weary acknowledgment that there can be no rising above self and the world, and that any assumed principle beyond is simply unknowable, and the search for it therefore vain.

Modern philosophy, as did the Greek, begins in an examination of the external world, the *mundum sensibile*, as we see in Bacon. So also with Descartes, the *cogito, ergo sum*, is only the result of a necessity forced upon him to find in the inner psychic consciousness that safe beginning which he could not find in the outer sense perception. He also again is forced to acknowledge that the facts of consciousness necessitate, in order to give them proper content, an objective Divine, and thus the way was opened for the "*substance with infinite attributes*" of Spinoza, and the "*monas primitiva*" with its circle of monads dynamically radiating therefrom, as taught by Leibnitz. Here we have the same cycle again, more rapidly passed over, and closing also with a great cloud of skepticism on every side.

Philosophy, after this order, renews itself for another cycle in Kant. He begins, in fact, with a discussion of the external world. The rotation of the earth, the question whether the earth is wearing out, a general history of nature, and theory of the heavens, fire, winds, and other subjects of kindred character first engage his attention. Then he turns his attention more directly to psychic being, with a half-timid inclination towards theosophy (perhaps from a knowledge of Swedenborg),* as if he would run through the whole cycle himself. The theosophic inclination, however, was dropped, and he confined himself to the raw material of sensations as taken up by the understanding, and those a priori cognitions resident in the mind itself, leaving the Divine in the region of inference, as a kind of necessary postulate to satisfy the demands of the moral consciousness. Fichte also finds no room for anything like theosophy. He makes the Divine in no sense substance, but the moral order of the world; yet he feels necessitated to assume something like an absolute personality positing its own being and something distinct from itself with a mutual process of limitation between them. Hegel reaches beyond the external, but no further than logic, although his logic has to do with the genesis of nature and mind through a certain dialectic process by which the absolute reason evolves itself. Schelling, upon Hegel's developing his system into what he felt to be mere abstraction, at last, after Hegel's death, turns to theosophy,

* As evidence of this read the following, as quoted by Ueberweg: "Si pedem aliquantulum ultra terminos certitudinis apodicticæ, quæ metaphysicam decet, promovere fas esset, operæ pretium videtur, quædam, quæ pertinent ad intuitus sensitivi non solum leges, sed etiam causas per intellectum tantum cognoscendas indagare. Nempe mens humana non afficitur ab externis mundusque ipsius aspectui non potet in infinitum nisi quatenus ipsa cum omnibus aliis sustentatur ab eadem vi infinita Unius. Hinc non sentit externa nisi per præsentiam ejusdem causæ sustentatricis communis, ideoque spatium, quod est conditio universalis et necessaria compræsentiæ omnium sensitive cognita, dici potest omnipræsentia phænomenon. Causa enim universi non est omnibus atque singulis propterea præsens, quia est in ipsorum locis, sed sunt loca, h., e., relationes substantiarum possibiles, quia omnibus intime præsens est."

and reaches a sort of theogonic process, through which the potencies of the Divine essence reach out into three persons, the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit. Here, substantially, we have the same cycle again, running through the physical, the psychical, and ending at last in the theosophic.

We venture the general statement that every effort of science to solve the mystery of the external physical world will drive the mind to the necessity of recognizing in some form the psychical and metaphysical, although this may be for a time, as now, hidden under the terms *force*, or *molecular activity*, or *law*, or *process of evolution* enclosing an ever-ascending series, and, therefore, indicating intelligent purpose: and further, that every effort to solve the mystery of such psychic reality, as containing will and intelligence in inseparable union, must drive the mind at last more inward still into theosophic speculations, where, without some higher life and light entering the spirit than the scientific faculty possesses, the process will fall back again exhausted, yet only to recover vigor once more to start with renewed hope, but to end again, we believe, with just as little success as ever, except perhaps a clearer enunciation of the terms of the problem be gained, a larger body of formulated science be gathered, and more ominous forebodings of universal skepticism be heard and felt.

Now the author whom we are reviewing starts from a theosophic stand-point. With him the only source of the knowledge of God is the Spirit witnessing in and with our spirit. In most beautiful language he declares, "except as with the eye of our own spiritual being we 'read the eternal deep'—and in our inward experience are conscious of the presence of something within us that is infinite, all holy and Eternal—and thus, to use the language of Wordsworth, of being 'haunted forever by the *Eternal Mind*,' it is impossible that that Mind should be revealed to us." Seemingly under the influence of Spinoza, he maintains as a necessary fundamental postulate, "that God cannot be known at all, or be a real object of knowledge or of

thought to any mind, except by means of his organic nature and connections with the universe. If he has no organic connections; if he is to be regarded as absolutely one and simple, without any organic relation of parts or elements within himself, or any organic relations with anything outside of himself, then there are no means by which he can be known at all. By the very supposition he has no attributes, he is a subject without properties—a thing, therefore, that cannot be known, simply because it has no real objective existence, but is a mere form of thought, a mere abstract conception without any corresponding reality in nature." Then as an object of possible cognition, "the being, the life, and the attributes of God, the Father, the fountain-head and life-principle of the Godhead, make themselves known in the person and attributes of the Son. * * * * The attributes and the character of the Father are seen in the life of the Son (just as in the branch the life of the vine is developed—goes forth into act and visibility). The life of the Father manifests itself in the life of the Son. The life of the Son is the living product of the indwelling life of the Father." Then passing from the Divine sphere, the author maintains, "that the life of the Son is the immediate source of the life of the creation. The life of the Father is in the life of the creation, but not immediately, but only in and through the life of the Son. The life of the Son mediates between that of the Father and that of the creation. The life of the Father is not separated from that of the universe, but is in it, yet only mediately, through the life of the Son, so that the life of the Father, and of the Son, and of the creation, taken together, constitute that grand organic unity of life which comprehends all the life there is, and all that ever was or ever can be life or being at all."

As unsatisfactory as this statement is to us, and reminding us at once of Spinoza, yet we must confess that the effort and the spirit in which it is conducted give us unfeigned pleasure. It strengthens the spirit to find such a hearty acknowledgment

that God in some form lives in the universe and the universe in Him, and that we are not so confined by the limitations of thought and body as not to be able to come into any real communion with the Divine and spiritual. The philosophy of Hamilton, as interpreted by Mansel, cannot satisfy the spirit. To infer only what the Divine is by the imperfect representations of it through merely analogous qualities in the creature is but a vain work, and even worse than vain, if we have no assurance that the qualities in the creature *are* analogous. But even this is only admitted in words, for it is really denied as possible by the whole method of thought which Mansel pursues.

All, however, who begin with the superessential (*υπερουσιος*), have to bridge in some way the gulf to get to the existent. Scotus Erigena, even, has to leave behind his predicateless *esse*, and acknowledge that abstract deity has to pass over in some way to concrete Divine being, or leave the whole sphere of existence without foundation. He neglects his blank and moveless initial point, and assumes a *creano αναρχος*, an uncreated creating esse; and God, in relation to the creation, becomes beginning, middle, and end.*

We have said above that there may have been a golden age when the creation was, so to speak, transparent, the internal spiritual and Divine shining in and through its correlate external and meeting there the spiritual gaze of man as it were face to face; when the synthesis of the creative and created was so grasped that no analytical anatomizing of science was required in order to see the soul of things in the body with which they were clothed, or rather with which they clothed themselves. It becomes a matter of no slight interest to know whether there is not now some kindred method of spiritually discerning spiritual things, some eye now holden that may be opened to see, not-

* Est (Deus) igitur principium, medium, et finis. Principium, quia ex se sunt omnia, quæ essentiam participant: medium autem, quia in ipsa, et per ipsum subsistunt at que moventur; finis vero, quia ad ipsum moventur quietem motus sui suæque perfectionis stabilitatem quærentia." De Divis, Nat. Lib. Prim. cap. XI.

withstanding the sad immersion in the merely natural and external in which we find ourselves.

How indeed can we maintain that we are spiritual, without the acknowledgment that the sense side of our being must be in some way so correspondent to the spiritual, as not at least to close in the spirit from all possible egress or ingress to meet and admit spirit and life? Mere conscious intelligence in way of science of course is not such meeting and admission, nor is the merely natural activity of the will. But can there not be such a conjunction of man with God, not as by a physical nexus in the way of attribute and substance, nor by a metaphysical one in way of effect and cause, but reciprocal, like the eye and light in vision, where the spiritual capacity or recipiency of man as actually included in his natural being, meets in and through the same natural sphere, the Divine descending and entering revealably therein, as, in way of analogy, we know that the internal life plasticity of the plant with its sun-recipiency meets in its external leaves the enquickening sunlight descending and really there? Is not this, after all, the very conjunction wrought out in faith, where the rational-spiritual is actually brought to pass?

Of course the possibility of anything of this kind, upon which, in our judgment, all knowledge of the Divine rests, depends primarily upon the fact that the Divine becomes *visible*, and that in this *visibleness*, or bodily presence, or actual self-inclusion in the natural, we have the very fulness of the Divine and spiritual contained, in a form approachable for man. *This is the Word made flesh and dwelling among us. This is indeed the character of the Word of God universally.*

No one can question the truth that the Scriptures declare that God in a certain sense is beyond the knowledge of man. "No man has seen God at any time." "Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see." Here, and in many other passages which might be quoted, we find the plain

acknowledgment that there is an invisible and unrevealed element in the unity or order of the Divine, which cannot be reached in itself without that Divine order involves more than this. If there be nothing more, then the mind after all is only playing with an unintelligible abstraction, a formless and ever-vanishing breath. While it may have a capacity God-ward, this capacity falls back unfilled in the vain effort to reach the invisible and eternal, just because there is nothing containing the fulness of the Divine in the sphere of the natural-human, through and in which the mind looks forth. Nothing is left but the work of the phantasy to build up and project from itself a myth continent of the Divine upon which the restless religious life may repose.

Any and every attempt in fact to construct the Divine order, or relations in se, outside of its own self-revelation, will prove a failure, and show itself either polytheistic or pantheistic. *Or, what is the same thing, any conception of a transcendental Trinity of the Godhead, which does not root itself in the Trinity of revelation in Christ Jesus, the Lord, will prove abortive.* The unrevealed relation in the Divine Order may be called, it is true, the person of the Father; but no so-called person of the Father can be reached by thought or faith without there be some image of the invisible Divine—"*εἰκων τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*"—some leading out from light inaccessible—some "*ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως.*"

Now the Scriptures emphatically declare that there is such absolute image of the invisible God—such full streaming forth of his glory into revelation in Christ Jesus. "For in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead *bodily*." (Col. ii. 9). But just here we find the great danger of being misled by the very terms in which the dogma of the Trinity is stated, so as to suppose that behind and outside of this absolute imaging of the invisible God (under such supposition of course not absolute but relative imaging), we can find and recognize the Father, or, what is equivalent, that the mission of the Lord is to lead us

to the Father as though he were to be found elsewhere than *in the Lord.* When the terms person of the Father and person of the Son are so used as in any way to individualize and separate the fully commensurate unity here of the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, these very terms only mislead us, and we believe actually pervert the Scriptures.

No man has seen or can see the Father except in the Son. Thought cannot pass around and beyond this absolute image of the Divine, and reach the Father. The disciples themselves at one time seemed to think of the Father, in such transcendental form, as individually outside of the Son, and they even asked the Lord to show them the Father. The startling reply of the Lord is, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. How sayest thou then, Show us the Father?" There can be no such showing separate from Himself. He is God manifested in the flesh. *In Him* dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily. *In Him* God is reconciling the world to Himself, not to Himself as outside and beyond, and not *in Him.* St. John expresses this truth with overwhelming emphasis, when he declares that in Christ Jesus the true God and eternal life is found.

If it be possible by any other revelation reaching the human spirit, to find the Father outside of the Son, then Christ is at once transcended, and His revelation not absolute. There would be in such supposed case another brightness of Divine glory reaching us from behind the Lord. Against the least shadow of such a conception the word of God is emphatic. The Word, which was the all-creative God, the very life and light of the world, as St. John declares, became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory.

It is not enough, however, that in this sense God is approachable by man—that He is self-included in the human, so that the Word in such form holds within itself the Divine and spiritual to be apprehended and beheld. The apprehension here depends upon man's conjunction also with the Divine and spiritual as thus contained in the Word, so that he may be in the Lord, and

the Lord in him, so that the Word may become spirit and life in him. "Of his fulness have all we received."

This conjunction in the sphere of intelligence is faith, and in the sphere of will is love, not simply a natural activity of the one or the other, but that state of recipiency upon the part of man in which the life and light now flows in from the Divine, through the Word, and apprehends while being apprehended—a mutual union like that of the eye and light in vision—a union which must include both will and understanding, and in which they become spiritually illumined and energized—a union in which the good and the true become the very substance of the man's personality. "Because I live, ye shall live also."

Such a conjunction upon the part of man, while dependent, as we have said, upon the mystery of God manifested in the flesh, is dependent also upon the fact that the relation of man to the Divine by creation is such as to render it possible. This leads us to make some general remarks, suggested by the statement of the author of the work under review, that "the life of the Son is the immediate source of the life of the creation."

"For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given the Son to have life in himself." That is, the Father is in the Son, for we cannot conceive of two absolute independent sources of life in such form. Life in God is absolute, underived, *esse* and *existere* in itself. Life in the creation is not underived. The creation has no such life in itself, but is and continues to be only by the outflow of life from God into it. What has being as now existent in the created sphere (ὃ γέγονεν) was life in Him, or, if we accept the modern punctuation, in Him was life, fontally of course for the whole creation. The universe subsists or consists in Him (τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν). The very essence and existence of man, therefore, are not self-contained in an underived way, but self-recipient of the Divine. Man is in fact created for such recipiency. His personality, his will and intelligence as one, has no other proper content

than the good and the true, which authenticate themselves therein as proceeding from the Lord. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth." The intelligence does not make the truth. Truth is its proper substance derived from Him who is the truth. The intelligence is a recipient organ through which the truth authenticates its presence. The will does not make the good. The good is its proper substance, derived from Him who is it in itself. The will is an organ through which it is brought to pass in us. When, therefore, the will and intelligence find the Lord, who is truth and goodness itself, then the man becomes truly an image and likeness of God, a temple for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, an organ, receiving and appropriating the outflowing life of the Lord. Christ breathes the spirit from Himself. Man thus realizes that for which he was created, because he is in the Lord and the Lord in him. This is the communion of the Holy Ghost, the regeneration and sanctification wrought out by the Divine in us, "for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure"—*ὑπέρ της εὐδοκίας*—according to His goodness or because He is good (Winer); or to carry out and satisfy His good pleasure (Ellicott).

While the fulness of life in Christ Jesus apprehends the individual, his recipient apprehension of course individuates such fulness. It becomes his own though always recognized as coming from the Lord. It is the same Spirit, although according to modes of reception or states of the recipient subject, endlessly manifold and diversified in gifts and operations. "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. * * * And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which works all in all."

We have thus far spoken of man ideally, as placing no obstructions to the life flowing forth from the Divine, and reaching the soul, but as appropriating it freely, according to the full measure of his possible recipiency; as recognizing the Lord, and as centering his whole rational self in Him, and not

upon self or the world, and doing this without any antagonizing seductions from the spiritual world. Man finding himself, however, in natural and spiritual evils ("for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" Eph. vi. 12), does not all this without repentance and regeneration; and this is made possible by the redemptive work of Christ, who was manifested for this purpose. ("For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." 1 John iii. 8.)

Time does not allow us to discuss this in detail. In the course of the work under review, many very valuable thoughts and suggestive hints are given, together with much that we cannot accept, and which we cannot see to be essential or necessary in way of inference from the main principles assumed.

The annihilation of the wicked, for example, is not in our judgment a necessary inference from the truth that our life is wholly derived, and hence cannot be if disconnected with its Divine source. We may continue to remove from God and not He from us. The relation or conjunction of God and man through faith is reciprocal, "I in them and they in me." We may not in love and faith reach such conjunction, so as to be in Him in spiritual will and intelligence, but this is not the equivalent of His not being in us. He was in the world, and the world knew Him not. The light doth shine perennially, and we may receive it, but we cannot suppress it. There is a profound relation in which existence is related to its source beneath consciousness and determinations of will—a bond which we believe no finite act can sever. "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" We may say that conscience itself seems to be a sort of assurance that whatever may be our personal determination, God still holds Himself in relation to us by a bond that we cannot anni-

hilate. The heathen sages felt this. It meets us over and over again in Plato, and the great tragedian, Sophocles, has given beautiful utterance to it.

"ἡγεῖσθε δὲ
"βλέπειν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβῆ βροτῶν,
"βλέπειν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς· φυγὴν δὲ που
"μήπω γενέσθαι φωτὸς ανοσίου βροτῶν."—*Œd. Col.* 278.

The moral, however immoral, never becomes the physical. It is true that a false ethicization of our God-given being is not life but death; yet this death is no physical annihilation, if such even be deemed possible. Man can be dead in trespasses and sins, and yet not be annihilated. This is felt to be true now, and can equally be true beyond the grave. How can one be said to exhaust that which is not his either by origination or preservation, and is only his in a certain sense by conditioning recipiency—qualified only?

But we are unwilling here to enter into any argument. We wish to say in conclusion, that the work has been of service to us as arousing thought, and especially as enforcing the conviction, which has been for a long time settling itself in our mind, that the hope of the future of the Church depends not upon confessionalism, but on a fresh reopening of the Scriptures, and a deeper and more reverent grasp of the nexus between the natural and supernatural, therein challenging our faith.

Art. IV.—THE MISSION OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY REV. HIRAM KING.

When it is asked, *What is the object and end of philosophy?* the effort to discover and give an intelligent solution is, at the threshold, met and rendered entirely futile by the counter-problem, *What is philosophy itself?* Between these problems (they may be spoken of as being such), there obtains the relation of interdependence. The solution of the former is, moreover, dependent on that of the latter—is in fact, in great measure, involved in it. Hence, the treatment of the subject under consideration must, to a considerable extent, take the form of a definition of philosophy.

What then is to be understood by philosophy? Clearly not what is indicated by the term itself, if it be viewed *abstractly*. Etymologically considered, in such view, it is by no means expressive of the real meaning intended to be conveyed. *The love of wisdom* is, in this sense, expressive merely of a quality or affection of the mind, and is purely subjective. There is a sense, however, in which *the love of wisdom* has a deeper meaning. Viewed *concretely* it expresses the union of subject and object. It is the resultant of a real coming together and unification of the subjective activity and objective existence. Love of wisdom, as love of any sort, supposes an object by which it is called forth in the sense of necessary production, and upon which it remains fastened, necessarily, as the condition of its existence.

Under the former of the two views now mentioned, *the love of wisdom* may be regarded as the unresting and ever unsatis-

fied capacity for knowledge, whether it be knowledge grounded in the direct union of subject and object, or, more remotely, the product, purely, of subjective origination in the sense of logical deduction. This, it is clear enough, cannot be regarded as a definition of philosophy, for, in such form, it would solicit its own complementation, and could have no positive mission at all. Under the latter, or, concrete view, may be found a basis for, at least, an approximate definition of our science. We crave the privilege, however, to be allowed to define it for ourself, instead of adopting, in a wholesale way, any vague and unsatisfying definition borne along upon the stream of its history, whether it may have floated from out hoary antiquity, or have been set adrift by the sage devotee of the warlike goddess of more recent ages. In the use of this license the charge may be incurred of investing the title with a meaning differing from that designed by the originator to be conveyed; inasmuch as it may be made to include certain contents foreign to the original idea. Such is most likely to prove the case, for, a definition can be given only in the light of the self-authentication and measurable evolution of the science itself. The essential definition of a science in its incipient stages may by no means serve to exhaust its sense in its more mature form.

The mundane birth of philosophy was synchronistic with the creation of the first human intellect; *id. est*, man in order to think rationally must, in some sense, philosophize. He must possess certain mental philosophical factors, competent to serve as the elemental beginning of the science. In a word, to philosophize is a postulate of the attribute of rationality. This leads to the inquiry, *What is it to philosophize?* To which a brief reference to philosophy, struggling fairly into an historical existence, must be allowed to give answer.

The task, which philosophy proposed to itself from the start, was to discover *a first cause in nature—the producing cause of the phenomenal.* In the attempt to solve the problem the philosophizing of the ancients reaches quite a variety of results.

A Thales lays down the principle that the primal, or original, ground of all things is *water*. "From water everything arises, and into water everything returns." From mere *quality* a Pythagoras rises to the conception of *quantity* and fixes number as "the essence of all things." From this again the Eleatic philosopher rises absolutely above experience, abstracts and negatives all material, and plants himself upon the conception, ἓν καὶ πᾶν—*Pure Being.**

While all this, now, suggests a conception of what is meant by philosophizing—the intellectual process by which only the end in view can be reached—it, at the same time, opens the way for a definition of philosophy itself.

Philosophy is the science of *ground principles*—the science, pre-eminently, of realities. It penetrates the phenomenal, the material and experimental, and rests not until it discovers a *base-law*—a general, fundamental, principial force, according to which all can be explained. It enters, in like manner, the domain of the *super*natural and *super*creatural and subjects Deity Himself to the scalpel of its anatomy. It seeks to discover and know The Absolute—The First Cause Himself.

Philosophy, in regard to its *material*, is *all-comprehending*. The elemental, the organic; matter, spirit, Deity; time, space, eternity; social, political, ecclesiastical polity; the relation of creature to Deity; the destiny of man and the cosmos—all these are the proper material of philosophy, and all must progressively take form and place in one, universal, system of *intelligized* truth.

In regard to *place-where*, philosophy is *ubiquitous*. Whatever lies remote, and in this way escapes an unsparing analysis, it attempts to subject to a process of purely logical deduction. In astronomic science, for example, it starts from the observed heliocentric system as the primal basis of analogical deduction. From this it plunges into the labyrinthian intricacies of space—

*Schwegler.

filling creation; mounts the milky pathway of heaven; traverses the expanse of creation; visits the last world that sweeps in circling flight the confines of the universe; hovers over the verge of created existence, and peers inquiringly into the inconceivable emptiness of nonentity beyond.

Philosophy, however, far from resting satisfied with its achievements in the sphere of creation, transcends this altogether and actually climbs into the domain of the infinite, the boundless. It presumes to penetrate the holiest of all—to discover and disclose the essential nature of Deity Himself. Nor does all this exhaust the range of philosophy. It must needs introvert itself upon its own subject. It proposes for its solution the problem, *what is it that philosophizes—what is man?*

From all this it is clear that *philosophy is the science of sciences.* It is entitled to such designation, because every other science is found, in the end, to root itself in it. It is fundamental to the *empirical* sciences (Astronomy, Physics, Medicine, et cet.), because these can take form only as they are developed from ground-laws, which it is the province of philosophy to discover and trace out. It is fundamental to the science of *theology*, because the laws of final causation—of Absolute Being, attribute and act—must, measurably, be determined, to render the science at all possible. It is fundamental to the science of *logic*, because, first principles being undiscovered, there could be neither premises from which to deduce, nor deducing process in order to logical conclusion.

Philosophy, moreover, is its own standard. It becomes its own critic. It introverts and corrects itself at all points of its history. Absolutely, it recognizes no standard but that of the truth. This brings to view the last and highest meaning of philosophy in itself considered, and indicates plainly its true object and end. *It is the science of truth.*

In the light of the definition of our science, now given, the inquiry may be fairly entertained, *What is the mission of philosophy?* By way of reply it may be said to be threefold.

I. The relative apprehension of truth in the domain of the absolute. II. The absolute apprehension of truth in the domain of the relative. III. The intellectual unification of the two orders as the *instantaneous* resultant of such apprehension.

The orders of absolute and relative truth suppose and condition each other at all points in the movement of philosophy. These two orders are but the two sides of one concentric system of truth. The relative can be truth only as it, all the while, refers itself to the absolute truth in consonant relativity. Whilst, in fact, the absolute truth can be such only as it supposes an absolutism, unconflicting with an *instanding* relativity. To realize in the sphere of intellect, by way of conscious apprehension, this unity of truth is the task that philosophy sets itself to achieve. The assumption of this work is, however, neither arbitrary nor precisely voluntary. It is a postulate rising out of the relation of absolute to *constituted* entity. For rational life, such unification is necessitated. The relative truth must, in the end, be made to accord with the absolute truth, for it is in such reconciliation alone that the human reason can find rest.

This naturally makes room for, and in fact introduces, the necessity of a reference to the human reason as related to the twofold domain of truth in the performance of the functions of its office for philosophy; for, it is the active agent in the process of ratiocination and in the entire scope of philosophizing as well. It is through its agency only that the objective end of philosophy can be reached—that its mission can be accomplished. The reason is, however, not bound up in itself as something separate from the two orders spoken of, and as capable of standing aloof from them altogether. It is on the contrary bound up and identified with the relative order of existence. By position it occupies its general level, and as regard is had to its activity, it moves upon the same plane. Such identity of the reason with the relative does not, however, exclude it from the domain of the absolute. It is this precisely that opens the way for the influx of the absolute into the rea-

son, for the whole relative order is bound to the absolute, and can exist only in its bosom. The reason, in the most comprehensive sense, receives its illumination from the light of the absolute truth, gleaming into it through the relation holding between the absolute and the relative. The human ego in its unity stands related to the absolute entity as a depending existence. The reason must thus, from the necessity in the case, be regarded as holding its ultimate ground in the absolute, and as deriving, in the end, its activity from the same source.

The reason as depending and subordinate entity, deriving its activity thus primarily from absolute entity, stands, by virtue of such attitude, in *according* relationship to it. It is this attitude of the reason (which grounds itself, of course, in essential constitution, and is, at the same time, the condition of its normal existence), that is determinative for its activity. It is this that shuts out all possibility of the reason's repose on relative truth, except as it discovers and divests this of all attachments incongruous with its perception of absolute truth. For clearer resolution, however, why must the reason formulate this concrete truth, bringing thus the two sides, for itself, into conscious reconciliation? It is answered without hesitation, that this necessity has place because the constitution of the reason postulates activity of this sort, and necessarily brings about such result. But this is a superficial, and hence, unsatisfying, reason, and by no means accounts, in the end, for the fact in question. The true ground of the necessity is broader than the constitution of the reason, or any postulate of it, merely, and lies back of these altogether, in the idea and constitution of the *physico-spiritual*, as grounded in its unity in absolute attribute and being. The necessity ruling here, it is plain enough, is two-sided as regards its rising, inasmuch as its impulses are nothing less than the combined product of the two orders involved. The human order, *as the base-idea of the cosmos*, must become, progressively, the expression of the truth of the entire system of the physico-spiritual. The cosmos must

utter itself through mind. The human order must mirror the fullness of cosmical truth; for, in such view only is it possible for it, in any proper sense, to be regarded as the head and crown of the natural creation. In this form only can the cosmos be said to come to a rational culmination. And it is precisely this rational culmination—this focalization of relative truth—that makes room, in any real and felt sense, for communion between the two orders of existence in the case. The human order, *as at once the climax of the cosmical and the point of contact for the supercosmical*, must measurably formulate the absolute (if that may yet be termed absolute, which enters the domain, and falls under the limitations, of the relative). It must authenticate its presence, and bring its claim of priority to the relative and the resulting supremacy over it, to be acknowledged. This last is, however, not to be accomplished in a sort of mutual attestation, by bringing the two orders to confront each other by way of merely outward *juxta-position*, as if each could be made to hold its warranted attitude by the force of any such separate exhibition of the other in its presence. The human order must *utter* the supercosmical (through the channel of mind here again), into the bosom of the cosmos in the most real way, the intromission being measured only by the degree of the endowment of capability.

This *uno-centric* movement, now, from contrary quarters—the interpenetration of the relative and absolute truth in the human order—is rendered necessary to realize the ideal of entity in its broadest view. The reason, to bring to hand the condition of its own normal evolution, as also to make due account of the relation ruling here between the two orders, as such, must carry forward the movement by voluntary assumption. Whilst the profounder element of the necessity must be allowed to be the compulsion of the reason to *involuntary* action.

From what has now been said, the reason may clearly be regarded as *mediational* in its office. The culmination and representing head of an organic and subordinate order, the hu-

man finds its deepest roots imbedded in the bosom of the predominant order, and bears, of course, in its own constitution the potential reconciliation of the two—its actualization depending on the intervention of the reason. The reconciliation now spoken of does not, however, involve the contrary assumption of an original and essential contradiction. The attitudes of relativity and absolutism, though involving quite the reverse of co-ordination, imply precisely the contrary—the idea of harmony; but harmony such as may be denominated a *posited* accordance, *i. e.*, grounded necessarily in the correlation of creation and Creator. Such merely *resultant* harmony, to satisfy the demands of philosophy, must be resolved into an *intelligized* one. The merely *passive* accordance must become *active*, *conscious* and *free*.

The question of precedence in the process of reconciliation, as touching the two orders of truth concerned, is of no small account. The free, full, and efficient, movement of philosophy is dependent altogether upon its proper settlement. The reconciliation in the end to be brought about by philosophy is, clearly, at all points in the movement, conditioned and made possible only as mind is informed, primarily, by truth from the domain of the absolute. There is no room here for either a disjunction of the two orders of truth (which are one in the sense already referred to), or a reverse order. As the absolute is primal in entity, so must it take precedence in the process of conscious reconciliation. If the intellectual apprehension of the absolute truth does not in every case precede the apprehension of the relative, the absolute must still be regarded as being, in the end, the ground of such apprehension. For, involuntary action must here be regarded as primary by way of precedence in every view. The intuitions, or postulates of the reason, are, from their nature, the profoundest movements of mind. They are, primarily, ideas that enter the sphere of intellect from the domain of the absolute and eternal truth. They are eternal ideas, that find entrance into mind and energize it. These

ideas pass over into the domain of the relative at the point of contact of the two orders, denoted by the term *relation.* The medium of such transition is, primarily, the intuitive reason, which may be termed a medium, through which certain truths authenticate themselves *immediately,* precluding thus the necessity, as well as possibility, of the mediation of logical formulæ, or deducing processes. This phase of the activity of the rational nature is involuntary. When challenged by certain truths, whether relative or absolute, their validity is instantaneously acknowledged. On the other hand, there lies the necessity in the case for such truth from the domain of the absolute to challenge the rational nature; for, the intuitive reason has its deepest roots laid in the absolute. These intuitive perceptions are the ground of all rational activity whatever. They enter the reasoning process at every point along the movement as its necessary momentum. The intuitions are of such account, because they are, in the main, the starting point and moving energy of the relative, the finite, reason; because they are projected into mind by the inspirations of Deity—The Fountain of truth.

From all this it is easy to see that the absolute and the relative *may* be, and *are*, made to meet in the rational nature, and are, in this way, brought into conscious reconciliation. The human ego may indeed be said to hold its place, by position, midway between the two orders and on the verge of each, to serve, by direct design, as the channel of such counter-transition; the medium of such interpenetration; the active agent of such *intelligized* unification.

In the general definition, given of it in the former part of this article, philosophy is denominated the *science of sciences*, and the dignity implied is obviously too clearly warranted to admit of dispute. This predicate-title, now, serves, at this point, as an index, pointing in contrary directions. Philosophy, being the science of sciences, is broader than any one other science—is, in fact, fundamental to, and embraces, them all,

holding them thus in a common subordinate unity. It holds them under the weight of a universal and truly internal dominion, the measure of whose legitimate control, in a given age, is determined by the existing degree of correct apprehension of truth. The very altitude, however, from which philosophy, in the character of the reigning science, is made to tower, involves its limitation—*dependence* as regards its proper existence—*mediate operation* as touching the administration of its office. For, unquestionably, the relation, here existing, finds, in some sort, an analogon in what has place between the stem and branches of the tree; which, evidently, is not an *inhering*, simply, on the part of the branches, according to the more superficial notion, by which nothing more is allowed than *a being infixed* in the stem; nor, on the other hand, can the stem be regarded as merely *supporting* the branches for an ulterior purpose, altogether; as if they had no concern with the fact of its immediate existence at all. The truth is quite the reverse of all this. The relation is grounded in both *distinction* and *identity*. Whilst, on the one hand, now, the distinction between stem and branch, so far as this can assert itself, introduces the necessity of mutual dependence, mutual sustentation, mutual complementation; their identity, on the other, makes room for mutual support, and paves the way for the mutual relief required. This must be obvious when it is reflected, that, by virtue of peculiar organic structure, access is opened to two independent, and quite contrary, sources of nutriment. The *leaf-attachments* of the branch procure the influx of aliment from out the bosom of the encompassing sphere of diaphanous fluid; whilst the *root-extremities* of the stem perform similar functions in the somber recesses of the subterranean regions in which they lie hidden. These two sorts of nutriment intermingle in the organism as such. They find counter-passage along its life-courses; sinking from leaf to root; rising from root to leaf. The branch and stem, in their distinction and identity as resting in a mutual dependence, perform, in this

way, the functions of the reciprocal office of mutual complementation. Far from being visionary, this is a fact susceptible of the clearest demonstration by inference from the results of experiment. If the air be shut out from contact with the leaves, the tree will pine away, and, in the end, perish; notwithstanding the roots remain imbedded in the soil, in all respects the same as before. If the roots be laid bare, or, in any other way access be prevented to those elements of the tree's food, which it is the province of the roots to conduct into the organism, nutrition will cease and the tree fall a prey to the disintegration of the elements, no conceivable amount of elemental nourishment, to which the leaves, bathed in air, may have access, being competent to prevent the ruin.

The analogon, as now in partial form brought to view, touches the *existence* of philosophy in relation to the subordinate sciences, setting forth, most clearly, its dependence on them in this view, inasmuch as it cannot have an existence at all, apart from them, save as an abstract term; for, although there is a distinction, there is an essential identity underlying necessary individual peculiarities, and, at bottom, holds all in unity of constitution. There can be no room for questioning the assertion, that philosophy has not an independent existence; as appears conclusively enough from the evident and acknowledged fact, that the whole field of philosophic activity is covered by the adjuncts of the subordinate sciences (the sphere of truth, with which each one is specially concerned, being in this way indicated). The inference is clearly not to be avoided, that philosophy, free from adjunct-limitation, and thus universal in scope as truth itself, has not an existence, as a science, otherwise than in, and by means of, the restricted sciences; or, more definitely, as already assumed, its own existence is bound up in an identity, common all round, from whose bosom, as the science of sciences, it rises distinguished as the stem, and the subordinate sciences project in distinct form

as the branches, of the great tree of philosophy, towering into altitude from out the rational nature of man.

Philosophy is, in the same way, dependent for vigorous life and progressive evolution; for, the relation, obtaining between it and the other sciences, is one of reciprocity, and, whilst involving interdependence, carries in itself, at the same time, the necessity of mutual support and mutual complementation (as also the possibility and capability of rendering such reciprocal service). As more nearly allied, perhaps, to the point in hand, than the analogy already used, reference may be allowed, for illustration here, to the well-known double fact, that whilst society, as something distinct from the individual, and yet finding entrance into the sphere of his life through the medium of an existing identity, brings a general controlling, and, measurably moulding, power for good to bear; apparently doing nothing more than *bestowing;* it unquestionably, in this way, promotes its own well-being, agreeably to the nature and constitution of the social economy; for, what may here be regarded, in a sense, as *propulsion*, is, in the end, made to change direction and become *refluence*, and returns thus again into the bosom of social life at large; swelling now, however, beyond its original magnitude, altogether. This must become evident upon the reflection, that, what finds entrance into the narrow circle of individual existence, from the broader fact in which it stands, is both *principial* and *cumulative*, *i. e.*, evolves and gathers power; and, moreover, forms a new starting point for similar transmissions and augmentations, through other individuals, without observed limits; adding, in this way, all the while, new moments to the gathering vigor of the pulsations, and fresh impulses to the rising tide, of social life.

This is not pretended to be true, however, in each particular, of what has place between philosophy and the individual sciences; for, there the reciprocation undulates more directly between philosophy and *each* restricted science, by virtue of the existence of a less degree of identity, common to the subordi-

nate sciences, than to the members of society; no room being made, thus, among the former for so free a transmission of impulses from one to another, as among the latter. The illustration, nevertheless, fully answers the purpose in view. It sheds clear light upon the fact, that the well-being and efficiency of philosophy can be procured alone in the active *interchange*, involved in the correlation sustained all round—that the tide of its life can be made to rise to a full, steady, and vigorous, flow, only in confluence with its tributaries.

This opens the way, now, for bringing forward another feature of the analogon of philosophy, already made to do service, in which it touches the proposition (consequent, measurably, on the sort of limitation just now treated of), that *philosophy is restricted to mediate operation.* The fruit-bearing tree can accomplish its ultimate purpose only *instrumentally* (the distinction existing between stem and branch, as already brought to view, is here necessary to be borne in mind). The end to be reached is a *production*—at once a formation and a separation; for, the fruit is a summing up and an externalizing. In it the activity of vegetable life, of this sort, sweeps the highest arc of the circle, and projects in this outward, distinct, and mature form, the whole meaning of the organization, as the crown of the tree. For such achievement, as any one can see, an organ is requisite; and such one precisely as is at hand in the branch, as the only instrumental agency, competent to stand in the service of the law of life, in the process of reaching such outward culmination of interior content.

Philosophy is restricted to the same general sort of operation. It can intelligize and systematize truth, as its ultimate end, only by way of *instrumental evolution;* enshrining its inner essence, in this way, in what may be regarded as the *production* of its activity, made, by the central law of constitution, to sweep into culmination. In other words, the tree of philosophy can produce fruit only *mediately.* Whilst, however, the subordinate sciences are the media of production, they may,

nevertheless, not be viewed as serving in that capacity in a merely passive way, as though they were nothing more than inert conductors, giving shape and direction merely, by a passive resistance combined with freedom of transmission of the same sort, to what is impelled by a motivity, in no way inhering in the channels themselves, but existing exterior to, and acting from abroad altogether. The mediation is rather of a double nature, and involves the combination of both passive and active agency. The restricted sciences are clearly the channels through which philosophy, as such, utters truth as it brings it to take intelligized form; but such externalization is not, by any means, a bare *passing through*, inasmuch as the conjunctive activity of the media themselves enters the movement all along, as a necessary element of its vital energy. The distinctive action on both sides, it appears, is the best sort of testimony borne to the truth of the proposition, that philosophy is restricted to mediate operation; for, unquestionably, any exemption from control, existing on either hand, can be regarded only as that sort of *co-operative independency*, which rises, of necessity, out of any organic union (for, what is union, but diversity centered in unity)? furnishing, in this plain way, its own direct proof of an absolute interdependence, resident in the unity from which the diversity asserts such seeming freedom.

The point now reached, in the treatment of our subject, may not unaptly be characterized as the platform in the rotunda of the limited sciences; for, a position is thus attained to, within the encircling panorama, sufficiently interior and central to bring the whole sphere of philosophical activity within the field of vision. The entire realm of truth is seen, from this station of observation, to solicit the progressive ingression, presence, and operation of philosophy. Truth in its universal character, as it inheres in, or is concerned with, the forms of being and existence—the relative grounded in the absolute, and the absolute enfolding, as well as being enshrined in, the relative—is

laid open to philosophical inquiry, and subjected to a process of rational evolution. For, the one, universal, concrete, truth is the multiform content of the grand circle of the subordinate sciences that crowns the brow of philosophy.

The mission of philosophy, as is now clearly apparent, is concerned with, and embraces the trinity of Nature, Man, God—mounting from the lowermost forms of creation through the rising progression of the structural cosmos, and culminating, at last, in the overshadowing grandeur of Deity.

In our definition of it, philosophy is represented as *ubiquitous*, touching its presence in the field of truth. The bare statement of the fact, with whatever power of self-authentication it might carry with itself, was, however, all that was then possible; for, the validity of it could not, at that point, be properly attested. What could there, from the nature of the case, be but indistinctly seen in the twilight of *assumptive assertion*, moves, here, into the field of clear vision, under the light thrown upon it from a certitude, established and made to stand by the best possible sort of testimony—that of the surrounding prospect, opened to view from the polar elevation now attained to. Unattested affirmation is verified by observation; for, philosophy, in one form or another, is seen to be the moving energy and aggressive agency in every sphere of rational activity, and in every field of scientific research, whatever. Extending its tentacula in the *instrumental* sciences in the act of prehension, it is seen to gather up in its monstrous grasp the contents of physics, anthropology, and theology; verifying, thus, in the sphere of intellect, their trinity in relation; their unity in relativity and absolutism.

The mission of philosophy, it must be allowed, cannot from the stand-point now reached, be regarded as problematical. It is apparent that it empowers the human mind (illumined, as it is, all along, by a flood of light, streaming upon it from the radiating center of absolute truth, by which it is thrown into the involuntary action of intuitive perception), to

converge and focalize, in itself, all the lines of truth in its broadest view. It is apparent that it establishes in the mind of man, in this way, the harmony of entity. Philosophizing, however, cannot be regarded as a merely *intellectual* process, as though the mission of philosophy could be allowed to end at last in only an intellectual apprehension, of the same abstract and powerless sort. On the contrary, truth, formulated in mind, comes to be allied to life; becomes an actual expansive content of capacity—a living and informing power. The ego becomes, in the highest sense, a living, but *intelligized, cosmos.*

To bring about the free, harmonious, conscious, organic and living, unification of the relative and absolute; to mirror, progressively,* the cosmical and supercosmical in the human consciousness in normal relativity and absolutism; in a word, to give rational birth to the *unpantheistic* πᾶν εν ἕνι of entity—this is the sublime, the glorious, mission of philosophy.

* Philosophy is designed, to be sure, to *accomplish* its mission; but not in the sense that its work is to be all *done*, at any conceivable point in the procession of the unrolling ages, as if it set itself to achieve an ordinary sort of task, whose accomplishment involved, of necessity, the final supersedure and suspension of all operation of the same sort. Philosophy, on the contrary, is concerned with *movement*, as an element in which alone it can have an existence at all. Its mission is to achieve the *crescive evolution of endless progression* in the domain of truth; for, philosophy surely ought not to be regarded as an attachment, merely, of the present order and condition of human life, and as fated, at last, to sink into annihilation upon the funeral pyre of nature. The postulate rises out of the very nature of the combined facts and circumstances, here, that philosophy is inseparable from the race; that, in the final catastrophe, it is designed to surmount the existing economy as an essential constituent of the rising humanity, and in such *transnatural* sphere, to prosecute its *one* mission forever. The progression of philosophy is *perpetual*. The region of *undiscovered* truth is absolutely inexhaustible. The finite cannot, by any possibility, be made to *include* the infinite.

Art. V.—ATOMOLOGY.

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It is a remarkable fact that in the earlier ages of the world so little attention was paid by philosophers to the study of objects near at hand, that fell immediately under the cognizance of the senses. The records go to show that it was not supposed to be involved in the calling of the wise man to derive knowledge from shell, flower, mineral, or from any of the multifarious objects of his daily observation and experience. Those things were useful and the knowledge of their uses was acquired by ordinary minds without much study. But it does not seem to have been imagined that they contained any wisdom or meaning beyond their uses. Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy and, to a great extent, Natural History, all of which may be considered as the knowledge of common things, are modern sciences, of comparatively recent origin. The human mind in its first stages, among all nations, instead of sitting down and studying its immediate surroundings, with an elasticity that seemed to be innate, took an upward flight and busied itself almost exclusively with the study and contemplation of the spiritual world, or of objects that seemed most remote, most mysterious, and bewildering to its apprehension. The first form of knowledge, science or philosophy, therefore, was religious, theological or moral, and not physical. So the annals of all nations that came to a history or development teach us. Some of them indeed never got down from the spiritual world to the study of material things. India and Persia may be said to have contributed little or nothing to physical science. In their profound thinking, in their earnest struggles to solve the

problem of the universe and of human destiny, they can scarcely be said even to have ventured fairly on the outside of the ideal world. They became petrified, so to speak, in the contemplation of the infinite, before they had time to make any further progress earthwards. It was only in Greece that wise men began to recognize the fact that they belonged to the system of nature, to look around upon its diversified phenomena and to familiarize themselves with the causes of its operations. Here the great reaction against the excessive and one-sided spiritualism of the East commenced, and Greece therefore may be said to be, in an important sense, the turning point or mediator between the ancient and modern worlds. But Greece, so far as results were concerned, did very little for the science of nature. It made only a beginning. It was engaged mainly, under new auspices, in efforts to solve the old problems upon which the oriental mind had been so active; it continued to speculate, like the wise men of the East, on the nature of God, on His relation to nature and man, on human destiny, on immortality, on good and evil and the highest happiness of man. Even when it did enter upon the investigation of nature in earnest, it obeyed the general tendency to look, not at the things which were near at hand, but at those which were far off; not at the small objects which challenged their attention every hour, but at the large and sublime worlds which revealed themselves in the silence and darkness of the night. Astronomy was pursued with diligence and success, but no attention was paid to Geology. Philosophers knew a great deal about the stars and the motions of the heavenly bodies; they in fact discovered nearly all the facts of Astronomy which it was possible for men to discover without the telescope; but they possessed little or no scientific knowledge of rocks and stones, of plants and flowers, of fish and birds, and of many other objects that interest philosophers and scientific men in modern times.

This order in the development of the human mind from the infancy of nations onwards, to which we have thus referred, is

often regarded as irrational and absurd in our day. It is sometimes thought it was a mere waste of so much mental energy, which should have been utilized and turned to better account. Some have made merry over it as an exhibition of the vagarious tendency of the human mind. The disciples of Lord Bacon have disputed the legitimacy of the order which history itself here saw proper to pursue, and affirmed that if it had been reversed and men had studied the inductive sciences more and speculated less in regard to God and human destiny, it would have been so much the better for the world at large. But as there is a divinity in history, we think it can be made to appear that its own laws of development are always better than those which philosophers would dictate, and that they may be amply vindicated.

The imagination that men in the beginning and vigor of the race should have commenced with the natural sciences and then afterwards taken up the profound questions of Theology and Philosophy, and not pursue the opposite course, can be justified only on the basis of certain speculations which are of modern growth. One is, that man was originally a barbarian without culture or refinement, living in close communion with nature and the animal world, from which it is the province of history to raise him to the higher order of a rational life. If this had been so, it would have been quite natural for him to have made himself acquainted first with nature, his foster mother. So, it is quite likely that he would have experienced a strong natural impulse in that direction, and commenced to analyze the soil from which he derived his subsistence, instead of speculating about the gods. Another supposition, somewhat popular in our day, traces man's origin considerably further back than this barbaric life of nature and finds his progenitors among the lower forms of animal and vegetable life. If this had been his descent, or rather his ascent, he would hardly have remembered, it is true, the transformations through which he had passed; but it is natural to conclude that he would have retained some

vague suspicions or dark intuitions of such a wonderful progress upwards from the dark world below; and that from the start he would have taken more kindly towards plants and animals, studied their habits and nature, and piously preserved their extinct forms in herbariums and collections of natural history. But no suppositions of this kind have been verified either by the researches of history or the facts of science; and we are left to the old opinion, taught by divine revelation and confirmed by history, that man's original endowments were by no means of such a meager character as those referred to, but of a much more exalted character; that he started from a high degree of culture and refinement, but that unfortunately his subsequent progress was downwards towards barbarism and decay. His descent, in the nature of things, could not be sudden and absolute. It was rather of the nature of a gradual deterioration. He did not lose at once his vitality, physical, intellectual or moral. He was able to keep up the fight against death at first for centuries, and when roused by his passions, he could still exert the strength of a giant. Besides, when cut off from direct communion and fellowship with God and banished from the abodes of innocence and truth, the light of Paradise continued to stream forth after him and to follow him, although with diminishing splendor, in his downward course through the centuries. Man's origin was from above, not from beneath, and it is therefore neither strange, unnatural nor irrational, that he did not at once forget that fact, but continued to think of it first and foremost, to cherish it as a priceless inheritance, and to cling to it as a light shining in a dark place, when the thick shades of darkness gathered around his habitation. Ancient philosophy and theology, therefore, did not involve a wrong direction imparted to the faculties of the human mind, nor their abuse and misapplication in the region of fancy and imagination. The tendency was a legitimate one, and the deep and earnest thinking of antiquity in regard to the most important questions that concern man was not without its influ-

ence in preparing the world for its high destiny in after times. This natural bias, however, towards the spiritual and infinite, characteristic of the ancients generally, was not the only and exclusive one which lay concealed in the human mind. Man must first think of himself and of his relation to God, for there only can he find the supreme good, as his own instincts tell him; but then as he stands related to nature, even if at first his thoughts carried him heavenward, he could not be indifferent to his natural surroundings, the realm over which he reigns as a sovereign. He betrays everywhere an instinctive desire to examine, to investigate and to analyze nature. It is only in this way, by taking in all the parts, that he can come to solve the problem of the world's history as a whole. This tendency, held somewhat in abeyance for ages, for good and sufficient reasons, must as a matter of course assert its rights and in the course of time claim for itself a free course of development. This it has done in modern times; sometimes with great violence and one-sideness, as if all previous history were of no account and the moderns were called to build up the superstructure of human knowledge entirely *de novo*. As the ancients in their spiritualistic flights sometimes looked down upon nature with contempt, despised matter and regarded it as the source of all evil, so the moderns, proud of their achievements in the sphere of science and spurred on by what seems to be a spirit of retaliation, have charged home upon the ancient spiritualism without respect or veneration for its age. It has gone so far as to treat it, together with the spiritualism of the Bible, as mere myth and imagination, and then to assert that truth is to be found only in the positive science of our day. So the positivists now teach. But notwithstanding this antagonism, this self-conceit and vain-glory of the moderns, the tendency towards nature and science is a just and legitimate one, fully as much so as the other. The mistake consists in sundering two things which belong together. In ancient times man's pursuit of knowledge seemed to be a struggle upwards towards an in-

visible apex above him; in our days, it is rather of the nature of a descent downwards, along the slope on the other side, towards the foundation of things. It is, however, all one process, carried forward by the same agent.

One thing seems to be certain, and it is so much credit that must be acceded to the moderns, that they have made the most progress when we consider the short time in which they have been at work. For the last few centuries, during which only science has been in earnest at work, its achievements have been prodigious. Astronomy may be said to be a finished science. We know all about the motions of the stars and the mechanism of the universe as a whole. We are familiar with physics, the properties of bodies and the laws which they obey in their relation to each other. But what is more wonderful to relate, with the light of chemical science, we have become acquainted with the inward properties and habits of bodies; we have succeeded in taking them apart and putting them together again; in finding the likes and dislikes of their separate particles; and in detecting the presence and operation of fraternal laws among the constituent elements of matter. Similar progress is manifest in Geology and Natural History, in Botany and Mineralogy. It is an age of wonderful discoveries both on the lands and in the seas. Unremittingly the work of analyzing is going forward under competent corps, and scientists everywhere are digging and delving into the rugged sides of nature with the view of discovering the precious metal of truth. This process of questioning nature and of extorting from her the secrets, which for ages lay concealed in her mysterious realms, is not without its dash of heroism, and its mere contemplation excites within us feelings akin to those which exercised Horace, when he viewed the audacity of the man who first navigated the oceans and seas.

> Illi robur et æs triplex
> Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
> Commisit pelago ratem
> Primus.

The ambition now a days seems to be to get at the bottom of things just as it was formerly to reach the top. Whether we have succeeded as well as our predecessors is a debatable question. It is certain, however, that we are just as one-sided. Perhaps the time allotted to us has been too short. We may hope, at least, that it is our mission to bring up the rear in the march of science and to finish the great battle of Truth against Error, by combining all knowledge in a single unity.

One of the boldest and most startling achievements of science at the present day has been to pass beyond the regions of Astronomy, Chemistry, Geology and Zoology, and to get down among the infinitesimals of matter, out of which all things were formed. It is a bold plunge certainly into an unknown, mysterious realm, which neither the eye, aided by the microscope, nor any of our senses, can penetrate. It is a region where only the torch of reason can give us any assistance in threading our labyrinthine way. Atomology is engaging the thoughts of many who occupy very different points of observation. It is perhaps destined in the course of time to become a science. As, however, it has not yet gained a place in our text books, we shall endeavor to show that it is worthy of attention, not a malarious district, but a fertile region from which the very best fruit may be gathered in.

As Atomology has ever been more or less in bad odor with many really thoughtful persons, it will be necessary for us in the first place to endeavor to divest it of some of the prejudices which have gathered around it and to remove the unpleasant materialistic associations that still cling to it. It has in fact at different times fallen into bad hands, who have used it for illegal purposes. It has been much misused and abused.

It was made prominent in the old Epicurean philosophy. We have all read of the fight of aboriginal atoms, and of their fortuitous concussion in the formation of the universe. But a careful study of Epicurus has shown that his theory of atoms has no real or inner connection with his system as a whole, and

that it was not derived from his theory of morals nor from his canon of reason. He was not its author; he in fact borrowed it from others and attached it mechanically to his system, because it seemed to be well adapted to subserve an object of his own. In order to make men happy, he sought to free them from superstition, from the fear of the gods and the voice of conscience. It was only in this way, as he supposed, that they might attain to that calm and placid life, in which the ancients imagined that true happiness consisted. He therefore lugged in his doctrine of atoms to explain the origin and source of the worlds, because it seemed best suited to set aside the idea of God and of a divine providence.

More immediately Epicurus borrowed this plank of his philosophy from his masters, Leucippus and Democritus, who were praised without stint by Lord Bacon in his day and by Prof. Tyndall in our times, as the great lights of ancient science.* According to Bacon, "they were of weightier metal than Plato or Aristotle, whose philosophy has happened to come down to us because it was of a lighter substance, while things more solid sank and almost passed into oblivion." But our best authorities on the history of philosophy, such as Cudworth, Ritter, Tenneman, Rixner and others are far from giving such credit to Leucippus or Democritus. They were the ultra materialists of their day, who set up a reactionary movement in opposition to the prevailing spiritual philosophy of their age. As others asserted that there was a world of spirit, they maintained that nothing had any existence save matter. As others contended for some material principle, such as water, fire or air, from which all things proceeded, they gave this up as a fruitless task and professed an infinite number of principles in atoms, by which nature in all its parts was built up. This doctrine seemed to suit their purpose; they made even a system of philosophy out of it by which they sought to explain all things as well as refute

* See Tyndall's Advancement of Science, p. 22.

their opponents, the spiritualists. They applied it to psychology and, as Prof. Tyndall says, maintained that the "soul was made up of atoms, and that the phenomena of sensation and thought are also the result of their combination."

Democritus was no doubt a very learned man; he is said to have written more books than Plato or Aristotle; he perhaps knew more than either of those great men; but he possessed only a modicum of their penetration, of their power of comprehension and profound thinking. Like Epicurus he and Leucippus borrowed the doctrine of atoms from others. History, according to Cudworth, proves that it came down as a tradition from an earlier age, where it was merely one branch of a much more comprehensive spiritual philosophy. Pythagoras and his followers taught the doctrine of physical monads, which was only another word for atoms. With him, however, monads occupied simply one department of philosophy and were held in intimate, but subordinate relation to the spiritual world. The earliest philosophers of Greece all held to the existence of both spirit and matter; and as they came from the East or were in close communication with it, it is not improbable that the doctrine of atoms came down to them as a tradition from divine revelation. In Genesis, it is said, that the spirit of God moved on the face of the waters. Here spirit and matter were held together in proper relation to each other as factors in the formation of the universe. And so they continued to walk together arm in arm for many centuries, forming a complete philosophy, until such men as Democritus succeeded in detaching the one from the other and setting up an atheistical philosophy on a single plank or fragment of the older philosophy. It was in this way, we conceive, that the old doctrine of atoms or monads, which was nothing else but the scriptural account of a primeval chaos, fell into the hands of such thieves and robbers as Leucippus, Democritus and Epicurus, who perverted it and stripped it of its original meaning and character. The encomiums, therefore, which Lord Bacon

and Prof. Tyndall have bestowed on these men, as leaders of science in ancient times, are not deserved. There is no reason whatever for supposing that they were animated by any special love for science as such. They were speculative philosophers, like many others, who had entered the arena as polemics and made use of a physics as a mere tool, to put down metaphysics and the ancient doctrine of God and a future life.

From what has now been said, it will be evident, as we think, that the origin of Atomology is both ancient and honorable. From time to time, it has been torn from its connections and made to subserve the interests of a gross materialism; but that, as history goes to show, is not its proper place or use. As in the beginning, so now, it belongs to a more comprehensive system of thought, in which matter and spirit stand in necessary and friendly relation to each other. Atomology, therefore, when studied without any previous adverse bias, so far from leading to materialism and unbelief, leads just in the contrary direction. This we think can be made to appear. Facts might be cited to sustain this position. Many of the profoundest Christian thinkers have embraced the doctrine of primary atoms as the physical origin of the universe; but it has not ruled out of their minds faith in a higher order of things. In their systems, it has been of great use in confirming men's faith in the infinite and eternal. Leibnitz speculated on the subject of atoms or monads much more profoundly than Epicurus or Democritus or any of the ancient philosophers; they indeed occupy an important position in his system of philosophy; but no one would charge him with being a materialist. He belonged rather to the other side in this controversy. He was a Christian philosopher, who sought in his own way, "to justify the ways of God to man." He saw no antagonism between matter and mind, but regarded the whole universe, spiritual and material, as a single process. He invested the humble atoms that entered into the constitution of all bodies with a dynamic character, which has elevated them immensely in dig-

nity in our days, and helped materially in reconciling the old differences which had sprung up between the outward and the inward, the finite and the infinite. Whilst the ancient atomistic materialists employed atoms as weapons in beating down the citadel of truth, Leibnitz gathered them together and employed them with good effect in building up the superstructure of a Christian philosophy.

It might, we presume, be taken for granted, that a doctrine so ancient as Atomology, taught by so many great and wise men in different ages and countries, must in its essential elements be true. The authority of the ancients here ought to have great weight with us, for although they did not analyze and experiment as much as we do in getting at inductions, they were superior to us in their intuitional powers. It is well known that Pythagoras taught the true system of the universe, with the sun in the center of the solar system, at a time when he had not a sufficiency of facts or data to justify him in arriving at this conclusion in the ordinary way. It must, as it seems to us, have been owing to his great insight into things. So, probably, it was also with his doctrine of monads. Guided by intuitive reason and prevailingly controlled by the mathematical bent of his mind, he gave form to the old tradition of an original chaos and laid the foundation of the science of atoms prophetically. In the history of science, there have been prophets who have foreshadowed future developments, just as there have been prophets who have predicted future events in the religious world.

But as we have passed beyond that point in the history of science, in which tradition was the main source of authority, and live in an era in which every one is expected to examine and judge for himself, it will be necessary for us for a few moments to go down among the atoms ourselves, examine their capacities and see how far they are adapted to build up multitudinous worlds, the shining orbs above us, as well as that beautiful world in which we here live.

As already intimated, Atomology had probably a mathematical origin. Whilst mathematics is purely an abstract science and may be evolved by the human mind without any reference to the outside world, its harmony with the natural world is marvellous. Nature everywhere performs its operations in accordance with mathematical laws. God Himself, it is said, geometrizes; and if so, nature is nothing more than a concrete system of mathematics. But as lines, surfaces, solids and magnitudes generally are all evolved out of mathematical points or zeros, so it would follow from the parallelism just spoken of, that all physical bodies must be made up of atoms, which, if not absolutely zeros, must be infinitesimally small. If we knew more of Pythagoras, we should probably find that he reasoned just in this way in regard to this matter.

But coming down from the world of abstractions to tangible objects, we meet with so many facts that point to the infinitesimal origin of material bodies, that it becomes difficult to arrange them in order or to enumerate them. Bodies have weight and they all respond to the force of gravity. But in these respects they differ widely. Some are heavy and others very light. This is best explained by supposing that within a given space some contain more atoms and others less. Then bodies differ materially in form, in structure, and in various qualities which distinguish them from each other. Some are solid and hard. Their particles are all fixed, and yet we know that comparatively large space, or pore, surround them on all sides. How do they support themselves in such a state of equilibrium, suspended on nothing? Science tells us that this is impossible without the presence of two forces at least. If a point or body be acted upon by a single force, it will continue to move on forever with a uniform motion in a straight line. But this may be arrested by a second opposing force, which brings about rest. So the equilibrium of particles in solid bodies is not an ultimate fact which cannot be accounted for, but one that has been brought about by the two opposite forces

of attraction and repulsion active in all atoms, which hold each one in its place, just as the planets are held in their orbits by the action of the two opposing forces. In ordinary circumstances, atoms are thus defined in position by their likes and dislikes, but as we know, they are continually liable to be disturbed by outside influences, when all of a sudden immense hosts of them are set in motion. The relatively large, empty spaces, or pores, around each individual afford ample space for their marches and counter-marches, up and down, forwards and backwards. This elasticity of bodies, producing vibrations and sounds, active for a time and then relapsing into their customary slumber, so far as we know, can result only from the action and reaction of innumerable small atoms or agents, that stand guard at their several posts and are always ready to resist any intrusion into their domain.

As a general thing the structure of solid bodies is amorphous, that is, each atom in the general rush towards centilization, seems to have cared only for itself without any regard to its fellows, and having once gained its position, has maintained it ever since. A bird's-eye view of this vast host of individuals does not present to us the order and regularity of a well-disciplined army. It is simply the vulgar crowd of atoms. But the facts of crystallography go far to show that atoms are susceptible of a higher stadium of social relation to each other. Under favorable conditions, when they are free to choose their position at leisure, they arrange themselves into crystals of regular, definite, mathematical form. Most substances have this susceptibility, and probably all of them, if the proper conditions were at hand. Here atoms cannot choose their position at random; but are marshalled into straight lines or ranks, where they are required to remain in place. It is only on such a supposition, that we can account for such regular symmetric forms. Charcoal and diamond are composed of the same substance, carbon, but how widely they differ in appearance. One would suppose that they differed in all other

respects; but their only real difference consists in the aggregation of the same ultimate particles.

The arrangement of atoms into crystals and transparent bodies, by which they are elevated from a region of darkness into that of light, suggests that they are endowed with other capacities besides their likes and dislikes, their attractions and repulsions. Here the presence of a magnetic force seems to reveal itself. It is not improbable that each atom is an infinitesimal magnet.

Solids are most likely the ultimate form which atoms tend to assume. Liquids and gases, especially gases, were their original state; certainly they were when the earth was without form and void and darkness dwelt on the face of the deep. Many of the fluids have been absorbed and now enter as constituents of the earth's crust; but many of them, for a wise purpose, have been left free to assist in carrying forward the economy of our own terrestrial life. Both manifest their atomic origin. In gases the repulsive forces of the atoms predominate. So far as we know they are indefinitely expansive and the hostility of their atoms is eternal and implacable. They furnish an illustration of the extremely minute size of atoms. The molecules of oxygen and hydrogen are too small to be seen under the highest magnifying power of the microscope. But if they are made up of other ultimate atoms, as there is reason for supposing, how extremely minute must these latter be. In liquids the original innate repulsion of atoms has in a measure yielded to the opposite force of contraction or attraction, so that they are free to move about among themselves, provided they do not transgress the limits which their own freedom has set for them.

The general object, however, which we have in view in this discussion, does not require of us to enlarge on this aspect of our subject. Enough has been said to show that Atomology has a foundation in nature and that it is entitled to a place in physical science. There ought, therefore, to be no hesitancy on the part of any one to admit its just claims or to accede to

any of its positions, provided these latter do not wage war against all our instincts as well as our reason. It has thrown light on a mysterious subject. It must now be admitted, also, we think, that such investigations have tended to elevate our idea of the nature of matter, and to give it a much more rational character than what was formerly accorded to it. They have served to bring out more prominently into view its dynamical in distinction from its more mechanical character, and this is an important step in the way of progress. As atoms are endowed with various internal forces of their own and tend towards organization, they plainly manifest indications of life in its lower rudimental forms. They constitute the twilight, if not the dawn of the daylight of nature that follows. We may ndeed be generous and admit with Prof. Tyndall, that there is such a thing as a "cosmical life" at the foundations of nature. But if we admit all this, the question still recurs, What are we going to do with this inevitable activity of atoms all working together with no less a definite object in view than the formation of the universe? This is the main question which is continually coming uppermost, just as one discovery after another is made in the sphere of nature.

We have already seen how the ancient materialists answered the question. They made the kingdoms of nature their choice, and fell down and worshipped them. It is the answer of materialists of the present day, as it has been of all times. The region of primary atoms seems to be their last stronghold. To them it is the last link in the long chain of causation, and they strangely imagine, that here they find the first cause of all things, the cause of all other causes. They detach nature from all connection with another world, and consider it as the only form of existence, whilst all that is beyond it is mere dreamland without truth or existence; or if they dare not venture quite that far, they admit that there is here in this obscure region something like a ruling power in connection with nature. This is either chance, a blind necessity, a dark, brute force, or

some other kind of an unknown god. Thus men cut loose the vessel that fastens them to the rock of eternal truth and launch out into unknown regions of doubt and uncertainty.

This solution of the great question involves manifestly a deification of the powers of nature, for it makes it self-sufficient, self-existent and absolutely independent; but these are attributes, which we are accustomed to ascribe to the Divine Being. Materialism therefore does not, strictly speaking, refuse to worship or do homage. It does, however, certainly ask us to change the object of worship. It substitutes in the place of a personal being, one whom we can know, love and obey as one heavenly father, the darkest, the dreariest, and the most uncomely deity which the human imagination has ever conceived of, dwelling in the obscurest region of nature, in darkness that is inaccessible, and full of all kinds of delusions. Materialists complain of the mysteries of divine revelation, of the difficulty of conceiving of an infinite personal being, of a trinity or of any revelation from a region beyond nature. But do they mend the matter when they shut out the light from above, and offer us the fitful, phosphorescent flashes that gleam out upon us from the regions below? We think not. They only increase in an infinite degree the difficulties in the way of certainty and levy a truly exorbitant tax upon our credulity. It were much easier, just as it would be better, for the mass of men to believe in the fabulous divinities of Greece and Rome than the deity which a perverted science assays to set up for our admiration from time to time.

The materialist, however, when he makes such extravagant demands on our faith, may nevertheless be all the while serious and exhibit even a certain degree of candor. He professes that truth is the highest and only object of his pursuit. He believes what he sees and knows, but what he does not see, has for him no existence. His faith and knowledge are measured by the organs by which he communicates with existence, on the outside of him. This is all right so far as it goes; but his mis-

take is that he makes his own organ the measure of faith for the world at large. He has large and healthy organs for the study and contemplation of nature; the fact is, his organs for science are too largely developed—developed at the expense of those which are higher and better; but, as he professes, he has none for the perception of a spiritual world. Others cannot see so far into the natural world, but they have keen organs for the perception of spiritual and invisible things. Now it is peculiarly unfortunate for the materialist that these spiritual organs are alive and active in an overwhelming majority of his fellow-men. As we have already shown, this was palpably the case in the early history of the world. Then the spiritual side of existence absorbed almost exclusive attention, and it required some degree of coercion to get men to think of nature. Why was this so? If it were maintained that the spiritual organs of the ancients had no objective existence to which they corresponded, it might be retorted that the moderns have no better reasons for believing that the external world which responds to their senses or reason has any actual existence. Skepticism is just as valid in the one case as in the other. If the naturalist believes in a material world on the evidence of his natural senses, why may not the world at large believe in spiritual existences on the evidence of their spiritual senses? The very fact that men have such spiritual organs and that in all ages and countries they have been so prone to employ them, although they have been very much blurred and blinded by prevailing sensualism, is or ought to be, even to the skeptic, one of the strongest proofs that there is such a world of spiritual existences corresponding to these organs. When the idealist attempts to shake our faith in the reality of the outward world of nature, we point to our five senses to correct the delusion, and the appeal is irresistible. Why then should the appeal be less irresistible in the case of the believer when he exclaims: We know in whom we have believed? But the materialist alleges that he has no knowledge of the existence of such spiritual organs, so

far as his own experience goes. This may be so. He may be just so one-sided. But this can avail him nothing, because he has no right to make his own experience the measure of all knowledge. He does not in fact do this in his own sphere. He is continually using the experience of others. The testimony of scientific associations is authority everywhere. Astronomical observations made thousands of years ago are eagerly sought after and utilized by the moderns. Why then should the testimony of centuries flowing down to us through so many different channels, proclaiming that there is a personal God, be ignored by a comparatively few persons, who from wrong education or some internal defect of their own, cannot themselves rise to such an elevated idea? We merely answer that it cannot be done.

But to return to the primary atoms from which we have slightly been digressing. Materialists exercise their rational powers in regard to another world, no less than their intuitional senses. They allege that they know of the existence of natural forces by their effects, but that we can know of nothing beyond them and that they are ultimate facts. Having, therefore, traced the chain of causation down to ultimate atoms and having found there a vast reservoir of forces sufficient to form and sustain the universe, he concludes that there is nothing knowable beyond and that his occupation as a philosopher and interpreter of nature is finished. Tyndall finds here in this region of ultimates the "womb of nature" as he calls it, from which the present order of nature up to man has been developed in the Darwinian sense. But it is just here with regard to the forces of nature that we join issue with the materialist and find him most vulnerable. We deny in toto that forces anywhere are ultimate facts. So far as our knowledge and experience go they are always in close connection with an anterior reason, mind or will, of which they are eminently suggestive as correlatives. Let us see how this matter stands. If we take a palace, a town or city, it is manifest that they are made of

atoms, which have been brought together and reduced to a state of equilibrium; but it is also manifest that they were all brought into their places by the will and intelligence of man. And we know that they remain where they are by the sufferance of man, for he can pull down as well as build up. Again, in a locomotive or a steamship the atoms are not at rest but in motion. Their antagonisms have been excited and the result is the development of those tremendous energies which once lay concealed in sleeping atoms. But here again all these forces of matter are subject to the control of the human will, which started them and now controls them. We know that in these cases, the will of man only regulates the forces of atoms; it does not originate them. That however is something, because it shows the superiority of mind over matter. But let us take an example nearer home. The atoms in the human body, with their inherent properties unchanged, have been brought into their places by a mysterious power, which we call life, and are kept there by this same agency. When however they are set in motion by a movement of the body or limbs, we are conscious of the exertion of a new force, that does not proceed from the atoms of our muscles or of our brain, but from ourselves, from our souls, in a word, from our wills. Here then in our own immediate experience we have an example of a force that does not come from matter but mind, operating directly upon atoms and setting them in motion. Why then should it be deemed a thing impossible or irrational, that the primitive atoms of creation should receive all their powers immediately from a supreme will and be continually directed by a supreme reason? Such, we think, is the conclusion to which both reason and analogy lead, apart from our intuitional instincts.

As already said, study and reflection have invested primary atoms with much higher capacities than they were formerly supposed to possess. They have no doubt some spark of vitality about them. They have not a conscious intelligence, but

they show evidence of rationality. Each one involves in it, in some degree, the meaning and sense of the whole universe, which together they have realized in time and space. Let all this be granted. The more intelligence, indeed, we put into these dynamic centers of creation, the better it will be for the argument which we have in hand. It all helps so much the better to show the intelligence and wisdom of that Being, whose behests they are evermore obeying. We might indeed invest them with far more intelligence than they really possess, as has been done by Mr. Tyndall; and yet no such amplification of their powers could raise them above the dignity of secondary causes. In regard to this whole subject, let us listen to the words of the judicious Plutarch. "The ancients," he says, "directed their attention simply to the divine in phenomena, as God is the beginning and center of all, and from Him all things proceed; and they overlooked natural causes. The moderns turned themselves wholly away from that Divine ground of things and supposed that everything could be explained from natural causes. Both these views are, however, partial and defective; and the right understanding of the matter requires that both should be combined."*

This would be the proper place to consider the office of atoms in the cosmos, as claimed for them by Prof. Tyndall, whose tract on the "Advancement of Science" we have had in view all along in the preparation of this paper. But this is unnecessary for the object which we have immediately in view.

From what has now been said, it will appear that nature and spirit are by no means antagonistic. They are related and friendly spheres and much may be drawn from science to show their inward relation and harmony. It is therefore an unauthorized act of violence when either of these spheres of knowledge is detached from the other and made to occupy such a

* Neander, vol. I., p. 23.

position as to ignore the claims of the other, as is too much the case with the philosophy and science of the present day.

Science, when properly pursued, can lead to no such results. Its real tendency lies in the opposite direction. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that it of itself ought to produce in us faith in a spiritual world. This is something that lies outside of the range of science. Unless we bring faith with us to the study of nature, it is not likely that we will make any considerable advance in spiritual knowledge, whatever our other attainments and accomplishments may be. The probability is that just the contrary effect will be produced, so that even that light which is within us, will become darkness. Faith in its lower form, including fear and reverence for God, is a natural gift which all may possess in a higher or lower degree. It may be cultivated and cherished, or it may be thrown away as the disciples of Epicurus were taught to do. It is the light that is still left with man; and even in the absence of the supernatural light of revelation, it is of unspeakable value to him. It is his only guide. It is the salt that preserves his knowledge from entire corruption and decay. It is therefore one of the pre-requisites of all successful study, especially in the science of nature, without which it is not strange that so many go astray and fail to realize the high aim of a liberal education. As schools and seminaries of learning cannot impart intellectual capacities, but can cultivate and strengthen them, so they cannot give their students faith, reverence or the fear of God; but they can cultivate and confirm these elements of our nature. Students, therefore, must bring both kinds of gifts with them from their homes, and not seek them in laboratories nor text-books, nor entirely in the grand temple of nature, but in the sanctuary of the Lord, in which the science of knowledge of divine things is to be found in its greatest profusion.

ART. VI.—THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION OF PALATINATE COLLEGE, MYERSTOWN, PA., DECEMBER 23, 1875.

BY GEO. F. BAER, ESQ.

A DESCENDANT of a Palatine, I count it a high privilege to meet with you at the dedication of Palatinate College. Most heartily do I wish the part assigned to me had fallen to some more worthy representative of our people. But let my interest and zeal for whatever concerns the Pennsylvania Germans, offset my unfitness, and my want of thorough preparation be atoned for by a heart whose every pulsation is true to my own people. It speaks well for the future of our people that here in Eastern Pennsylvania a college should be founded and named Palatinate. The impulse which prompts us to honor our ancestors, is one of the noblest of our nature. Next to the Christian principle which requires our walk and conversation to be perfect before the Lord, there is no greater conservator of public morality nor stricter censor, of private action, than the reflection that a given line of conduct will be unworthy of our ancestors, and bring disgrace on our children, even beyond the fourth generation. This respect was in the very beginning implied in the command of the decalogue, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land the Lord thy God giveth thee."

If it be true that the departed dead can look from their mansions in the skies upon the abodes of mortal men, there will be joy in heaven, that after a century and a half of neglect of, and indifference to the fame of the pious Germans, who for the sake of religious freedom, and rest and peace from strife and war,

settled these lands, and made this wilderness to blossom as the rose, their descendants, in recognition and commemoration of their trials and merits, meet to dedicate a college named in honor of them.

No people are so little understood as the Pennsylvania Germans. They have never been given their true place in the history of this continent. They and their descendants who have migrated to different parts of the United States, constitute a large proportion of the population of this country; but the written histories fail to give any fair account of them. They are either completely ignored, or if mentioned, it is in the most casual way, and too often with the sneers and the gibes of narrow-minded men who can see no merit in the German people.

The stories of Plymouth Rock, of Jamestown, and of New Amsterdam, are as familiar as household words, all over the land. Their minutest details have been carefully preserved and recorded. In history, in poetry and song, in school-books, on every national fast or festival, in the halls of legislation, at the hustings, and in the pulpit the story of the Pilgrim fathers is told: How, because of religious persecutions, a little band of oppressed English Christians fled to Holland, and from thence ventured on the bosom of the great deep, and after being storm-tossed and tempest-driven, landed on a bleak, wintry day on Plymouth Rock; how they suffered privation and want, were wasted by famine and consumed by fevers, braved the ferocity of savages, bore untold hardships, to find freedom to worship God, to found an asylum for the oppressed of the earth.

Grand, sublimely grand, was the heroism of the men, and grander still the fortitude of the women and children who composed that Pilgrim band! I bow in respectful deference to the memory of the Pilgrim fathers.

Happy Pilgrims! They have had such poets as Hemans, such orators as Webster to perpetuate in words that shall never be lost, their undying fame; and if the truth of history itself be not sufficient, the fame of their great orator will surely sup-

ply the defect, and accomplish and fulfill his proud prediction that, "It shall yet go hard if the three hundred millions of people of China shall not one day hear and know something of the rock of Plymouth too."

I would not take one leaf from the proud chaplet, the sons of New England have woven for their Puritan fathers. I can forget their faults, their short-comings, their inconsistencies, their crimes, when I remember how much their descendants have done to build up and defend our great fabric of Constitutional American liberty. The great public services of one such man as Webster, is more than a propitiation for a century of mistakes and errors of the people from whom he sprang.

But there is a story untold by the historian, neglected by the poet, forgotten by the many, perverted by the few, of a people whose descendants outnumber the Puritans, which, when truthfully told, is worthy of no mean place alongside the story of Plymouth Rock. I need not hesitate to tell it to this audience; for it is the glorious record of a noble people, you may well exult to call your ancestors.

It starts with the great German Reformation that gave birth to Protestantism. Here at least history gives no uncertain sound. I need not dwell on the scenes of that first great struggle. For almost two centuries those noble old German heroes, with a faith in God that never faltered, defended the faith and principles of Protestantism with their lives and property. The records of history, whether sacred or profane, contain no more heart-rending accounts of privations, sufferings, persecutions, and martyrdoms, than those which fell to the lot of the defenders of Protestantism in Germany, France and Switzerland. All the sufferings and persecutions the Anglo-Saxons of England inflicted upon the Puritans, were "trifles light as air," compared with the beastly violence, inhuman tortures and fiendish cruelties inflicted by Spanish and French fanaticism on the followers of the Reformers. The direst punishments pagan imagination could create, as the fit doom of the greatest crimi-

nals, were in actual practice exceeded by the religious fanaticism of the people who sought to exterminate Protestantism in the countries of the Rhine.

The armies of France after Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes (1685), were let loose upon the Protestants to terrify them into conversion. Whole troops of dissolute soldiers were allowed to practice the most revolting cruelties and frightful barbarities. Not only were the French provinces subjected to these barbarities, but the Palatinate was over-run, and her devoted people treated in the same way.

The French army on the Rhine was ordered to reduce everything to ashes. "The French generals who dared not refuse to obey," writes Voltaire, "were then obliged to drive out in the middle of winter the unfortunate inhabitants of the Palatinate and the neighboring provinces. It was the second time during the reign of Louis XIV. this beautiful country was rendered desolate; but the fires with which Turenne had burnt ten cities and twenty villages of the Palatinate were but sparks in comparison with this last conflagration. Spires, Worms, Heidelberg, Manheim, and a multitude of burghs and villages were given to the flames. The Palatinate, the Electorate of Treves and the Margravate of Baden were covered with ruins. Never had the Vandals, who at a former epoch passed over this country, committed such awful atrocities."

The whole country was pillaged; houses were burnt and crops destroyed; men, women and children were left without homes, food or shelter. Not only were they stripped of all earthly possessions and reduced to beggary and starvation, but they were denied the right in their distress to call upon God for protection and help in the only modes of worship and forms of prayer their tongues knew, or their souls could pour forth. The peace of Utrecht (1713), and Radstadt (1714), brought only partial relief. As late as 1719 a decree prohibited entirely the use of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Palatinate.

The loved fatherland, the Rhine, as dear to them then, as it

still is to the German hearts, who, on the fields of battle and in the councils of State, have made "*Der Wacht Am Rhein*" resound through the world, and have wiped out centuries of contumely and reproach, had no home, no rest, no peace, no future for them. Where shall they go? Europe offered no asylum; England had the heart, but not the space to give homes to so large a migration. There was but one hope. Across the mighty ocean, a continent was still to be redeemed from barbarism and made the home of civilized men. Thither they turned their longing eyes. I speak it reverently: The forty years' wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness were not years of greater trial (for God by miracles provided for and protected them), than the years of suffering and privation our German forefathers endured between the repeal of the edict of Nantes, and the beginning of that great migration which transplanted them to this land, across a mightier water than the Jordan. No pillar of cloud by day nor fire by night guided their path; but who can fail to discern, with the eye of faith, the finger of God in guiding them to a province destined to become a goodly inheritance, an empire within itself.

In New England they were still burning witches and persecuting all who dared to differ from or question the narrow tenets of rigid, stern and frigid Puritanism. The prospect for religious freedom there was less inviting than the scalping-knife of the savage was terrible. The Roman Catholic settlements, though to their credit be it spoken, the most liberal and tolerant, were not to be trusted, because they were Roman Catholic. The province of Penn alone promised a sure and safe retreat. Thither they fled by the thousands. They settled the "back parts of the province."

On the 17th September, 1717, the Lieutenant-Governor "observed to the Board that great numbers of foreigners from Germany, strangers to our language and constitutions, have lately been imported into this province." In the proceedings of the Council between the Indians and the Government of Penn-

sylvania, held at Conestoga on the 15th day of March, 1721, the fact that the Palatines undertook to furnish the corn to be presented to the Indians is specially mentioned. They experienced great trouble in securing titles to the lands they improved. The Indians claimed title. An Act of the General Assembly, passed in 1700, prohibited the buying of lands of the natives. The proprietary agents treated them unkindly, and refused to sell them lands. In 1724 they formally petitioned the Governor and Council that they "would recommend them (Palatines), to the favorable usage of the proprietaries' agents, and that they might be allowed to purchase lands in this province."

In 1726, Logan, the Secretary of the Province, writes, "We shall soon have a German colony, so many thousands of Palatines are already in the country. They say the proprietary invited people to come and settle his country."

The extent of this great exodus from the Palatinate to these shores may be gathered from a report to the Synod of Holland, made in 1731, which gives the number of Reformed members of the oppressed inhabitants of Germany, particularly out of the Palatinate, already here, as 15,000, and there were perhaps as many more Lutherans.

Exiles from the home of their birth, martyrs to Protestantism, they only asked permission to settle the back parts of Penn's province. They had known all the horrors of war, of famine, of torture, of oppression. They had suffered all that the ingenuity of civilized men could invent to wrong their fellow-men, and they were perfectly willing to risk finding peace and rest among the savage tribes of the new world. They should have been kindly received and heartily welcomed, for their own sakes, as well as for the sake of Him in whose cause they had suffered so much. But they were not. For many years they were subjected to great annoyances at the hands of the Government officials of the province.

Here is the action of the Government of Pennsylvania. It

speaks for itself: At a meeting of Council, held on the 14th September, 1727, at Philadelphia, "The Governor acquainted the Board that he had called them together at this time to inform them that there is lately arrived from Holland, a ship with four hundred Palatines, as 'tis said, and that he has information they will very soon be followed by a much greater number, who design to settle in the back parts of this province, * * *, and it would be highly necessary to concert proper measures for the peace and security of the province, which may be endangered by such numbers of strangers daily poured in, who, being ignorant of our language and laws, and settling in a body together, make as it were a distinct people from His Majesty's subjects."

"The Board, taking the same into their serious considerations, observe, as these people pretended at first that they fly hither on the score of their religious liberties, and come under the protection of His Majesty, it's requisite that in the first place they should take the Oath of Allegiance, or some equivalent to it, to His Majesty, and promise fidelity to the Proprietor and obedience to our established constitution; and, therefore, *until some proper remedy can be had from home, to prevent the importation of such numbers of strangers into this or others of His Majesty's Colonies.* 'Tis ordered, &c."

Think of it, ye descendants of the Palatines! The Government of Pennsylvania, in history set down as so peaceful and tolerant, sought to prevent your ancestors fleeing hither, on the score of their religious liberties, from settling even the "back parts of this province." The world will never cease to admire the sterling integrity of the founder of Pennsylvania, who could not endure the thought of dispossessing the native Indians of their lands without just recompense, and out of pure honesty and philanthropy paid the extravagant price of a string of beads and a belt of wampum for half a State. It was not to be expected that lands bought at such high figures would be given to he exiles from the Palatinate, but for years the proprietary

agents refused to *sell* the German exiles any portion of this costly domain. It was part of a determined purpose to prevent the Germans settling in Pennsylvania.

There is a history yet to be written of the landed system of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, "the state and management of which," the Assembly as early as 1755, in an address to Governor Morris, declare "is pretty much of a mystery." How the settlers were taxed, not only to meet the expenses of Government and to buy the Indians presents which formed the consideration of extensive grants of lands to the proprietaries, but for "raising to the Proprietary and Governor" large sums of money; how the Acts providing a sinking fund for the bills of credit to raise grants to his Majesty "by a tax on all estates real or personal and taxables within the Province" were required to be amended "to prevent the operation of the proposed tax on the proprietary estate;" how the German settlers were sorely oppressed and burdened, so that in the quarrel (1754), between the Assembly and the Proprietaries, "the Assembly charged the Proprietaries with the design of putting every one under burthens like those of the German peasants;" how the settlers were left to themselves to defend the Province from hostile invasions until the Germans marched to Philadelphia (24th Nov., 1755), crowded the halls of the Assembly, and demanded that means for their protection and safety be adopted, wisely answering the objections of the Assembly by declaring "that their liberties were of no use when the enemy was taking their life and property;" these are matters of no small interest, and when truthfully told may break the gloss of fame thrown around the Proprietary Government.

Thus far I have given a hurried outline of the general migration of Palatines to this State, and the causes which led to it. There is a particular migration which ought not to be overlooked. It is fitting that it should be referred to at this place and on this day.

When the Palatinate was invaded by the French army, many

of the Palatinates sought refuge in England, under the protection of Queen Anne. Their story is best told in the opening words of the petition to the Queen for relief in 1709:

"We, the poor distressed Palatines, whose utter ruin was occasioned by the merciless cruelty of a bloody enemy, the French, whose prevailing power some years ago, like a torrent, rushed into our country, overwhelmed us at once, and not being content with money and with food necessary for their occasions, not only dispossessed us of all support, but inhumanly burnt our homes to the ground, when being deprived of both shelter and food, we were turned into the open fields, driven with our families to seek what shelter we could find, being obliged to make the frozen earth our lodging and the clouds our covering."

An Indian Sachem saw them in London. His savage heart was moved to pity, and he offered them part of his own country in Schoharie, New York. The bounty of Queen Anne provided them the means of transportation. In 1711 they landed in New York, after a six months' voyage, seventeen hundred of their number having died at sea. Their treatment in New York is one of the most disgraceful chapters of American history. I cannot take time to give the details. Sent into the wilderness they were only saved from starvation by the friendliness of Indians, who taught them to subsist on roots. When, after years of toil and privation they had improved little farms and constructed dwellings, they were cruelly driven from them, again to become wanderers on the earth. Governor Keith invited them to Pennsylvania. Under the leadership of Conrad Weiser, a son of one of their most prominent men, they constructed rude rafts, floated down the Susquehanna to the mouth of the Swatara, then up the Swatara to the fertile plains of the Tulpehocken. They were your ancestors. The story of their migrations, of their sufferings and wrongs, will some day, when the Pennsylvania Germans become fully aroused, form as grand an epic as that of Plymouth Rock. Then, too, the name and fame of Conrad Weiser, the great Indian interpreter and peace-

maker, will be rescued from comparative obscurity, and he will be given the high rank and place in history which he so faithfully earned and so richly merits.

Exhausted and impoverished by wars and persecutions, and wearied of strife, the Palatines settled down in what was then the back parts of Penn's Province. They formed the advanced outposts of civilization; the barrier to protect the English settlements from the tomahawk and firebrand of the Indians. Instead of the peace and security of the Province being endangered by these strangers, ignorant of the English language, (as was so much feared by the Governor of the Province when they landed), it was steadfastly maintained by them. Here, year after year, with German fortitude and thrift, and with German faith, they toiled ceaselessly; clearing their lands, building houses, making for themselves and their children comfortable homes, and erecting churches, for they were devout men. They had brought their Bibles and hymn-books with them, and

"The sounding aisles of the dim woods rang"

with the melody of the grand old German chorals they had sung on the banks of the Rhine. In a few years they made the Province of Pennsylvania the most prosperous and flourishing of all the colonies. Governor George Thomas, as early as 1747, attributes the great prosperity of the Province to the thrift, industry, energy, and the moral, law-abiding character of the German settlers.

Superstitious it is true they were, but it was the superstition of religion, and not of fanaticism. They burned no old women on the charge of witchcraft. They delivered no friendly Indian benefactor into the hands of savage executioners. No man was denied a home among them because he could not accept their religious belief. It is true, they at first took no part in governmental affairs, because the English language was strange to them, and the Latin petitions and addresses they presented to the government were perhaps as strange to the officials. Yet

they steadfastly set their faces against the introduction and perpetuation of human slavery in the Province. Their conduct on this subject, if on no other, extorted from Whittier, the Quaker poet, these words of praise:—

> "And that bold-hearted yeomanry, honest and true,
> Who, haters of fraud, give to labor its due;
> Whose fathers, of old, sang in concert with thine,
> On the banks of Swatara, the songs of the Rhine—
> The German-born Pilgrims, who first dared to brave
> The scorn of the proud, in the cause of the slave."

When the great struggle for Independence came, they were the steadfast defenders of liberty. They never for a moment swerved in their allegiance to the new government. It could and did rely implicitly on the German counties of Pennsylvania, for aid and support, when many of the neighboring settlements were disaffected and not to be trusted.

If history fails to give them credit for their real deserts, it records no wrongs, no outrages, no persecutions, no deeds of violence and crime for which their descendants need blush or bow their heads in shame. In their lives and works they came as near to the measure of the apostle, as a body of men well can:

"Cleaving to that which is good," "not slothful in business," "fervent in spirit," "serving the Lord," "rejoicing in hope," "patient in tribulation," "given to hospitality," "minding not high things," "condescending to men of low estate," "recompensing no man evil for evil," "providing things honest in the sight of all men," "living peaceably with all men."

More than one hundred and fifty years have passed since these pious, persecuted Palatines, destitute and penniless, settled these lands. Tradition has it, that there was an ancient prophecy current among the Palatines, at the time they were so sorely persecuted, that God would bless the Germans in a foreign country. Behold the fulfillment of the prophecy! Look you out on this fair land! See the beautiful rivers, the

well-watered plains, the thriving cities, the rich pastures, the productive farms, the comfortable homes, the wealth, the great industries, the long lines of railroads and telegraphs that cover it like a net-work! See the hills filled with untold mineral wealth! Behold the pleasant landscape! The climate is healthy. The air is salubrious. The skies rival those of Italy. Truly it is a goodly land, flowing with better things than milk and honey. It has been the fruitful nursery of a hardy, honest race of men. This is the home of the descendants of the persecuted Palatines. This is the land God gives them in exchange for the land of the Rhine. Dear as the Rhine is to German hearts, it is barrenness itself compared with this. It is a nobler land than the land of the Rhine, for it is a land of freedom. Truly God has been merciful unto our people and blessed them, and caused His face to shine upon them.

It is passing strange that after our German people have done so much to build up a country, after their social organism has produced a population so thrifty, orderly, solid, substantial, law-abiding and meritorious, the same prejudices which were excited when they first migrated here, should continue. With rare exceptions it is the misfortune of those who do not understand German to misrepresent and take a narrow and unfavorable view of our people. We are used to the jeers and sneers of small men, but it is hard to bear the defamation of a historian like Parkman, who, in his history of the Pontiac conspiracy, says:

"The counties east of the Susquehanna supported a mixed population, among whom was conspicuous a swarm of German peasants, who had been inundating the country for many years past, and who for the most part were dull and ignorant boors, a character not wholly inapplicable to the great body of their descendants."

Indeed, this defamation has gone so far that some of our people, when thrown among English-speaking people or educated at New England colleges, grow ashamed of their German ori-

gin and oft-times make ludicrous attempts to Anglicize their names. The day will come when they will wish their names still had the broad German accent.

To this almost general misconception and belittling of our people, by men whose veins contain no German blood, there is a noble exception. Years ago, a man of Scotch descent, of great distinction among his own people, saw by the pure light of his extraordinary mental vision the real merits and the true character of the Pennsylvania Germans. With a self-abnegation that is without a parallel, he left high position to cast his lot among and devote his life to the task of arousing the latent energies of the Pennsylvania Germans, and to the development of the great gifts entrusted to their keeping. At a time when Protestantism was threatened with disintegration into a thousand illogical and narrow schemes of religious faith, he came like a prophet of God, and by the most masterly presentation of Christian truth the age has seen, restored the theology of the Reformation, and developed from it the true churchly principles of Protestantism. But I mean to speak of him in a narrower light. It was his influence on our people that first aroused them to a full realization of their mental and moral capacities and smothered greatness. The great educational work which has been steadily going forward among them is largely due to him. The foundation of this very college can be as certainly traced to him, as the fountain can be reached by following the stream. The Germans of Pennsylvania owe him a debt of gratitude which they can never pay. His fame will be as lasting as the race whose cause he championed. Need I name the man? Your descendants will wonder what manner of men their ancestors were, who failed thoroughly to appreciate the extraordinary abilities and superior merits of Dr. John W. Nevin, for among the men of this century there is none greater.

I have not wearied you with these things simply because the location and name of this college naturally suggests them, nor

because the truth of history required our ancestors to be vindicated from the charge often made, that they were a band of mercenary adventurers, ignorant boors, and stupid peasants, without any redeeming traits of character. My object in calling attention at this time to the true reasons and causes which led to the migration of our people from the banks of the Rhine to this State, to their great prosperity and good behaviour since here, to the fact that the English-speaking people have utterly failed to understand, or to find any good in them, was to show that there is a radical difference of character between the two races; one which lies much deeper than the difference in language, and therefore that the system of education which meets the wants of the one, must necessarily fail to properly develop and educate the other.

There is something very attractive and plausible in Puritan principles and theories. But they are too superficial, narrow and contracted to suit the broad, comprehensive grasp, and the thoroughness of the German intellect. A tree will not attain to vigorous growth unless the soil and conditions of its growth correspond to the law of its development. It may thrive as an exotic, but exotics are only beautiful to gaze upon. They are of no practical use. So, too, in education. A man can only be properly educated when placed under influences which harmonize with his character, and assist in developing his latent powers. Any system of education which makes no account of the traditions, the habits of thought, and the general character and surroundings of those to be educated, falls far short of what it ought to be.

The great secret of the success of New England in impressing her ideas on the age, and wielding so large an influence in the affairs of this continent, lies in the fact that in her educational systems she has made full account of the traditions, the ideas, and the peculiarities of her people. The descendants of the Puritans have been educated as Puritans. Students from all parts of the United States return from New England colleges,

saturated with New England history, Puritan philosophy, Puritan ideas and prejudices. I find no fault with this system of New England education. I mean rather to commend it, because exactly suited to the wants of her people. What we need in Pennsylvania is a system of education which shall be broader and more liberal than hers, but shall certainly be just as successful as hers has been, in bringing out the traditions and history of our people—in developing and propagating the philosophy and systems of thought peculiar to our Germanico-American race. In this way only can we hope to fulfill our destiny.

The very first great lesson to be taught to our people is this: That as long as we cling to the German language, in the sense of preferring it to English, the development of our people will be retarded. It is no question of merit between two languages. The language of this country is unalterably fixed. The English is the language of the Government, of legislation, of courts, of business, of newspapers; it follows that it must be the language of the literature of the country. No other language can supplant it. No literature printed in any other language can ever reach the masses, or become known and read, as literature must be, in this age of invention and learning, by those who desire to keep pace with the onward progress of the world. To seek to ignore this fact and all that is implied in it, is simply to commit a great crime against our race. Pure German can never become a general language here. As for Pennsylvania German, it is a mere dialect, the *patois* of the Palatinate, with a sprinkling of English words. It is a mere vulgar delusion, to suppose that it can be elevated to the dignity of a language, capable of being taught, and used in writing as a medium of expressing thoughts. It can never become a written language. It has never been used except in conversation. The Pennsylvania Germans would not for one moment tolerate its use in the pulpit. Think of the German in Luther's translation of the Bible, or in those grand old chorals and hymns being changed

to Pennsylvania German, and read and sung in church, and that, too, in this age! It is impossible to create a literature in Pennsylvania German. The whole literature of the country must be made available and accessible to our people. If this is not done, all educational efforts among them might as well be stopped. It may be necessary to teach German along with English, for the purpose of facilitating and aiding them in acquiring English; to enable them the better to understand and comprehend the best writers and ablest thinkers of the great Germanic people. But their general education must be English. They must be taught to speak and write good English, if they are ever to make an impression on this continent; if they are ever to reach the power, influence, and position which justly belongs to them. No man need ever fear the eventual ascendancy of the Germanic race. Wherever it has been true to itself, it has demonstrated the greatest capacity for leadership in government, science, arts, theology and politics. But on this continent, the first step towards equality and ultimate ascendancy, necessarily involves a change of language.

Nearly all of the misconceptions of the true character of our people come from the tenacity with which they have clung to a language which is foreign to the ruling, active, and literary language of the country. One-half—more than one-half—of the best descendants of our German people have been driven from the churches of the Reformation by the obstinate refusal of our fathers to know any other than the German tongue in worship. It is a natural prejudice, but one unworthy of our race. A man does not lose his German character, his German faith, his German worth and thrift, his hard common sense, by ceasing to use the German tongue, no more than a Jew ceases to be a Jew when he forsakes Hebrew.

Without attempting to define in detail what the educational system suited to our people should be, let me briefly refer to several requisites:—

First—It must be Christian. Any other will be false to the

traditions and character of our people. I do not mean that it shall be sectarian, in the sense of turning over all who cannot adopt the faith of the Germans, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. But positive, practical Christianity must be taught. A grace-bearing, historical Christianity, that holds fast to the form of sound words, and is not swept away by every wind of doctrine. I do not know what greater good the Pennsylvania Germans could do for this continent than to hold fast and extend their childlike, steadfast, trusting faith in God.

We are living in an age of rationalism and materialism. Darwin, Huxley and Tyndall, mighty men of science, are, like the fabled giants, trying to scale the heavens and dethrone our God. It is true they thunder from masked batteries, but the fire is only the more destructive, because hidden. Now, more than ever, it is demonstrated that faith is the gift of God. The people who have this great gift, must take care to cultivate and preserve it. Our ancestors held fast to it through good and evil report. Let us teach it to our children, that blessings may continue to follow our people.

Prof. Tyndall, when told that Agassiz refused to accept the theories of the Darwinian school, accounted for it by the fact that he was descended from a race of theologians. It is the admission of the cautious man of science that the gift of faith descends from parent to child, and is full of significance. I would not limit the bold ventures of men who seek to pry into the hidden secrets of the universe, or like

> "Expertus vacuum Dædalus æra
> Pennis non homini datis,"

but in religion I feel like heeding Jeremiah's advice: "Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

Secondly—It must be liberal. The times foretold by Daniel—when "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge

shall be increased," are upon us. Fifty years more like the past fifty will change the very face of the earth. This is the age of progress—

> "We are living, we are dwelling
> In a grand and awful time,
> In an age on ages telling
> When to live, is to be sublime."

The liberal education demanded for this age requires not only the mastery of the learning of the past, the assimilation of all that is good and true wherever found, without limitation of creed or race, but the capacity to develop things new. It must be as broad and general as the casing air.

Lastly—It must be true to the spirit of our institutions and the theory of our government. The crucial tests to which free government can be subjected, are not all passed through. It is no small problem to nationalize the many men of different races, countries and creeds who constitute our population. It will always require the wisest acts of the best statesmen to harmonize the conflicting material interests of this country because of the diversity of climate and production. Worse than all, demagogues will be found endeavoring to stir up religious strife and sectional animosities. It will be an evil day for our land when religion shall enter into politics. The history of the world is but a confirmation of Christ's teaching, that His kingdom was not of this world. The most intolerant governments the civilized world has seen, have been those ruled by religious bigotry and priestcraft. Whenever the clergy exercise or control temporal power, it is a melancholy truth, that they imbibe the zeal of Saint Peter, draw their swords and set about cutting off ears. If ever the evil hour comes, that makes the affairs of State a foot-ball between the different religious denominations, that hour will date the beginning of the downfall of this republic. The common sense, the peaceful, conservative character, the liberal, religious views of the Pennsylvania Germans, who, whilst preferring their own forms of faith, see much

that is good in Catholicism, as well as in the various forms of Protestantism, and regard them all as brethren in Christ; and the German love of home, and of his neighbor, must exert a powerful influence in allaying strife, and in preserving and perfecting our great system of free government. They may yet prove the leaven to leaven the whole lump.

I have no fears for the future of the Pennsylvania Germans. Under circumstances most unfavorable to intellectual development, they have already given Pennsylvania a number of her best Governors and wisest statesmen. Their patriotism, courage, and ability to command, has been demonstrated in every war this country has known. Wherever entrusted with power, they have shown themselves honest, faithful and capable. They have given to theology the soundest thinkers and most scholarly men. In every branch of art, in every department of science and knowledge, you can find scores of prominent men whose names indicate their German origin, and whose lineage can be traced back to the German settlers of Pennsylvania.

A people that have done so much, weighed down by a strange language, and cut off from general literature, must have within them the healthy germs of great intellectual and moral vigor. They have subdued the wilderness. They have restored their wasted fortunes. They are far removed from penury and want. Riches and honor belong to them, because they have earned them. They have by their lives and works shown themselves honest, industrious, law-abiding citizens. They have preserved their vigor of mind and body. Now, if they will in earnest turn attention to the thorough education of their children, the day will come, if it is not already here, when no man will wish for a greater birthright, than to be counted one of the descendants of the Pennsylvania Germans.

To the high and noble work of educating the descendants of the Palatines, and of the Germans of Eastern Pennsylvania, let this college be dedicated to-day. May the God who watched

over our people, and brought them safely over the great deep, and blessed them in this land, with wealth and children, watch over, and rule it, that it may become a co-worker with similar institutions, in educating, elevating and developing into the full stature of perfect men and women, the youth who crowd its halls.

Art. VII.—MAN: HIS RELATION TO NATURE AND TO GOD.

MADE IN THE IMAGE OF GOD.

BY THE REV. E. V. GERHART, D. D.

SECOND ARTICLE.*

The relation of man to God involves a distinctive characteristic belonging to the human constitution, which, in the progress of the previous article, we approached but did not take up and discuss. This characteristic is man's God-resemblance or God-likeness, which the sacred record represents by the use of two terms, *image* and *likeness*, or *image* and *similitude*. Comp. Gen. i. 26, 27; Gen. ii. 7; Ja. iii. 9; Acts xiv. 11; Rom. viii. 3; Phil. ii. 7. A succinct and comprehensive history of the progress of dogmatic thought respecting this anthropological question and the Scriptural terminology is given in an excellent article from the pen of the Rev. C. Z. Weiser, D.D., published in the October number of the Mercersburg Review for 1869. This article, to which we refer the reader, renders it unnecessary to begin the present inquiry by premising the

* See Mercersburg Review, volume XXI., 1874, p. 624.

various modes of apprehension which have appeared in the development of the Christian doctrine of man.

Approaching the difficult question from the stand-point of the christological idea, we propose to inquire what is the God-likeness of man, or in what does the likeness of man to God consist? Whilst we do not expect to furnish an entirely satisfactory answer, it is proper nevertheless to attempt an inquiry from this point of observation; inasmuch as in past ages of the Church the christological idea has not ruled with the force of a *principle* in the anthropological studies of theologians.

Of man we do not speak as he now exists in his fallen, perverted, abnormal condition. Nor do we speak of man as he was in his state of original sinlessness. Profound as the depth of the fall is, and indescribably great as is the contrast between his primeval dignity and his present humiliation, man, in distinction from the being of God his Creator and from the nature of every non-human creature, is as to the substance of humanity identical with himself in these two states of existence. Admitting by a free act of his will the virus of sin into his soul, all his powers have been perverted and depraved; but he has himself not ceased to be really and distinctively man. Whilst sin corrupts his entire spiritual life, it does not dehumanize him. As glorification does not transmute the Son of Man into God; so the fall does not transmute the being of Adam either into a beast or into the Devil. Being identical with himself in these two states, different and even contradictory as they are in point of character, the image of God in man is to be regarded as a mark or characteristic, not of Adam in Eden nor of Adam cast out and accursed, but of the Adamic constitution as such. Neither the history of religion, nor experience, nor Holy Scripture allows us to think of the divine image as an element or attribute of his primeval state and not of man himself irrespective of his state whether normal or abnormal.

Yet, agreeably to the position taken in our previous article,

a valid doctrine of man must be constructed on the basis of a complete survey of his life. A complete survey does indeed include him as he was before his fall and as he now exists suffering the curse of violated law; but it embraces more especially the being of man as manifested in his transcendent state of perfection and glory. What is now only a possibility, and therefore hidden, will then be an actual fact and fully revealed. The seed planted in Eden, now in process of development and culture, will then be a tree bearing ripe fruit. That fruitage in the heavenly state manifests the mystery of the divine image in a measure of fullness which no antecedent stage of existence can ever approximate. Of that exaltation and dignity the regenerate man in the church militant, and the original man in Eden, furnish but a dim prophetic indication. Lineaments of the Divine now faint and blurred will then be distinct and perfect; and lineaments now neither seen nor supposed to be traceable in the face of his spirit will then appear and stand out in relief.

The transcendent state of glorification differs from every antecedent state in the history of human life. Every antecedent state is only temporary and transient. In one respect, indeed, a given period or status of life on earth is analogous to the final state of perfection. Any given status is internally connected with the entire historical process through which the life of man up to that point has passed; it gathers up into itself all the results of his previous history. So does the perfection of heaven assert and actualize the hidden intent of all the positive forces operating through the entire course of human life, including not only the energy of the new birth in Christ by the Spirit and the original breath of God in the act of creation, but also the mysterious fullness of the eternal divine idea of man. But beyond this aspect of resemblance the analogy does not hold.

The contrast is greater than the resemblance. The original state failed of its end; having been supplanted by transgression

and disorganization. Then the state of subjection to nature and the kingdom of darkness is radically changed by the new birth of the Spirit and faith in Christ. A perpetual and successful warfare against the powers of evil follows upon the total perversion caused by sin and the reign of Satan. But the conflict terminates in apparent defeat. The law of death seems to triumph. The grave claims the infidel and the Christian alike. No status of human life, neither of any individual, nor of the whole race, can abide. The day which announces the fruit of the past heralds the falsehood and decay of to-morrow. How can this alternation of dignity and humiliation, this confusion of good and evil, this contradiction between the new birth and the old death, between the victory of faith and the despair of the grave; how can this grotesque commingling of truth and satire, of heroism and tragedy, be a legitimate standard of judgment respecting the nature and intrinsic capacities of the divine image? We get, at most, only a defective and distorted reflection of his primeval dignity and greatness. How much more does the confusion of light and darkness, of weakness and strength, of living and dying which fills the entire period of our earthly existence fall short of that transcendent excellence and glory when the original life-principle infused by the inbreathing of God shall shine forth with the splendor of the noon-day sun.

From the condition of man in every epoch of his long history that transcendent state of excellence differs in as much as it is not temporary but final, not transient but permanent, not relative but absolute. There man asserts the divine image in its purity and integrity. There both in what he is and in what he does he will actualize the likeness of his life to the life of God. Says St. John: It doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when God shall appear we shall be like Him: for we shall see Him as He is. Of similar import are the words of St. Paul: Your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with

Him in glory. In another place he says: We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Christ glorified is the brightness of the glory of the Father, and the express image of His Person. When the consummation of redemption supervenes, the believer will be so changed and advanced as to be in spirit and soul and body like the Lord Jesus, the Christ of God. Risen from the dead, triumphant over all disorganization and corruption, he will be clothed with an incorruptible and spiritual body, homogeneous with the glorious body of Jesus sitting at the right hand of God. On this ultimate plane of perfection, when in the totality of his constitution man shall be like Christ as Christ is like the Father, then will the divine image wherein he was created attain to a degree and mode of manifestation which will be commensurate with its idea. That state of maturity and perfect manifestation is the true stand-point for anthropological speculation, if we would aim at sounding the depths, now unseen, of the truth comprehended in the original God-likeness of man.

Against the propriety of taking this point of observation, located in the transcendent spiritual world, the objection cannot be urged that we are still in the natural body and in the natural world, and thus removed from the transcendent spiritual domain both by time and by all the limitations of our mundane existence. That world is not an unknown region. Of our ultimate destiny we know as much comparatively as we do of our origin, our present being and finite relations. And what we know of the transcendent future authenticates its validity to our Christian consciousness with as much certainty as what we know of the buried past. True, we know only in part. Hereafter we shall know even as we are known. The contrast between *now* and *then* is immeasurable. Yet, though fragmentary, our knowledge is for this reason not wanting in the elements of verity. Our knowledge is *knowledge*, not empty fancy. We

possess the necessary data of knowledge; and these are, by faith, seen in Jesus Christ.

We, the members of Christ, are indeed still in the flesh. The bride of the Lamb is still in the midst of the conflict. She is waiting in hope whilst the final consummation is pending. And did these facts limit the circle of our knowledge we should verily be in want of an adequate basis of inquiry and judgment respecting the divine capacities of mature manhood. But the horizon of our vision is bounded neither by what we are now, nor by what the church militant is, or has been, or may be in time to come. We can look beyond the horizon which limits the intuitive vision of the natural man, and penetrate into the transcendent spiritual realm. Nor are the data thus discerned merely the projection of our own minds. That which confronts our faith is a fact, the ultimate fact in the history of human life. Man has in reality surmounted the corruption of the fall and the contradiction of death. He has broken through all the limitations of time and space. Transcending the existing cosmical order, he has passed from the temporal into the eternal, from the domain of the finite into the domain of the infinite. Enthroned in glory and clothed with divine majesty, he is even now above angels and archangels, far above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come. Unto man is given, not by anticipation or as the object of hope only, but truly and really all power in heaven and on earth.

This transcendent dignity, this absolute glorification has been realized in the person of the Son of Man. For He who has ascended up far above all heavens that He might fill all things is none other than Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of the lowly Virgin, a daughter of Abraham. At the name of this Jesus, who is bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and was in all points tempted like as we are, every knee shall bow of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things under the earth,

and every tongue confess that He, Jesus of Nazareth, is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

The fact that in the Person of our Lord man has broken through all the limitations of the present finite order of things, and entered into the heaven of heavens where he is a partaker of the divine nature, dwelling in the very bosom of the eternal, uncreated glory of the Godhead; this fact is a distinguishing element in the Christology of the New Testament. Our Lord most commonly represents Himself, not as the Son of God, but as the Son of Man. Of Himself as the Son of Man He predicates the resurrection from the dead, the ascension into heaven, the session at the right hand of God, the Second Coming in the clouds of heaven with all His holy angels, the certain conquest over the powers of darkness and the final consummation of all things. For example: What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before? When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory. And before Him shall be gathered all nations. These transcendent acts are predicted of Him who was betrayed by Judas, condemned by Pilate, and crucified between two thieves.

The same principle underlies the representation of the majesty of our Lord as taught by the Apostles, especially St. Paul and St. Peter. Indeed, the glory of the mystery of godliness as everywhere set forth in glowing language just turns on this point that the *Man* crucified by the Jews has been exalted to the throne of God. This is the culminating point in the sermons of St. Peter as recorded in the book of Acts. Therefore, let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ. Again: The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with His right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. He who could not be holden of death, and, exalted to God's right hand, has been crowned

with authority to forgive sins and execute judgment is, not God, only, but Man.

The proper Godhead of Christ we neither doubt nor ignore. Nor do we question the fundamental truth that Christ is in His Person and history the absolute revelation of the being of God. But the Son of God did not live among men, and redeem them, in the form of God. The Son of God was made the Son of Man. God lived His life in the proper life of man, Jesus of Nazareth. His eternal life He lived in man's temporal life. All the acts of redemption from first to last were in the full and proper sense the acts of man, the acts, too, of man suffering the full curse of God under violated law; not indeed of one who was merely an individual member of the posterity of Adam, but of one who whilst conceived and born, and partaking of the flesh and blood of His mother, was by the agency of the Holy Ghost assumed into union with God. But this assumption was in no sense a wrong done to the manhood of man; nor was any law, or essential attribute, or latent capacity, or normal relation either suspended or superseded. On the contrary, the idea of the Word made flesh in the Person of Jesus implies that Jesus was, in a pre-eminent sense, a veritable man as to body, soul, and spirit; that He possessed the proper freedom and dignity of man; that He asserted human rights and human prerogatives; that He lived agreeably to all the essential mundane conditions of manhood; and that the very nature of man was thus in Him a reality answering so far forth to the original and distinctive type of manhood formed in the image of God.

St. Peter only asserts in few words the exaltation of Jesus, emphasizing the great contrast between His throne in heaven and the ignominious cross. But St. Paul goes a step further. He elaborates this central truth, at some length and at different times, in his epistles; aiming in the use of the most explicit and forcible language at a representation of the extraordinary fact that Jesus Christ, the man who died on the cross for our sins, and was buried, and rose again, has been exalted to a position

of dignity, authority and power in the heavenly world, transcending absolutely the authority and power of every other class of created existences, even the most noble and mighty. Thus in Phil. 2: 5-11, the pivot on which the descending and ascending movement of thought hinges is the humiliation and incarnation of Him who was eternally in the form of God, or the proper human nature of Christ. He who was found in fashion as a man, and humbling Himself became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, He it is, Jesus, the Son of Man, whom God has exalted and given a Name which is above every name. At the name of Jesus every knee in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, shall bow; and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father. Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of man, has, according to St. Paul, been raised from the lowest depths of humiliation and constituted the absolute Lord over heaven and earth.

Equally explicit, and to the same effect, is the passage in Eph. i. 19-23; Col. i. 19, 20; and 2 Thess. i. 7-9. See also 1 Pet. iii. 18, 22. According to the New Testament, the essential and distinguishing matter in the lifting up and glorification of our Lord, is not that the eternal and co-equal Son of God sits on the mediatorial throne, but that this sinless and perfect Man, one with God in the person of His Son, has gone beyond the present finite order of things, and clothed with all power in heaven and on earth, now reigns over all creatures, good and evil, with direct reference to the honor and ultimate triumph of His Church.

On the Son of Man thus exalted and glorified we fix our faith and contemplation in order to discover something of the nature of the divine element in the being of mankind. This final, mature status actualizing and fulfilling the divine idea, is the stand-point of thought respecting the image of God. We must study the beginning of man, and the religious phenomena of his history on earth, in the light of the glorious end to which he has attained in Jesus Christ. On the one side the eternal

prototype of man, Christ on the other becomes through the work of redemption the very reality and ultimate fulfilment of the manhood of man. Taking a point of observation, fixed beyond the earthly economy to which we now belong, the science of christological anthropology asserts a principle analogous to the principle which in modern times has been conceded to the science of astronomy. Astronomy claims that the sun, not the earth, is the center of our planetary system, and therefore the astronomer studies the phenomena of the heavens, guided and supported at every point by this acknowledged fact as the all-controlling idea, the distance of ninety-five millions of miles being neither an objection to the validity of the principle nor an obstacle in the way of the correctness of his observations.

Christ in His state of exaltation, possessing all power in heaven and on earth, is the Word made flesh, the God-man; true God indeed, but no less also true Man. As on earth Christ lived in fashion as a man, and was active in word and deed conformably to the law and all the normal conditions of human life; as He died on the cross the very death of man and was buried really after the manner of men; as He was under the power and in the realm of death agreeably to the law reigning over the posterity of the first Adam, and rose from the dead on the third day in His human nature, reasserting His divine-human life in a new but veritable human body; so now, exalted to heaven where the Father glorifies Him with His own self, with the glory which He had with the Father before the world was, He possesses the ineffable dignity of such transcendent exaltation in His humanity, the very humanity in which He was conceived and born, suffered and died. In heaven the human in the mystery of His person is a factor as real and essential as it was when Christ lived on earth. As when He was on earth the Divine was not in abeyance or quiescent, so neither is the human in abeyance or quiescent now, living in the state of glorification. But just as the eternal Son of God lived in the life of the Son of Man among men, so now in the transcen-

dent world does the life of the Divine live in the life of the human.

Does the glorification suspend or supersede the reality of the incarnation? Does it change the reciprocal relation of the Divine and human in the person of the Mediator? Does the glorification diminish the capacity of the human for the Divine? Does it in any degree disqualify the human to be the effulgent manifestation of the true God? Is the Son of Man glorified any less the brightness of the glory of God, or any less the express image of His substance than the Son of Man unglorified? Is that significant utterance: He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, true of Jesus in the flesh, but untrue of Jesus in the Spirit? If not; if the glorification maintains the integrity of the humanity in the mystery of Christ's person; if the Son of Man *lives* in heaven as truly as He *lived* on earth; if He lives His human life there agreeably to the constitution and laws of humanity as certainly as He lived His life here according to the laws and conditions of human nature prevailing on this lower plane; then we are justified in regarding the Son of Man glorified as active in all the functions of the mediatorial office; active in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, in the formation, growth and perpetuity of the Church; active in the inspiration of the apostles, and in the illumination of all believers through the Spirit; active in the prevailing intercession with the Father, in the regeneration of fallen men, in the forgiveness of their sins, in the shedding forth of heavenly gifts on us His members, and in all the priestly activities whereby the propitiatory virtue of His sacrifice on the cross and the quickening power of His resurrection are bestowed upon men in the process of salvation from sin; active in the possession and exercise of authority and power in heaven, on earth and over all worlds, in the government of the human race preparing the way for His second coming with all His holy angels, and in all the mighty deeds preceding and accompanying the consummation of all things wherein the power of the devil shall be overthrown and the

Church militant attain the goal of perfection with Him in the glory of His Father. Humanity glorified in the person of our Lord, we are led to affirm, must be the Shekinah of the Divine in heaven, and the organ of divine manifestation and divine activity relative to the members of Christ's mystical body and to the angels; a mystery *there* answering to the mystery of the historical Christ in whom the human existing according to the economy of our mundane life was the Shekinah of the Godhead and the organ of the manifestation of God among men as Spirit, life, light, love.

The Son of Man living in the bosom of the eternal glory of God, and active in the functions and offices of the Mediator, Head over all things unto the Church, sets before the vision of faith the destiny and intrinsic capacities of man as created in the image of God. The second Adam in heaven is the goal of the first Adam in Eden. In Eden the truth is hidden in the potential beginning as in a germ; in heaven the potential beginning has become mature reality; the type latent in the germ is manifest in perfect God-likeness.

The Son of Man glorified in heaven is *man*, as truly as when He lived among men on earth; not God. Jesus Christ was God; Jesus Christ was man. The incarnation of the Son of God in the successive stages of humiliation involves no inanition of divinity. The eternal Son of God, as the Heidelberg Catechism teaches, is and continues true and eternal God. So neither, on the other hand, does the fact that the incarnate Son of God is now invested with the glory of His Father in heaven involve any confusion of the human with the Divine, and no change of any kind by which the humanity of our Lord becomes less human, neither less human as regards His distinctive being nor as regards His freedom and ethical activity. On the contrary, the Son of Man translated to this sublime realm is in all respects man; man in the most emphatic and unequivocal sense of the term. He asserts and actualizes the generic idea of humanity as He did not and could not in His

state of humiliation. In heaven the human in the constitution of the person of our Lord, since He is and ever continues to be veritable man, lives not in the image merely, but in the absolute image of God. In Him and from Him the eternal life of God shines forth as from a perfect mirror.

Pursuing our investigation of the nature of the image of God wherein the first Adam was created on the basis of this general principle of thought, we can proceed to develop, to some extent at least, the particular contents of the idea.

The Heidelberg Catechism teaches that God created man good, and after His own image, that is, in righteousness and true holiness; that he might rightly know God his Creator, heartily love Him, and live with Him in eternal blessedness, to praise and glorify Him. [Q. 6.]

According to this view the image of God pertains to the ethical condition and the ethical activity of man. Adam was sinless. No perverse moral or spiritual force, no abnormal tendency, was either active in any part of his complex being, or latent in the hidden recesses of his life. All his powers, somatic, psychical and pneumatic were in a state of perfect equipoise. Such absence of all evil, natural and moral, cannot prevail by itself. It presupposes a positive, spiritual ground. Innocence implies righteousness and holiness. With the inception of his existence Adam began to be *active*, active in all the powers of his spirit and soul and body. No other assumption is admissible. Activity is coeval with the origin of life; ethical activity coeval with the dawn of personal life. This activity of the first man was normal at every stage of its development prior to the fall, commencing with the instant in which through the inbreathing of God he became a "living soul." Adam was positively righteous and positively holy. He was righteous in that he asserted every power and function of his being in thought and purpose, word and deed, conformably to the divine will. He was holy in that he lived his whole life purely in the conscious and free communion of love with God. Holiness

conditions righteousness. It was by virtue of this normal, personal communion of pure love, the communion of God with man and of man with God, that Adam asserted his powers of body, soul and spirit agreeably to the demands of the divine law.

The formula of expression and the conception of the Catechism are evidently both suggested by the doctrine of the Apostle Paul as taught in Col. iii. 10: Put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him; and especially as expressed in Eph. iv. 24: Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. The scriptural formula answers a double purpose. Whilst it suggests the terminology of the Catechism, it at the same time serves the purpose incidentally of an argument in support of the validity of the conception respecting the nature of the divine image. If the new man, who is after God or after the image of Him that created him, is created in righteousness and true holiness, the presumption arises that the original man, formed in the image and likeness of God, possesses the same cardinal qualities; or, in other words, that the original image of God in man consists in righteousness and true holiness.

That the original God-likeness of man, if it does not, properly speaking, consist in righteousness and true holiness, yet necessarily includes these ethical qualities, is a proposition warranted both by Scripture and christological anthropology. Taken in connection with a deeper idea which the proposition presupposes, it may even be regarded as involving the whole truth. Taken, however, by itself, and ignoring the logical presupposition, the formula suggested by St. Paul (Eph. iv. 24), expresses the nature of the divine image under one aspect only; and that aspect, though necessary, is nevertheless rather the phenomenal than the substantial part of the truth. That the formula as it stands is inadequate is intimated, it may be undesignedly, by the Catechism itself. Passing on in the second half of the sixth answer to set forth the ultimate end of man's creation after the image of God, it says: "that he might rightly

know God his Creator, heartily love Him, and *live with Him* in eternal blessedness." The love to God of man in the heavenly state is a *life* of love. According to the Catechism the end of the divine image in man is that man may live with God. A communion of life with God presupposes more than resemblance of moral and spiritual character. It presupposes an essential life-likeness. The life of man must be like the life of God. The Catechism thus warrants a conception of the divine image which is broader than its own particular definition.

The Book of Genesis, in the Mosaic account of the creation, connects with the divine image in man immediately man's lordship over the lower kingdoms. Indeed, the divine afflatus whereby man became a living soul and the position of kingly authority assigned him by God are so closely connected that the latter appears as the direct consequence and manifestation of the former. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." This close and internal connection of these two things, the lordship of man with the divine image, accounts for the opinion current among theologians from the earliest times that the one was the other; or, that the dominion of man over the natural world was an element peculiar to the image of God.

Studied in the light of christological anthropology the divine image is certainly something even more significant than the lordship of man over nature; yet the opinion that his lordship is an intrinsic element peculiar to the divine image can claim validity, if asserted in synthesis with the true fundamental idea. If, however, on the other hand, lordship over the natural world be viewed as an external endowment, the internal connection of the endowment with the essential manhood of man being overlooked, the opinion evidently falls short of the truth.

God-likeness is the predicate of man himself; and does not inure to him in consequence of his position relatively to the lower kingdoms of nature. He is not like God because his dominion resembles the dominion of God. It is more correct to say that this distinguishing prerogative presupposes the divine image and inheres in it necessarily than that the divine image itself consists in this distinguishing prerogative. The lordship of man is rather the spontaneous assertion of man's God-likeness. It is the way and manner in which the God-likeness of man must express itself in relation to every order of existence below him.

There is another view of the divine image from which, when considered from the stand-point of Christology, the true doctrine of man differs. Not only man, but all other orders of existence, being like man the work of God, embody the divine idea. The divine idea asserted and manifested by the eternal Word of God is the pre-mundane basis of the cosmos. The Word is the prototype; whilst the cosmos becomes its actualization in time. Every order of created existence, and even every individual thing, must thus be regarded as representing, in its measure, the eternal prototype, especially every class of creatures endowed with intelligence and will. All things are the reflection of divine being. Hence it is thought that angels no less than men are fashioned after the image of God; and the divine image is not therefore an attribute of man distinguishing him characteristically from other intelligent creatures.

That the eternal Word of God, or the Logos, is the prototype of the cosmos may possibly be conceded consistently with a theistic conception of the world. Conceded it may be with safety provided the existence of the world be related immediately, not to the essence, but to the will of the Logos. The world is not properly an emanation from the Divine. The life of nature is not an efflux from the life of God. Affirming the life of nature to come by immediate derivation from the life of God, and ignoring thus the essential difference between the

creature and the Creator, it is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid being drawn into the Niagara current of pantheistic thinking

Of man Christology warrants a predicate peculiar to himself. Between the Logos and man there is a relation which does not hold between the Logos and any other class of creatures, whether impersonal or personal. Angels are not men. No angel possesses the latent capacities of man. Nor is the destiny of any rank of angels equivalent to the final goal of mankind. Whether we can express the difference adequately or not, we are nevertheless justified by revelation in maintaining that the difference between angels, however elevated their rank, and man is generic. In man there is a receptivity for union and fellowship with the Logos, which is predicable of no other being. For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behooved Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people. (Heb. ii. 16, 17.) That the Son of God became, according to Scripture, not an angel, but man, is not accidental. Nor can the passing by of the angels be explained on the ground that man fell by transgression through the instigation of the Devil, whilst the Devil, on the contrary, fell from his original state of sinlessness, not by temptation from without, but of himself. "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it." Great as is the difference between the metaphysical origin of sin in Satan and the historical fact of man's fall, yet this difference, whilst a scientific view of sin and redemption may not fail to emphasize it, does not suffice to account for the character of the incarnation as consummated in the glorification of our Lord. For the incarnation effects far more than the restoration of man to his original state of communion with God, more even than man would have come into the possession of by virtue of a life of sinless obedience to the divine will.

The reason is deeper than the accident of sin and the conse-

quent necessity of redemption. It must lie in the original relation between man and the Son of God. That relation must involve fellowship between man and the eternal Son, a fellowship predicable of man distinctively. "For both He that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren." Of the Son of God man is the *brother* in a sense that no angel appears to be. This distinctive relationship between the eternal Logos and the nature of the human race constitutes the possibility of the Son of Man. The possibility was indeed only a latent possibility until the advent of Christ. But when the Holy Ghost came upon the Virgin Mary, and she was overshadowed by the power of the Highest, this original possibility became a reality. What was hitherto hidden and therefore unknown, though not unfelt, is now made manifest. For that unique union of the life of man with the life of God which distinguishes the mystery of the incarnation in the person of the Son of Man, can violate no law of the human constitution nor be in any respect alien to the original relation between human life and the divine life brought to pass when "the Lord God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul."

This latent possibility of the Son of Man, this original fitness for assumption into God, which distinguishes the nature of man from the nature of an angel, is the image of God. Whilst every creature, in its measure, reflects the idea of God; whilst His eternal power and Godhead are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made; and whilst accordingly there is a general sense in which science may say that irrational creatures as well as angelic spirits image God; yet that image of God in which man was created is a characteristic of his being which he shares with no other creature, whether on earth or in heaven. It is his own emphatically. In the constitution of man the divine image is accordingly the living form and mode of created being answering to that eternal form of God in which the Son was with the Father before the foundation of the

world. (Phil. ii. 6.) In virtue of this essential resemblance and affinity between the created life-form and the uncreated life-form, man was capable of life union with God, capable of a personal union which is at once both the *Menschwerdung* of God, and the *Vergottung* of man.

The central truth of Christianity, that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, affects man as man. It changes, not merely the moral condition of human life, nor the relation of fallen man to God and the world; but it touches his being. A change is wrought in the nature and life of man, whereby he is advanced from a lower to a higher status of existence, from the natural economy to the supernatural economy, or from the domain of the finite and temporal to the domain of the infinite and eternal. What this change wrought in the nature and life of man comprehends, is seen in the transition of our Lord from His natural life in the flesh, through the article of death, through the mystery of the resurrection and the ascension, into the transcendent realm of uncreated glory. The original affinity and resemblance between man and God, or between the created life-form of the Adamic race and the uncreated life-form of the eternal Son, the prototype of Adam, is consummated when humanity is thus changed and advanced by the transition in Christ to this divine realm.

The divine image must therefore be predicated, not only of some one integral part of man's constitution, as of his spirit in contradistinction to the soul and the body, but of man himself, and of man in the wholeness of his constitution. The finite *being* of man answers to the infinite being of God. The created life-form is the life-form of the whole man. That is to say, no integral part of man fails to share in the glorification of our Lord. As Jesus Himself was capable of such translation and exaltation, so was His natural body, circumscribed, limited and conditioned as it was by times and places, capable of surmounting the conditions of nature-time and nature-space, and of becoming a spiritual body; a body that, transcending every

earthly limitation of space and time and all-glorious, sustains an internal relation to the divine human life of our Lord in heaven, analogous to the relation prevailing between the natural body and the natural life of Jesus when He tabernacled in the flesh. The question, whether or not, or in what sense, and to what extent, the divine image pertains to the human body as well as to the human spirit, must in order to be satisfactorily answered be examined and decided from this ultimate standpoint of reflection.

The divine image being predicable of man himself, or of the being and life of man, a consistent anthropology must extend the resemblance to particulars.

The divine attributes are qualities of the divine Being. They are one with the life of God, and inseparable from it. Hence the likeness of man to God, since this likeness answers to the life-form of the eternal Son, involves the resemblance of man's endowments to the attributes of God. Human attributes are akin to divine attributes. The attributes of God shine forth in the attributes of man.

Nor may the application of this principle be limited to the ethical side of man's nature. That the will of God is law for the will of man; and that when he lives by faith in Christ, man is capable of truly fulfilling the divine will, no one denies. Man is to be holy as God is holy, and righteous in all his ways as God is righteous. The question at issue is whether the resemblance extends to what are known as the metaphysical attributes, the power, knowledge and omnipresence of God. Does man image God as regards energy and intelligence? Is the finite nature of man capable of surmounting the existing limitations of space? The point is not whether divine attributes, such as omniscience and omnipresence, may be communicated to humanity; but whether qualities in man properly human bear resemblance to the attributes of God's essence as distinguishable from His will.

Theology has introduced what we cannot but regard as an

arbitrary, if it be not a dualistic, division into the idea of God. The common classification of divine attributes into metaphysical and moral may be both valid and valuable. We do not criticise it. But when a valid scientific distinction ignores the unity of the divine fulness, and when, failing to emphasize the internal oneness of the attributes with the being of God, it proceeds to divide God as it were from Himself, maintaining that the moral attributes are communicable to man, while the metaphysical are not; then the distinction, otherwise valid, is carried too far, and becomes the occasion of a defective view of the fellowship holding between God and man. Man is capable, not only of fulfilling the righteousness enjoined by the will of God, but also of asserting and realizing God's power. Indeed metaphysical attributes can never be divorced from ethical activity. The ethical and metaphysical, will and reason or self-determination and commensurate energy, postulate each other mutually.

Even more than this can be safely affirmed. The best rational capacity, and the highest kind of *knowledge* is developed, not in seeing things inanimate or animate, not in penetrating into the secret depths of their being, and tracing their laws, modes of existence and relations, but in discerning and knowing the right, and in discriminating the true from the false, the good from the evil. So likewise the highest grade of *power* is necessary and manifest, not in subduing the physical elements, not in resisting and controlling the laws and forces of the material world, but in maintaining the right against the wrong, and in doing the good and the true in opposition to the evil and the false. The ethical and spiritual is the domain where no knowledge less than God-like knowledge, and no power weaker than God-like power can be of avail.

The Son of Man *knew* the will of His Father, and fulfilled that will. Knowledge in Him was commensurate with desire and purpose; and power commensurate with knowledge. He illustrated God in the wholeness of His being; the divine

reason, no less than the divine will; divine power, no less than divine goodness; the divine presence among men, no less than the divine authority. Look at any crisis during His earthly life; the temptation in the wilderness, for example. Confronted by the powers of the kingdom of darkness in its representative head, mightier than genius and scholarship, mightier than the sciences, the arts and philosophies, Jesus passed through a moral and spiritual ordeal in which, at every point, He not only proved Himself true to God and faithful to His mission, but in sustaining Himself throughout this moral trial, asserted triumphantly God-like knowledge and God-like power. Majestic as was the might of His power, when rising from repose, He rebuked the winds and subdued the raging waves by the word of His mouth, yet still more majestic is the might of His will by which, despite the fierce assault from the superhuman world of evil, He maintained Himself in holy communion with God, and by the irresistible energy of His word repelled him who by no man had ever before been repelled.

On earth however the manifestation of the metaphysical attributes of God is partial only and incomplete. To see the likeness of human to divine attributes, faith must behold the Son of Man exalted to the right hand of God. There He fulfils and displays the full import of His words, uttered shortly before His ascension: All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and; Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. The same Jesus who lived on earth now lives in Heaven. The same Jesus who was with His disciples in the flesh, is now with His people in every place and at all times in the Spirit. Translated from the finite domain of the earthly to the infinite domain of the heavenly, this change of the position and relation of our Lord, includes a corresponding change wrought as in the being so also in the endowments or faculties of His human nature, whereby the Son of Man has become the perfected mediator between God and the fallen race. As in the unglorified state, so now in the glori-

fied state the humanity of our Lord is the medium and the organ of His mediatorship. This mystery of the Christian faith implies a resemblance of all the essential qualities of manhood to the attributes of the Godhead. Light as shining in the face of Jesus Christ reveals the omniscience and the glory of God. Energy and power as asserted in the earthly life, and now in the mediatorial reign of Christ, displays God's omnipotence. And the presence of our Lord through the Spirit in the entire communion of His mystical body irrespectively of places and times, shows the nature of God's omnipresence.

As when, whilst in the flesh, our Lord was a veritable man among men, and the ideal of mankind on the earthly plane of existence; so now, living in the Spirit, He is the ideal of the ultimate destiny of men. He is the resurrection and the life. The blessedness and glory which He possesses, His people shall inherit. As He overcame death and the grave, so will they surmount all the consequences of sin. As He was lifted up and transformed in His ascension, so will they be changed and perfected. He is preparing a mansion for them. Where He now is they shall go. They shall be like Him, for they shall see Him as He is. They are heirs of God; joint heirs with Christ. As God is glorified in the Son of Man; so will the Son of Man be glorified in His saints. Our Lord images the Father; and we shall image our Lord.

From the God-likeness of man as exemplified in the personal history of our Lord on earth and perfected in His exaltation to the right hand of God, and as now confronting our faith in the functions of His mediatorial office, several legitimate inferences may be drawn, important in their bearing upon the science of Biblical Exegesis and Christian Dogmatics. But we shall name only one.

Since man is made in the image of God, and this image pervades and characterizes his entire constitution, it follows that man is the true manifestation of God. The being of man answers to the being of God, somewhat as the image in a glass

answers to the face of a person. Moreover, however great the contrast between divine infinitude and human finitude, yet the life-*form* of man as man corresponds to the life-form of God; and the manner or mode which the revelation of God assumes in man, that is, in the life and character, the faith and thought of man is legitimate. Eternal truth comes to view in what man is and becomes, in what he does and utters.

This principle is fully valid as related only to the Son of Man. But it possesses validity likewise, as related to all men. The natural heavens declare the glory of God; but the constellations in the firmament of human genius, moral and religious, declare that glory with brighter effulgence. The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, even His eternal power and Godhead; being understood by the things that are made. But nowhere throughout the domain of creation are the invisible things of God so clearly seen, as in the economy of man; for he is the work of God which is the crown and perfection of the natural world.

A revelation of God appears in the contour of a rock and in the twinkling of a star. A higher revelation appears in the fruit of the tree, and the instincts of the animal. But more perfect than all these is the revelation of God in the *form* of man. The human life-form is for the absolute truth of God the fittest organ of communication.

The anthropomorphisms of the Old and New Testament, when considered from the stand-point of man's God-likeness, are to be regarded, not as a crude and inadequate mode of representing and teaching things spiritual and divine, but as a manner legitimate and valid, adapted on the one side to the spirituality and constitution of the Godhead, and on the other to the religious and moral, the intellectual and scientific needs of mankind. Instead of being, as it is frequently assumed, a temporary accommodation to the ignorance and infirmities of men living on a low plane of civilization and culture, this mode of representation, on the contrary, asserts the intrinsic dignity

and Godlike nobility of human nature, and proclaims a universal law of divine revelation.

As the absolute revelation of God is given to the world under the form of the Son of Man, so must the best kind of rational and scientific reflection on God and on the church glorified, be anthropomorphic. And the key with which we may gain access to the true meaning of the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic representations of God given in His Word, is the human life and character, the human sympathies and antipathies of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Art. VIII.—THE KANTIAN ANTINOMIES.

BY GEO. N. ABBOTT.

A FIRST attempt at reading Kant's Critique years ago left on my mind an impression that there might be some defects in the author's reasoning—much as I had been taught to revere him as the father of German Philosophy. This impression took the most definite shape in regard to what the author styled the Antinomies.* The demonstrations offered for them approached so nearly a mathematical method as to present a somewhat familiar aspect. The mistiness that attended a first view of the more subjective transcendental phases of perception and conception seemed to clear up a little on an approach to the more easily objectivated cosmologic ideas—especially when taking on the comparatively tangible form of a series of definitely related terms; this being substantially the form in which the proofs of the an-

* Kant uses the singular (antinomy) with reference to the whole subject, and also applies the term to each pair of contradictories belonging to it.

tinomies present themselves. With the greater distinctness of the reasoning arose also a greater doubt of its absolute correctness.

When not very long afterwards an opportunity occurred for mentioning this doubt to one who was thoroughly conversant with the whole field of German Philosophy, the reply received, giving to the subject a sort of idealizing turn, led to the impression that possibly more mature thought would dispel the imagined difficulties. Previous experience had taught that the strictest reasoning is not always appreciated when the mind is in a crude state with regard to the subject discussed. Every now and then some genius arises who regards himself as competent to show up a fallacy in the established mode of squaring the circle, or in some other equally well assured fixture of science. The warning furnished by examples of this kind formed at least the partial cause for not proceeding rashly with an attempt to disclose a fallacy where many of the wisest men of the age had seen only conclusive argument.

Possibly the thought of reviving the old spirit of criticism might not have arisen at present, had it not been for meeting with a somewhat critical vien of thought from a German source. In a brief general survey of modern philosophy preliminary to a development of his own views on a theory of cognition, the author indulged in some reflections to the effect that the course of philosophic development in Germany, while it had wrought many substantial and noble results, had not after all left nothing more to be desired,—that it had in fact reached one of those "turning points which lead under the most favorable circumstances to a reconstruction upon a new basis, and under the most adverse conditions to decline and dissolution." Its present condition was pronounced languid and unsettled, requiring a remedy of some kind; in looking about for which the author was reminded of "the remark made by that ingenious Italian Statesman who claims that nations and their governments have to return from time to time to first principles." In the course

of every organic intellectual development—he proceeds to say in substance—there appears at certain times necessity to return to the starting point and commence anew the solution of the problem involved, though perhaps by a different method from the one before employed. Such an occasion being assumed then to have arrived in the case of German philosophy, a more particular view is presented in the following words :*—

"The origin of this development, however, in which our present philosophy is engaged must be traced back to Kant; and the scientific achievement by means of which Kant assigned a new path to philosophy is his theory of cognition. To the investigation of this subject, first of all, every one who intends to rectify the fundamental principles of philosophy must go back, and, enlightened by present experience, again examine, in the spirit which prevails in Kant's Critique, the questions he raised, in order to avoid the mistakes into which Kant had fallen."

These words were not long in waking up again some of the old queries above mentioned; and the thought arose that possibly calling attention to even a minor error—if such there were—in the reasonings of that justly celebrated thinker might be of some small service in this day of reckoning for all theories, whether old or new,—whether the products of great or small minds.

PRECAUTIONS TO BE OBSERVED IN CRITICISM.

It may perhaps properly be premised that an exhaustive estimate of consequences to Kant's system is not what is aimed at in this attempt to point out what may indicate that in certain instances he was not wholly free from the short-sightedness common to mankind, including even the greatest philosophers. Indeed those consequences might be more or less—might bear a high or low ratio to any discovered error of argument, somewhat in proportion as this should occur in an essential or non-

* See Journal of Speculative Philosophy, vol. 9; Zeller's Theory of Cognition.

essential connection. Nothing can be weaker or more puerile than that style of criticism which, having discovered a writer's "weak spot," affects to know how very little all his utterances were worth. In all criticism of argument a certain logical caution ought carefully to be observed, to the effect that, though one may assign false reasons for an opinion or doctrine, the opinion or doctrine itself is not necessarily thereby proved untrue, but may be true for other reasons. It must be admitted, however, that, in so far as one's reasons for a peculiar belief are proved groundless, the belief is, as it were, thrown upon its own merits, and becomes a proper subject for a further investigation.

It may, for instance, be the opinion of some philosopher that a certain theory entertained by his predecessors is incorrect because, in his view, it involves a certain contradiction. Another may think he has disproved this contradiction as a consequence of the theory. But he does not necessarily, by this disproof of the particular alleged inconsistency, prove the truth of the theory, and the entire incorrectness of the first philosopher's belief in its untruth. There is still room left for the question whether some other contradiction may not be involved, which has not been clearly discovered. Suppose for illustration that I state as my opinion that a certain man is not a person of truth and veracity, alleging as a reason for my belief that at a certain trial he gave self-contradictory testimony. Suppose again that this allegation of mine proves to be untrue, and that the person's testimony on the given occasion was entirely consistent. This would not prove him to be on all occasions a perfectly reliable and truthful man. My suspicion of his general untruthfulness might still be well founded, although my allegation in proof might be invalid.

There are, to be sure, cases in science where the disproof of a single assumed inconsistency serves to establish a proposition without farther question. The ordinary method of determining the area of a circle requires that the circle be conceived as

divisible into an infinite number of triangles having their bases in the circumference. An objection could here be raised, on the score that this requirement contradicts the definition of a curved line, such as the circumference is, to conceive it to be composed of straight lines, however short, such as would be required for the bases of the triangles. If, however, it can be shown that, by a sufficient multiplication of the number of polygonal sides, they will ultimately assimilate with the circumference, thus removing the contradiction, the proposed method of squaring the circle will have to be admitted as correct, since no other inconsistency can possibly be conceived. But not often is a *scientific hypothesis* so simple in its implications. Hence the fate of such a hypothesis can not generally be made to depend upon either the truth or falsehood of a single demonstration.

HUMAN COGNITION CONSTRUCTIVE, ACCORDING TO KANT.

With these precautions we may enter unassumingly upon the consideration of possible errors in the thoughts of one who undoubtedly did in his day a great work for the progress of mind. In order to appreciate to any good degree the force of Kant's reasoning at any given point, it is needful to have some general notion of certain characteristics in his theory of cognition. One important characteristic I do not know how to describe better than by saying that human cognition is, in Kant's view, *constructive*. We do not cognize things as they are in themselves, but only as they appear *to us*. It is a necessity of the preordained nature of our peculiar kind of sensibility that we regard objects as extended in space or as persistent in time ; space and time being merely subjective *forms*, or modes of presentation, through which *our* perception is limited and characterized, without being in any essential sense determinants of things in themselves. Whether any, or even all, other finite intelligent beings look upon objects as extended and enduring is a matter out of our ken. But however it may be with other beings' mode of cognition, man certainly must get his first impressions of ob-

jects under the limitations of his sensibility, and these first impressions can never be got rid of by dint of any amount of available intellectual insight. The *human* mind is compelled, therefore, to view all matter, or rather to conceive the *substrate* of matter, under the really untrue aspect of extended body, *i. e.*, as having length, breadth and thickness;—and also as passing from moment to moment through a succession of varying states or conditions.

The properties, with their consequences, thus thrust upon the objective world (or upon its ground-reality), by the reflex activity of our sensibility will be consistent and harmonious, so long as reason in its survey of them restrains itself within the proper bounds of experimental research. But it will not do to *idealize* too far. Because we have observed a succession of states in surrounding objects, and have found that one state conditions another, so that we have in some sense a law of succession, we are not for this reason to imagine that we can project backwards the entire history antecedent to the present state of things. This is not simply on account of imperfection in our knowledge of a present state, but the inability ideally to restore the past is owing chiefly to the fact that the successional element is just as much inducted extrinsically into things by our mode of sensibility as—to use our own illustration, not Kant's—the time-keeping element is into a clock by human ingenuity. No more can we, according to our author, securely generalize upon the *spatial* relations of the universe, and this, because of the illigetimacy of making space a property of the thing-in-itself,—because, in other words, mere phenomena furnish no *terra firma* on which to stand, to survey and measure the universal domain.

But what will happen if these salutary cautions are not heeded—if reason, in its presumption, leaps over all barriers, and undertakes to determine how long a succession of states or of causes has preceded and conditioned the present, or how widely the universe must be expanded, in order to its proper balance?

Either of the questions of this order is susceptible, we are told, of a double answer involving direct contradictions. Suppose we take the first part of Kant's first Antinomy, involving the length of time during which the universe has existed;—the two contradictory opposites,

THESIS:

The universe had a beginning in time,

ANTITHESIS:

The universe had no beginning, but is infinite in respect to time,

we are assured, are equally provable, and both demonstrable by proof, without the least tincture of sophism. The proofs offered for both are of the negative kind, technically called *reductio ad absurdum*, or *reductio per impossibile*. A denial of the truth of the given proposition is assumed, and then is shown to result in a palpable absurdity; whence it is inferred that the denial is a falsehood, and the proposition itself a truth.

KANT'S PROOFS.

The proof that the universe had a beginning in time, is as follows:—Suppose the universe had in respect to time no beginning; then up to any given point of time an eternity has elapsed; and consequently an infinite series of successive states of things in the universe has flown by. But the infinitude of a series consists just in the fact that it can never be completed through a successive synthesis [*i. e.*, through a regular succession of the terms one after another]. Hence an infinite series of past states of the universe is impossible; and, accordingly, a beginning of it is a necessary condition of its existence; which was the point to be proved.

The criticism on this demonstration we will reserve until after the proof of the antithesis has been given. That proof is after this wise:—Suppose the universe had a beginning. Since

the beginning is an existence preceded by an antecedent time, wherein the thing concerned was not, there must have been, then, a pre-elapsed or foregone time wherein the universe was not, that is, an empty time. Now in an empty time no origination of any thing is possible, since no part of such time in preference to another, has, in itself, any distinctive condition of existence, over that of non-existence, (whether it be assumed that the thing originates of itself, or through another cause). Therefore can, to be sure, many series of things begin in the universe; but the universe itself can have no beginning, and is consequently infinite in respect to past time.*

These demonstrations have certainly the virtue of brevity. Nor would they seem to be chargeable with much obscurity, especially as being in a work professedly ranging in the transcendental stratum of thought. The proof of the thesis, establishing the finiteness of the age of the universe, is made to depend purely and simply on the *definition* of an infinite series. If that definition is correctly and *fully* given, then it would seem that a flaw in the reasoning would be hard to find—unless, indeed, it should be surmised that an error may lurk in the positing of a *present*, or at least a *fixed*, moment of time in which to terminate the series; while in fact the series itself recognizes no such closing-point, but goes unceasingly on with its successive synthesis. It might thus be imagined that one *subjective* element was here worked in without a corresponding *objective* element, even in the sense-world; that an attempt to

* The present writer is responsible for the translations in the body of this article. The following translation of the same passage as the above is from Bohn's Philosophical Library:—"For let it be granted that it has a beginning. A beginning is an existence which is preceded by a time in which the thing does not exist. On the above supposition, it follows that there must have been a time in which the world did not exist, that is, a void time. But in a void time the origination of a thing is impossible; because no part of any such time contains a distinctive condition of being, in preference to that of non-being (whether the supposed thing originate of itself, or by means of some other cause). Consequently many series of things may have a beginning in the world, but the world itself cannot have a beginning, and is, therefore, in relation to past time infinite."

measure backward to its source the course of changes in whose ever-onward movement we are all involved, whether we will or not, bears a seeming resemblance to an undertaking to compute the length of an ocean-current from its start down to our position on a floating raft, with no objects to fix on except other floating rafts, and with no knowledge whatever of our absolute velocity of movement.

The proof of the antithesis has at least an air of plausibility about it, though it cannot claim quite the simplicity of its opponent. Perhaps the seeming greater complexity belongs, however, more to the necessities of the wording than to the idea itself. The point seems to be that a perfectly void or empty time, which, if it can be thought at all, can be thought only as a completely uniform succession, cannot be conceived to furnish a *favorable moment* or *opportunity* for the uprising of any supposed latent force or activity, whether the resulting *manifestation* be identical in any sense with the *energy itself*, or only a product of it. That is, so far as pure time can be a condition of activity, a force or system of forces in inactive equilibrium in one time cannot be jostled out of this state of quietude into a bustle of overt activity by another time exerting upon it precisely the same influence as the first. But even here a subtilizing fantasy might throw in the bare suggestion that, as a continual dropping wears away a stone, so the persistent intrusion of an agency, in itself as deliberate and unprovoking as time, might possibly wear away the patience of self-restrained or mutually restrained energies.

Again, as to the statement, concessively thrown in, that "many a series can begin in the universe," can this mean anything more than that a series having some *new phases* merely can append itself to a previously developing series as a continuation of the same, so that in reality we have no new beginning of a series, but only the continuation of an old one? In this view, one hardly sees the need of this concessive clause.

Having thus taken a brief general view of the proofs on both

sides, let us return, for a more careful consideration, to the proof of the Thesis. The main dependence of that proof, as has been seen, is on the definition of an infinite series, as one *which can never be completed by a successive synthesis.* The use of this definition seems at first sight pretty fair and legitimate; but it will admit of closer scrutiny. The conception of an infinite series will admit of some variety. If we may take the same liberty in assuming a fixed point in space as Kant takes in positing a terminal point of a series in time, we may suppose that through a certain point a line is passed, say in a north and south direction, and extended without limit both ways. If this line be conceived to be graduated throughout, and to have positive numbers applied to the successive units of graduation to the northward, and negative numbers in like manner to the southward, the double sets of figures will plainly form an exhaustive series of the natural numbers. Indeed the successive units of measure in both directions, will of themselves, when merely viewed successively, constitute what is called an infinite series. But, according to the ordinary acceptation, either branch of this unterminated line, the one to the northward or the one to the southward, forms an infinite line, and its series of measuring units an infinite series. Now that it is the latter kind of infinite series, a series with *one* terminus only, that Kant has in view is made quite evident from the proof of the Antithesis, which concludes with the assertion, "The universe is infinite in relation to *past* time." Kant's series, then, whether finite or infinite, has by its very construction *one* terminus,—the only question being whether or not it has also another limit.

KANT'S PROOF OF THESIS A PETITIO PRINCIPII.

Making now a distinction, which Kant clearly makes in his introduction to the antinomies, between a *progressive* order in a series, *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., going forward from a beginning point towards an ending, and a *regressive* order, *n*, *m*, *l*, &c., going

backward from an end towards a beginning, we naturally find the Kantian definition of an infinite series taking two forms: *It is either a series which can never be completed* (*ended*), or *one which can never have begun.* According to our author's own distinct showing, it is the *re-regressive* order with which we have to do in the antinomy. The last term in the series is the "conditioned," the next preceding term the proximate condition, the next earlier the condition of the latter, and so on until the entire series of conditions, longer or shorter, is completed, if possible, in the reverse of the historic order. Now it is evident that the *second* form of the definition above is the one applicable to the hypothesis that such a series is infinite. Then, instead of a contradiction, there will be complete harmony between hypothesis and definition, and so not the least foundation for a *reductio ad absurdum.* It would seem, then, that Kant, simply by using the definition in a form strictly applicable to a progressive series only, (which form would be quite sufficient for the mathematician's use, since all the cases can readily be adapted to this form), unwittingly reversed the order of the series, and then really *assumed* a beginning, which was just the point in question. The argument appears thus to be a simple case of *petitio principii.*

To make this still clearer, we may put this definition into a form in which all shall be expressed which is implied:—An infinite series is one which, *if it have a beginning*, must have no end. The clause (most certainly implied), *if it have a beginning*, seems entirely to have eluded his generally vigilant perception. The counterpart to the definition as just given would be, An infinite series is one which, *if it have an end*, must have no beginning; which is clearly the wording applicable to the case in hand.

It was just now intimated that, in the use of a wording proper to a progressive order, Kant unwittingly reversed the order of conceiving his series. In truth he had already done this by implication in his direct deduction from the hypothesis

that the universe had no beginning: "Then up to any given moment an eternity has elapsed," that is, evidently, *in the historic order*. To see how very inconsistent it was for him to fall into this order of conception, we may be pardoned for going back again to the introduction to this topic, and examining his exact words on this point. "I will call the synthesis of a series on the side of the conditions, *i. e.*, setting out from that condition which is nearest to the given phenomenon and going on to the more remote conditions, the *regressive;* but the synthesis which, on the side of the conditioned, advances from the nearest sequent to the more remote, the *progressive*. The former goes *in antecedentia*, the latter *in consequentia*. The cosmologic ideas consequently concern themselves with the totality of the regressive synthesis, and go *in antecedentia*, not *in consequentia*."

It appears, thus, as if, instead of holding to his stand-point in the present, and looking steadily from thence into the past, he simply set up a flag-staff at this stand-point, and then, withdrawing in thought behind the whole procession in question, he looked over it to the assumed terminus, and pronounced it limited; while in his counter-proof, keeping his first position, he took a back-sight over the course of nature without discovering any sign of a limit.

It may be objected that, whatever the possible inconsistencies of Kant's argument, the fact still remains that Nature has in reality accomplished her own course thus far *progressively*, and not *regressively;* and it may farther be claimed that by no possibility can nature be conceived to have progressed infinitely, since her course is still onward, and her age, consequently, still increasing, and *that which can be augmented can not be infinite.** But if the proof of the thesis be supported by this sort of argu-

* In truth infinites can be increased in certain ways. An infinite series of the form a+a+a+a+ &c., can be multiplied by 2, giving 2 a+2 a+2 a+2 a+&c. A quantity, in order to be infinite, needs only to be incapable of *proportional* increase by the *addition* of a *finite* quantity.

ment, that of the antithesis will be destroyed by the same; for it will not do to argue one side of the question on the principle that the world is moving, and the other on the assumption that it has come to a stand-still, having completed its course. A *hypothetical* unbounded past, in other words, ought to stand in no disadvantage with a *real* or *demonstrated* unbounded past in the eyes of the pure Reason; for the pure Reason is no respecter of real and fictitious magnitudes. The relations of these two magnitudes are all governed by precisely the same laws. If, then, it be true that a series can never be infinite so long as there is any possibility of even a finite increment in either direction, thesis and antithesis must fare alike, and a verdict of *finitude* must be the conclusion of the whole matter.

ZENO'S ACHILLES AND TORTOISE.

But let us return once more to Kant's definition of an infinite series as *one that can never be completed*, and see whether it can have universal application even to progressive series. To give the matter a historic interest, suppose we consider Zeno's attempted demonstration that Achilles can never overtake the tortoise, since, while the former is coming up to the place now occupied by the latter, the latter will have made some advancement, so that Achilles will still be behind; and if both parties repeat their movements ever so many times, the close of each movement will find them in the same relative position; for, while Achilles advances a distance equal to the space between them at the beginning of any movement, the tortoise will also have gained ground. Nor does it seem necessary to conceive the successive movements to be separated by intervals of time. The advancement may be regarded as continuous, and only be *mentally* divided for the sake of a clearer conception of the relative progress of the two bodies. Now suppose that the ratio of Achilles's velocity is to that of the tortoise as n to 1, and their distance apart=1. Then, while Achilles goes over the distance 1, the tortise will go $1\text{-}n^{\text{th}}$, as far; and it will be easy

to show that the whole distance to be gained by the former in order to overtake the latter will be the series of distances. $1 + \frac{1}{n} + \frac{1}{n2} + \frac{1}{n3} + \ldots$ *in infinitum.* But in order to simplify the idea of such a series, we may substitute numbers for the letters. Let it be supposed that Achilles travels ten times as fast as the tortoise. Then the above series will become $1 \times \frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{100} + \frac{1}{1000} +$ &c., or what is the same thing, 1. 1 1 1 1 1+, to infinity. The ultimate value of this series is, as every arithmetician knows, the limited sum of $1\frac{1}{9}$. If the unit regarded as one mile, then Achilles, in order to overtake the tortoise, will really have to travel $1\frac{1}{9}$ miles and no more; although this brief distance may be spun out in thought into an infinite series. The spaces represented by each of the terms (or decimal units) in their descending order of value will, let it be observed, be passed over *successively*, and can be passed over in no other way.

Now supposing Achilles's rate of travel to be one mile an hour, and the tortoise's rate of course one-tenth as great, unless we have difficulty in believing that in one hour and one-ninth the former can accomplish as many miles, we are bound to believe he will in that time overtake the latter, and also that in the same time he *will have completed successively the synthesis of an infinite series.* It may be further observed that the terms of the series 1. 1 1 1 1 1 &c., are finite down to any assignable place, and not infinitely small, though they are progressively diminishing, and tending to become infinitessimal. If a man should spend his life in extending the series, he would not reach even a near approximation to the true infinitesimal, and would have accomplished no assignable part of the work of writing the whole progression. How much easier the task of Achilles, who walks over all these figures, made and unmade, or rather over their spatial values, in the brief time before mentioned.

Again, suppose we substitute for such a decreasing progression a series composed wholly of terms like those to be ultimate-

ly arrived at in the decreasing one, and inexpressibly smaller than what we might imagine to be the *average* magnitude of the terms in the above example. In that case it was really the one-ninth of a mile that contained ideally the infinite number of fractional terms. But when all are in thought reduced to the magnitude of the smallest of those, how easy is it to conceive an infinite number of them in, for instance, a whole mile. Imagine this to be a mile of railway, which a swift locomotive can pass over in one minute. If Kant, with his quiet habits, had chanced to stand near and see the iron horse performing this feat, having in his mind all the *figures* involved in the subject, he might, I imagine, have thought about closing up the loop-holes in his definition. Then think of the earth moving in her orbit more than a thousand miles in the same brief minute, and say whether at least a passage over an infinite number of successive points may not be completed within the bounds of time. The truth is, our own consciousness goes through an infinitude of variations every hour,—nay, why not every second?

The difficulty of conceiving an infinitude of past states of the universe cannot, then, it would seem, well lie in the mere *numerical* impossibility of the case. If then we have a numerical infinitude as an accomplished fact, why may we not, if there is no better way, conceive our successive points in spatial movement as elongating into lines, and our temporal instants as proportionally growing into measurable times, and in their enlargement pushing each other successively back into a past beyond all limits?

In this view the conflict of the pure reason with itself, so far at least as the proof of this antinomy is concerned, seems to vanish, even without any nullification of the objective validity of temporal or spatial relations. By this it is not imperatively to be understood that the universe, as we sensuously apprehend it, is necessarily eternal; but only that, so long as the simple principle of antecedence and consequence has in thought

free and unobstructed play, the pure reason does not appear to maintain any insuperable objection to an unbounded persistence of the principle on the score of a practical impossibility of an infinite series. Whether the universe may involve in itself some such law of rhythmic sequence as shows itself in the annual ebb and flow of life in a tree, so that it may be subject to appearing and disappearing (in our sense) by turns; or, again, whether what we call the universe may be correlated to an "unseen universe," which may in effect at some time or times silence its activity as one musical string sometimes silences another, or as two swinging bodies hung from the same beam alternately stimulate and quiet each other's motions; or, once more, whether some frictional element must enter into the computation, compelling belief in an ultimate winding-up of progressive movement, and, conversely, in a necessary beginning of the same; or, finally, whether the energies of the universe may not be gradually wasting themselves upon a vacuity which will make no returns for them, whence we must infer a beginning of the wasting process; we cannot, perhaps, know till we learn more facts in the case. But in the first two of these imaginary views we should have really no breach of a law of perpetual succession, but only a complication of the same; while in the last two we should have elements to consider outside the necessary conditions of pure temporal succession to which Kant, in the antinomy specially considered, professes to confine himself. His series is, in substance, neither an increasing nor a decreasing one, but consists of equal terms. At all events he makes no provision for their inequality.

As Kant distinguishes between the law of mere sequence and the law of cause and effect, making the latter the subject of another antinomic discussion, we need not discuss in this connection the doctrine of an original creation. It is the beginning or non-beginning of the universe according to the rational necessities of sequence in time that forms the present theme for discussion. Can there, or can there not, have been

an infinite succession, independently of any extraneous consideration? is the question.

After this somewhat extended consideration of the first half of what Kant sets down as the "first conflict of the transcendental ideas" (the other half being on the question whether the spatial expansion of the universe is finite or infinite), it is not proposed to follow up in the same way the remaining antinomies, pertaining to the divisibility of matter, and to the principles of causality and freedom. If the present writer is not in error in regard to Kant's reasoning on the remaining topics, however, the force of the first proof and counter-proof runs through the whole; so that if there is any fallacy in the one case, there is a vitiating influence from this fallacy traceable in all.

It may be interesting to note a curious illustration which Kant gives in his comment on the fourth and last of the antinomies, namely, Thesis: There belongs to the universe something which, either as its part or as its cause, is an absolutely necessary being; Antithesis: There exists no absolutely necessary being, either in the universe or outside the universe as its cause. The concluding paragraph of his annotation (Anmerkung) on this antinomy is in part as follows: "There appears in this antinomy a strange contrast, namely, that from the same ground-reason, in the thesis the existence, and in the antithesis the non-existence, of an Original Being was deduced, and each with the same rigorousness. . . . Still the mode of inference in both cases is quite in harmony with the common reason of mankind, which often finds occasion to differ with itself according as it contemplates its object from two different stand-points. M. de Mairan regarded the quarrel of two renowned astronomers, which grew out of a similar difficulty about the choice of a stand-point, as a phenomenon remarkable enough to call for the writing of a special treatise. The one concluded that the moon revolves on its axis, because it always presents the same side towards the earth: the other, that

the moon does not revolve on its axis, because it always presents the same side towards the earth. Both conclusions were correct, according to the stand-point which was taken, from which to observe the moon's motion."

It is true that the seeming motions of the planets are much varied by the point of view from which they are supposed to be looked at; but how from the stand-point of an observer on the earth one can conclude that the moon does *not* revolve on its axis, while admitting that it does move in a monthly course about the earth, it must, I think, require a Kantian philosopher to conceive. Any one who has ever turned a grind-stone knows that the handle of the crank turns in his hand, or else in the wooden sheath designed to obviate manual friction.

THE OBJECT OF THE ANTINOMIES.

It is not within the intended scope of the present essay to consider in detail all the views set forth by the author of the antinomies in relation to their significance or use. The question, however, very naturally arises as to what could have been the inducement to his occupying, in all, over a hundred pages right in the middle of his great work on the Pure Reason in discussing a set of theses and antitheses all of which were, in his view, *essentially* untrue together. The proofs, in themselves considered, he, to be sure, regarded as irrefragable; yet he, nevertheless, believed them to establish nothing substantial in the end, because there was an illusion at the bottom. There was in fact, according to his theory, a profounder fallacy involved than anything in that line which the present writer has attempted to show up. The positive value of propositions thus based could not, therefore, well be supposed to have a large intrinsic importance for one whose great object was to get at the simple and unalloyed truth. At the same time it is not to be admitted that he had not in his own mind a sufficient reason for introducing into the heart of his great work so extended a discussion. If an illusion was involved, there was at the same

time meaning. Perhaps the present writer's view of the meaning was plainly enough hinted at in the introductory part of his essay. But what was there only hinted at is at certain points in his comments brought clearly out by our author himself. To one or two such passages attention will be called directly.

It has already been observed that Kant in his proof of the antinomies employed that indirect kind which makes an absurd conclusion reflect upon a false premise. The antinomies themselves were to be used for a similar retroactive effect. A subject of which two contradictory predicates can be proved at the same time might naturally be suspected of some absurdity in its conception; and such, clearly, was our author's inference.* The existence of mutual counter-predicates with regard to nature were held to reflect upon the conception of nature whence they sprang. There must be something essentially untrue in our ordinary apprehensions of phenomena. The true substrata of matter is, according to Kant, something which neither sense through its space and time methods, nor the understanding through its categories, can lay hold of. It is an inscrutable entity which eludes every effort of our style of perception to grasp it. That there is a basis of reality for the objective world, Kant does not for a moment deny, or even seem to doubt; but all that presentative arrangement which the nature of our sense and understanding gives to the world of objects amounts only to an "orderly phantasmagoria.'" It does not seem strange that a hypothesis of this character should be difficult to prove positively, since there is really no positive ground to work on; nor is it unnatural that its supporter shonld resort to indirect methods of verification.

ZENO'S DIALECTICS—OR ANTINOMIES.

But suppose we let our author speak for himself. "The

* Whether this is a necessary kind of inference in every case, possibly admits of further consideration.

Eleatic Zeno, a subtile dialectician, has indeed been censured by Plato as a wanton sophist, because, in order to show his cleverness, he sought to demonstrate by illusive reasoning, and then again to overthrow by argument just as strong, the *same proposition*. He assumed: God (probably with him this meant nothing but the universe), is neither finite nor infinite; he is neither in motion nor at rest; he is neither like nor unlike any other thing. It seemed to those who criticised him that his object was wholly to deny two contradictory opposites; which would be absurd. But I do not find that this can be justly laid to his charge. The first of these propositions I will soon examine more closely. But as regards the rest, if he by the word *God* meant the universe, he should by all means say that this is neither fixedly present in its place (at rest), nor is changing its position (is moving); since all places are only in the universe, and consequently this itself is *in no place*. If the universe embraces in itself all that exists, then is it also in so far neither similar nor unsimilar to anything else, since out of it there is nothing with which it can be compared. If two propositions opposed to each other presuppose an inadmissible condition, both become null and void in spite of their collision, because the condition under which alone each of these propositions should be valid utterly fails.

"Suppose one should say, every body either smells agreeably, or it smells disagreeably; there is room for a third judgment, namely, that it has no smell at all, and thus both conflicting judgments may be false. If I say it (*i. e.*, every body), is either sweet-smelling, or it is not sweet-smelling, the two judgments are contradictorily opposed; and only the first is [can be] false, but its contradictory opposite, namely, some bodies are not sweet-smelling, embraces in itself, also, the bodies which have no smell. In the previous opposition (*per disparata*) the non-essential condition of the conception of body (*i. e.*, smell), remained in the antithetic judgment, and was not canceled out (or put in condition to be canceled out) by it;

consequently the latter judgment was not the contradictory opposite of the former.

"Accordingly, if I say, either the universe is, in relation to space, infinite, or it is not infinite, then, if the former proposition is false, its contradictory opposite, the universe is not infinite, must be true. Thereby, (however), I should only sublate an infinite universe without positing another, namely, the finite one. But should it be said: the universe is either infinite or finite (non-infinite), both might be false. For I then regard the universe as in itself determined as to magnitude; since even my antithesis—the universe is finite—not merely sublates its infinity (and at the same time perhaps all chance for the existence of an actual infinite), but attributes a [quantitative] determination to the universe as a thing in itself real—falsely, if the universe ought to be presented not at all as a thing-in-itself; consequently, also, not as either infinite or finite as to magnitude. Allow me to call such opposition the *dialectic*, but that of contradiction the *analytic opposition*. Thus, two dialectically opposed judgments can both be false; because one not merely contradicts the other, but says something more than is required for the contradiction.

"If one regards as contradictorily opposite the two propositions; the universe is infinite as to magnitude; the universe is finite as to magnitude, he thereby assumes that the universe (the whole series of phenomena) is a thing-in-itself. For *it* remains, whether I sublate the infinite or finite regression in the series of its phenomena. But in case I take away this presupposition, or this transcendental illusion, and deny that it is a thing-in-itself, the contradictory opposition of the two assumptions changes to a simply dialectic one; and now that the universe does not exist at all in itself (independently of the regressive series of my presentations), it exists neither as an in-itself infinite whole, nor as an in-itself finite one." * * * *

"The antinomy of the pure reason in the case of its cosmologic ideas is thus cleared up by showing it to be simply dialectic,

and to represent a conflict of an illusion which springs from applying to phenomena the idea of absolute totality; which idea has validity only as a condition of things-in-themselves, while phenomena exist only in the mental presentation, and, if they form a series, in the successive regression; but otherwise do not exist."

KANT'S INFERENCE FROM THIS REASONING.

"From this antinomy, conversely, may be drawn a truly useful lesson—critical and instructive, if not dogmatic—namely, an indirect demonstration of the transcendental ideality of phenomena—in case any one was not satisfied with the direct demonstration in the transcendental æsthetic. The proof would consist in this dilemma: If the universe is an in-itself-existing whole, it is either finite or infinite. Now the former as well as the latter of these predicates is false (as appears from the foregoing proof of the antithesis on the one hand, and of the thesis on the other).* Therefore is it also false that the universe (the collective whole of all phenomena) is an in-itself-existing whole. Whence it follows that phenomena generally, outside of our presentations, are naught; which is what we designed to express by attributing *transcendental ideality to them.*"

THE UNIVERSE FOUNDED ON FACT.

Caution is to be used not to misunderstand Kant as meaning by these words that the universe of objects is merely a creature of our imagination. He expressly asserts that injustice would be done him by attributing to him that style of idealism which, admitting the proper reality of space, denies, or at all events doubts, the existence of extended being in it, and so makes room for no clear distinction, on this point, between dream and reality. On the contrary, since his theory, as in effect has been before stated, allows phenomena to be *founded on fact,* he

* This of course refers to the (here omitted), proof of the second part of the first antinomy.

makes the same distinction between real and illusory perceptions as the ordinary common-sense view does. With him it is not the thing-in-itself that lacks essential reality, but only the form of its presentation to a sensuously limited intellect.

It will hence be seen that the theses and antitheses of his antinomies are no analogues of the double roots of quadratic equations, or the double series resulting from certain cases of division. These double roots and double series, instead of calling for a sublation of space or time, often appeal to a construction in one of them for their justification.* Something which may come nearer to being analogous with the Kantian conception of the antinomic illusion can be observed in certain freaks of perspective. All artificial perspective has this much in common with Kant's "phenomena," that it presents a fact under an illusive aspect. But it is not always so easy to make the illusion play a double part. The following case has recently come to my notice. A piece of tri-colored patchwork, formed of lozenge-shaped pieces so arranged that the same colors shall present the same way, will represent cubes, if looked at nearly perpendicularly. As these cubes will have a stair-like arrangement, one corner of each will stand out as if elevated above the average surface. If from this point a diagonal be drawn in either of three directions, it will come to a point where the lower corners of two cubes coincide with an upper corner of a third; and this will appear as a point of depression. Now, to experiment on the perspective in the case, let the eye rest on the general surface of the patchwork until it sees distinctly the cubic shapes, and then set a pin in an outstanding corner of a cube. Then, looking away a moment, or changing your own position, turn the patchwork round so that it will present a different aspect. Another look at it may find the pin standing at a depressed point (between three cubes). If one such turn does not produce this change, try another, and

*Students of Bourdon will recall the "Problem of the Lights," as an example of this kind of justification.

so on, each time looking away for a moment to allow the previous perspective to vanish. After a little practice the change of perspective may be made without any turning of the patchwork or variation of position;* the different views being really independent of the position of either patchwork or observer—except as the lightest-colored patches may incline to represent the side of the cube towards the light. Now the illustrative deduction is that the same point appears with equally good reason in different relations to the figures.† This result, it is plain, comes from the *illusive solidity* involved in the perspective. If once the solidity be granted—and our perspective pretty naturally takes it for granted—the one view with regard to the *point* in question is doubtless just as demonstrably correct as the other; and so we have a sort of antinomy.

In case then it be admitted that space itself is only a grand perspective principle, we might readily infer that it would most likely introduce into our views of the thing-in-itself some kind of contradictions. Still, such an inference from our example might be quite overdrawn; for the latter involves a mixture of fact and fiction (in the ordinary sense of the terms); and it is by no means certain that pure fiction needs to implicate itself in the same inconsistencies as attend such a mixture. Our patchwork possesses solid ground enough to *set a pin in*, which can at best with uncertainty be said of Kant's absolutely unknown thing-in-itself. A foundation in fact of which we know nothing is not a safe one to build on, since for aught we know,

* The changes of perspective may be aided by looking through the hand or a small roll of paper.

† The case is that the point in question, being at the meeting of three lines in a plane, can by a little help from the suggestion of color be looked at as the vertex of a solid angle viewed either externally or internally. In other words, if to the two dimensions of an actual surface a third be mentally added, this third dimension may be projected either towards or from the eye.

At a point in our patchwork where six lines meet (or three intersect), the cubic perspective elevates three lines obliquely from this point, and in like manner depresses three; and the elevations and depressions may be interchanged.

it may at any time sink under us. On the other hand, how can we know in advance that the thing-in-itself, though it have not in its primitive constitution the least element of space or time, cannot for this reason be consistently represented in the *forms* of either? Again, how can we know that the thing-in-itself, though it be in the more radical sense unlimited by space and time forms, may not, nevertheless, imply both, at least in some secondary way? How, indeed, can we be certain that it may not have, *co-ordinately*, its spaceless and timeless modes of being, and its space and time modes? Once more, what assures us that space and time themselves are not the livelier modes of being for the thing-in-itself, and the so-called tangible entities the less lively? How do we know that in the space and time conceptions—which Kant sets down as purely subjective—the subjective and objective do not really meet on common ground, the true laws of expansion and succession thus becoming at once laws of our thought, and laws of existence of the thing-in-itself?*

If caution is to be used in drawing inferences in the direction from the unknown to the known, just as much should unsafe inferences in the opposite direction be guarded against. Not every apparent contradiction in spatial analysis, for instance, is necessarily to be resolved by jumping at the conclusion that space was never meant for anything but a stage on which the great unknown could play its part to the apprehension of limited intellects. Often, as has been hinted above, the difficulty can be easily cleared up on the spot where it occurs. If the problem be to find the side of a square whose area $= a^2$, the answer will be either $+ a$ or $- a$. But if one square be constructed to the right of and above a certain point, and another be constructed to the left of and below the same point, each

* Of course, such questions as the last two are meaningless so long as one holds to the Kantian idea of a *void* and in itself *meaningless* space. But if space be full of meaning, on what ground can we assert that it is not full of force, nay, of energetic force, unseen, to be sure, but not simply for this reason unproductive?

construction (having *a* for the length of side), will answer the purpose equally well; and the conflict will disappear without any appeal to an extra-spatial principle of consistency.

In this connection allow me to introduce one more illustration of the antinomy asserting the finite and infinite age of the universe. Every one knows that parallel lines—for example, those of a railway-track,—viewed longitudinally from a standpoint between or above them, appear to approach each other. In a vertical perspective delineation of horizontal parallels, the representatives of the latter will in fact meet in a point called the point of sight or vanishing point; which point, however, represents an *infinite distance*, though this is not so evident to vision. Indeed, the convergence of the lines themselves appears so rapid near the observer as to suggest that the meeting-point can not be far distant. Even making some allowance for diminution in the rate of convergence for equal lengths as the vision moves on, one would scarce hesitate to conclude that the distance to that point must at all events be finite—as the artist's drawing *seems* to make it. But if a railway be the case considered, a moment's thought will decide that the lines never will meet—even for vision—except as the intermediate space becomes angularly narrower than the *minimum visibile*. Hasty, and yet for certain purposes correct enough, inference leads here to a result not sustained by critical reflection.

In this respect, it seems to the writer that the case bears a strong resemblance to Kant's view of the antinomy just adverted to. In sympathy with that same limited vision of the ancients which arched over the sky with a solid firmament beyond which no eye could penetrate, even the philosophic fantasy, if it be not wary, will find itself fixing a *ne plus ultra* to its conception without sufficient reason; and then, recovering its clearer insight, will reverse the previous judgment.

Let it not, however, be assumed that, because an effort has been made to show that Kant's *proof* of the antinomies may be defective, therefore the antinomies themselves are *necessarily*

untrue in every sense, or indeed that they are certainly incapable of proof. The chief aim of the writer has been, in accordance with the suggestion of Zeller, quoted near the outset, to examine and see whether there may be grounds for exception to Kant's showing in the case, so that his conclusions need not be accepted as a finality.

THE ANTINOMIES NOT MERE RELICS OF THE DEAD PAST.

An additional reason for reviving discussion of this topic lies in the fact that the questions it involves still live. In substance these questions have come down the ages. Those same contradictions, in one form or another, have long puzzled the minds of the thoughtful. Whether such contradictions are more properly to be regarded as collisions of the reason with itself, or as conflicts between sense and reason, may not be so easy to decide. Again, whether their present influence on human thought is more due to the momentum which they have brought down with them from the past, or to the really ambiguous responses of nature herself to the earnest questionings of living science, may be equally hard to determine. But either because thought has not ceased to move considerably in the old ruts, notwithstanding the many new paths, or because it continues to meet with the old obstructions, whatever its course, it has not yet found an altogether smooth passage through the cosmologic ideas. The writer of an article which has come to hand since most of the above was written, and which purports to be an attempt to solve Tyndall's problem with regard to the idea of matter, says near the opening of his discussion, "The problem of philosophy or speculative thinking is precisely to find an idea of matter that does not involve contradiction, the final solution of this fantastic knot of ideas." The "knot of ideas" has just before been described in a way to bring them partly, if not wholly, within the sphere of our special theme. Further on he remarks: "Hence, while the thinking mind analyzes the phenomenon, it must posit its [*i. e.*, matter's] being as the plainly existing unity which lies at the

foundation. And that would be conceded by all, if in this attempt at absolute comprehension thought did not involve itself in logical contradictions which seem insurmountable (cf. Kant's Antinomies and the contradictions shown by Hegel and Herbart in all notions of experience)."* The references at the end of this passage furnish one among the many indications in the course of the Essay, that the writer does not indeed ignore familiarity with the past history of philosophy, while he grapples earnestly with the problems of the living present. Of course no one can accomplish a great deal of successful philosophizing in a single life-time, beginning absolutely *de novo*, though differing degrees of consciousness in relation to the old may attend the mental development of the new.

If there has ever been a time in the history of human thought when the utterances of science ought to show the signs of a new departure—of a looking forward to the things that are before, and a forgetting of the things that are behind—one would suppose the present to be such a time. Probably never before have so many land-marks of opinion suffered obliteration, either partial or entire, in so many minds in an equally brief period. If, however, in spite of all the apparent orbital changes in thought, the same old freaks of vacillation will frequently seize upon the movement, is this fact not to be construed as a sign of some unsolved problem broad and comprehensive in its implications? It is often unfair to pick up evidence from opposing statements from different men, or even from different utterances from the same men, in order to prove the existence of real collisions or inconsistencies. Still, perhaps, evidence of *some* value may be obtained in this way. Every one is familiar with the fact that a few years ago any book treating of matter could not be read far without a meeting with some passage to the effect that matter is, in its substance, subject neither to increase

* See "The Idea of Matter," by K. Th. Bayrhoffer, in Journal of Speculative Philosophy, Jan. 1876. (This No. appeared several weeks after its date.)

nor diminution—that it can be changed only in form or relation, not in its quantum of reality. More recently science, having penetrated farther into the workings of the unseen forces on whose activities the phenomena of matter depend, the conservation of forces, or of energies (*i. e.*, living forces), has taken the place of interest before occupied by the conservation of matter. Now at first sight it would naturally be expected that this new form of the theme of conservation would more than ever promise, not only persistence, but perpetual youth to the universe.

But hearken to the deliverance of science: "Although in a strictly mechanical sense there is a conservation of energy, yet, as regards usefulness or fitness for living beings, the energy of the universe is in process of deterioration." * * * "It will be seen that in this chapter we have regarded the universe, not as a collection of matter, but rather as an energetic agent—in fact, as a lamp. Now it has well been pointed out by Thomson, that looked at in this light, the universe is a system that had a beginning and must have an end; for a process of degradation cannot be eternal." * * * "We are led to look to a beginning in which the particles of matter were in a diffuse, chaotic state, but endowed with the power of gravitation, and we are led to look to an end in which the whole universe will be one equally heated mass, and from which everything like life or motion or beauty will have utterly gone away."*

Not getting entire satisfaction from this book, let us turn to another, whose source is unknown, but which is "attributed" in part to the same authorship as the one from which we have just quoted. Let us see if we can find the *antithesis* to this Kantian *thesis* of the first antinomy. "Thus," say the authors of '*The Unseen Universe*,' "the argument is in favor of the production of the visible universe by means of an intelligent agency residing in the invisible universe.

* Balfour Stewart's Conservation of Energy, p. 153.

"But, again, let us realize the position in which we are placed by the principle of Continuity—we are led by it not only to regard the invisible universe as having existed before the present one, but the same principle drives us to acknowledge its existence in some form as a universe from all eternity. Now we can readily conceive a universe containing conditioned intelligent beings to have existed before the present; nay, to have existed for a time greater than any assignable time, which is the only way in which our thoughts can approach the eternal."

Now if this does not present an absolute contradiction of what was just quoted from the "Conservation of Energy"—and it ought not to do so, for only a few pages earlier in the book now in hand occurs an exact duplicate* in sentiment of what we just now characterized as "this Kantian thesis"—then the apparent opposition is cleared up by the consideration that in the "thesis" we had in view only our "ephemeral" universe, while in the antithetic presentation we have a series or system of universes destined to furnish to progressive intelligence "an endless vista, reaching from eternity to eternity."

An all-pervading ether-world, the medium of light and heat waves, may be regarded—according to one form of the proposed hypothesis—as an entity a grade higher than the visible one, and may at the same time be conceived as that from which the visible has been evolved, and into which it is returning—somewhat like, to compare great things with small, the ocean of the ancients, out of which the sun rose in the morning and in which it set at evening; only that the rising and setting of the visible universe may be conceived as a gradual rather than a sudden event. In beginning to apprehend the ether-world as the grand source of our evanescent phenomenal one, are we indeed

* "In fine, it [the visible universe], will become old and effete, no less truly than the individual—it is a glorious garment, this visible universe, but not an immortality—we must look elsewhere if we are to be clothed with immortality, as with a garment."—*The Unseen Universe*, p. 144.

getting a glimpse of Kant's thing-in-itself? Perhaps so; but we must not be too much elated as if the thing-in-itself were almost in hand, for the end of the search is not yet. The ether-world needs accounting for just as much as the visible one. We are bound to discover a super-ethereal world still more intensely invisible as the ground of the ethereal, and so on indefinitely.

If such a theory does not remove the bounds set to the regressive historic series in *our* universe by the Kantian and Stewartian "thesis," there would certainly seem to be presented a *continuation* of that series into the *antecedents* of our universe; so that thought is no longer bounded in the regression. In effect, then, the antinomy would appear to be annulled, or if not the antinomy itself, the theoretic hindrance to an unbounded regression, on which Kant's proof of "thesis" was founded. Still, as this is all mere hypothesis, we can only hope the future *may* disclose a practical solution of the difficulty.

But I would, in closing, like to ask, in what I understand to be the spirit of a recent American criticism* on "The Unseen Universe" from which we have just now quoted, why we are obliged to divide up into separate objects of thought the various orders of existence which we have seen to be classed as universes. Why may we not as well conceive the whole as one grand system, with a continuous evolution of the more visible from the less visible, as well as a continuous return of the former to the latter—so that the whole movement should be a grand circulation, or, if you please, vibration—a state of things feebly epitomized by the changes of water, which now evanishes from sight into etheroid exaltation, and anon returning—passing rapidly or slowly through various grades of tangibility—*may* (at its icy extreme), appear in brotherhood with petrode grossness?

All this will doubtless prove in time to be an extremely crude style of speculation, but we are bound to own it as belonging to the living present.

*See articles by John Fiske on the "Unseen World" in February and March Nos. of Atlantic Monthly.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HARPER'S MONTHLY FOR APRIL. A magazine of such wide circulation and solid merit needs no special commendation. The April number is full of interest. The illustrated articles are well adapted to stir up the national spirit in this Centennial of our nation's independence. The Romance of the Hudson, by Benson J. Lossing, and Old Philadelphia, by Rebecca Harding Davis, present reminiscences of the two great States, New York and Pennsylvania. Another interesting paper on The First Century of the Republic, traces the progress made in the fine arts. Daniel Deronda, by George Eliot, is continued. The other articles are of the usual varied and interesting character. *Harper's* is the metropolitan magazine of America. It covers every department and is adapted to every variety of taste. Its illustrations are instructive to the young and entertaining to the aged. Every page is marked by solid worth. It breathes a fresh and pure spirit, and cultivates a love for nature and for the great and good of every age and every clime. The amount of instruction conveyed and the pleasure afforded by each successive number are well worth the year's subscription.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for April presents the usual variety of interesting articles. The Carnival of Rome, Private Theatricals, and Old Woman's Gossip, are continued. Among the practical articles are, Rural Architecture, by William Flagg, and Liernur's Pneumatic System of Sewerage, by George Waring, Jr. The articles, At Lutzen and Early American Novelists, are of historical interest. Recent Literature, Art and Music, is fully up to the standard. The Atlantic Monthly moves in a somewhat different field from that of Harper's Magazine. It is published at Boston, by H. O. Houghton and Company; New York: Hurd and Houghton. Terms—Yearly subscription, $4,00. Single number, 35 cents.

COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. Intended for popular use. By Rev. D. D. Whedon, LL. D. Vol. IV. I. Corinthians; II. Timothy. New York: Nelson and Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1875.

This volume is a duodecimo of 460 double-column pages, uniform with Dr. Whedon's other volumes on the Old Testament and also the New Testament. In one more volume, he says, he will finish his commentary on the New Testament.

THE WESLEYAN DEMOSTHENES: Comprising Select Sermons of Rev. Joseph Beaumont. With a sketch of his character. By Rev. J. B. Wakeley, D. D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1875.

The title is rather pretentious, we should say, judging from the book itself, unless the author meant to convey the impression that it did not require anything extraordinary to entitle a public speaker to be a Demosthenes in the Wesleyan body. The sketch of the life is interesting, though it brings out nothing beyond the order or routine in the life of many a minister. The sermons appended show a ready flow of language, an active imagination, and a rich glow of feeling. They were no doubt delivered with a good deal of natural power. But beyond this there is but little to notice. The description of the entrance of Abel into heaven, the silence of all the angels when he, the first saint, began his song of praise, is all pretty enough as a picture of the fancy; but what is the use of men attempting to picture such scenes in the other world when no revelation from God has given us any such information. The very Epistle (Hebrews), from which the text, in part, is selected, tells us, "these all died in the faith, *not having received the promise*, that they should not, apart from us, be made perfect." And yet the preacher describes heaven here just as though the work of redemption had already been accomplished, and all the scenes in it were already clearly seen by Abel. "*There is silence in heaven.* But, hark! hark! the lonely voice swells on the breeze: Unto Him" (as he points to the throne of the Redeemer), "unto Him that loved me, and washed me in His own blood, be riches, and strength, and wisdom, and blessing, and honor. Amen and amen. O, how these notes float, and swell, and echo, and reverberate through the world of light! It was the first song sung by a redeemed spirit. Halleluia." Well, that will do as a specimen of this Demosthenes. It is always best to confine our preaching to what is revealed, to what we know, rather than indulge in fancies, and fancies, too, that set the whole order of revelation and redemption at defiance and reduce it to confusion. The older one becomes, if he is growing in wisdom, the more guardedly and earnestly will he think and speak of the spiritual world.

CHRISTIANS AND THE THEATER. By J. M. Buckley. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1875.

A very sensible little book of 156 pages, and worthy of being read by every Christian, especially every Christian parent. To our mind it carries more power than any number of passionate and violent onslaughts, such as those of the Rev. Talmadge in Brooklyn. The writer first gives the position of the Roman, Greek, and Protestant

Churches in reference to the subject. He might have included the attitude of the Primitive Church with profit. Then he presents very fairly and concisely the arguments for and against the theater. This is followed by a very sensible dissertation on the nature of the Christian life and its relation to amusements. A brief description of the leading plays that have been put upon the stage in New York for the last three years, and then the argument goes on to its conclusion. We agree in the main with the author, and commend his calm, sensible, and forcible treatment of a subject which is of great practical interest to the Church in these days, especially in the cities and large towns.

THE REVISED COMPENDIUM OF METHODISM: Embracing the history and present condition of its various branches in all countries; with a Defense of its doctrinal, governmental, and prudential peculiarities. By Rev. James Porter, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

A neat volume of 500 pages, presenting a great amount of valuable information, statistics, etc., in regard to the Methodist denomination. Methodism has certainly become a historical power in modern Christianity. It is the largest denomination, numerically, or if not the largest next to the largest, in this country. In foreign countries it is small. It owes its origin to something like a revival in the English Church among some pious students at Oxford, among whom as leaders were the brothers John and Charles Wesley. At the same time there was a broader preparation for the rise of Methodism, in a negative way at least, in the general deadness of the English Church, in the spread of deism, and the inability of the established Church to overcome its opposition. This book is suited for Sunday-schools, but may be placed also in the family. It is of special interest to Methodists, but it conveys information that is important for all who desire to study the movements in modern Church history.

THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JULY, 1876.

ART. I.—WHAT CONSTITUTES MEMBERSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST?

IN the Advisory Council of the Congregational Church, held in Brooklyn some time ago, the following article or declaration was adopted:

"That a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ by vows and acts which are made directly to Christ Himself, in a covenant which in its nature is everlasting, and from the obligations of which he can never be released by man."

This declaration is in full accord with the early acts and declarations of the Puritan Church in New England. When the early settlers of the Company of Massachusetts Bay came together to organize a church, they constituted themselves into a church by a covenant. "We covenant with our Lord and one with another; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, etc. We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be His people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits." After going through with this covenant, of which we have given the opening words, they proceeded to choose their pastors, and ordained them to their office through the laying on of hands by certain brethren appointed by the church for that purpose.

As a number of persons thus constituted themselves a church by an act called a covenant, so individuals constituted themselves members of the church by the same act. No one was received into the communion of the church unless he could give evidence in the way of experience that he was regenerate. But the particular act by which he became a member of the church was a covenant in which he bound himself to the Lord, and, so far as appears, bound the Lord to him.

This idea of the covenant was fundamental in the early Puritan Church. As the church was constituted by a covenant, so when it grew cold and dead it was to be revived by a renewal of the covenant. The Reforming Synod of 1679, held at Boston, among other things, provided that the people assembled in their respective churches should renew their covenant obligation to God: "That we will (Christ helping), endeavor every one of us to reform our heart and life, by seeking to mortify all our sins and laboring to walk more closely with God, than ever yet we have done, etc., etc." Various religious meetings were held, as well as days of fasting and prayer, and then one day was set apart for the *special* solemnity. "In the forenoon, the minister of the place, after praying and preaching with reference to the occasion, proceeded to read the covenant, to which the members of the church then expressed their assent, the men by lifting their hands, the women by merely rising. . . . In the afternoon, it was usual for another minister to preach and inculcate the obligations of the covenant."

From this it appears that a sort of sacramental character was attached to the covenant. By it they first dedicated themselves to the service of God; by it they renewed such dedication. It was a sacred thing between them and God, a witness and testimony set up, to which they could turn for strength in all their ways.

In the emphasis thus laid on the covenant there seems to be an agreement with Scripture. The idea of the covenant is prominent there from the beginning to the end. And it is

known that at one time the Reformed theology organized itself on this idea as its basis. Coccejus, the principal founder of the Federal School, as it was called, found the covenant to be central in the history of redemption. He adopted this in place of the abstract divine decree, which had ruled so largely in Reformed theology previously.

The Bible presents to us the movement of redemption through different phases of its history. What is the central principle of revelation? What idea is moulding in Scripture? How can all their parts be reduced to unity? It was in seeking to answer these questions that Coccejus hit upon the idea of the covenant. This would explain the original relation of God to man. God entered into a covenant with Adam, engaging to bestow upon him eternal life on condition of obedience, but death as the penalty of disobedience. This was denominated the *covenant of works.* It affected not only our first parents who were the immediate agents, but they stood as representatives of the whole race.

When man fell, God established a new covenant, the *covenant of grace*, called so because in it God engages to bestow salvation upon man as a free gift of His grace. Man's salvation now, therefore, is no longer dependent on works of obedience. By these he never can satisfy the law. He is called upon to give up all reliance upon his own works, or his own righteousness, and accept the righteousness offered to him. This is signed and sealed to him, if he believe, on the ground of the covenant which God made with His Son, Jesus Christ.

This idea now runs through the whole Bible. It explains the meaning of the covenant made with Abraham, and renewed further on with Moses. The children of Israel were covenant people. When they finally rejected Christ and the Gospel was preached to Gentile as well as Jew, this same idea is taken up and continued. God still has a covenant people, gathered into one out of every nation. We might refer here to numerous passages of Scripture to point out how prominent a place the

idea of the covenant occupies in its pages. We shall refer to these only in a general way, however, as we proceed to speak now of the *Scripture view of the Covenant*, and then compare with it the New England or Congregational conception of it.

The word rendered covenant, as is known, signifies both agreement and testament. In the Old Testament it is used in both senses. In the New Testament it is used chiefly in the sense of testament. It is unnecessary to refer to particular passages to show this. In the epistle to the Hebrews this is its signification generally if not always. Without dwelling on this point, however, we direct attention to the fact that, as referred to in Scripture, the covenant originates with God, and not with man. "I will make *my* covenant with you." "The covenant which *I made* with your fathers." So all through it is referred to as God's covenant. From the time He set His bow in the clouds down through the ages, God makes and keeps His covenant with His people. And this must be so, for the blessings which He engages to bestow in man's salvation originate with Him and come from Him alone. Man is helpless. He lies ruined in the fall. He has no ability to render himself acceptable to God. He can offer no terms. Salvation is a free gift offered to man without any merit on his part.

Now, the idea of the covenant is just this, that God, out of pure love and mercy, for Christ's sake, engages to bestow the gifts and graces of salvation upon man, and in doing so He at the same time ordains the conditions on which they are to be received. Indeed, we may say that the covenant in original constitution is without conditions so far as man is concerned. The conditions pertain originally to Christ, who wrought out our salvation. Man is merely a recipient. In order to save him it was necessary that Christ should fulfill certain conditions. Only in and through Him could salvation be provided for man. The opposition of the kingdom of evil, and the power of sin with all its bitter consequences, had to be overcome in the sphere of our fallen life. A new fountain of life had to be

opened in the bosom of humanity, before man could be rescued from his lost condition and restored to communion with God. As Christ fulfilled all the conditions necessary for our salvation, it is usually stated in theology that the covenant of grace was a covenant which God made with the Son. There is some truth in the statement; there are passages which record the glory which Christ should inherit in the salvation of His people as the reward of His obedience. But our objection to speaking of a covenant or agreement between the Father and the Son is, that it implies too much of a dualism, too wide a distinction or even separation, in the relation of the persons in the holy Trinity.

There are, however, conditions on the part of man that must be fulfilled, not in order to constitute the covenant, or give it validity in its own constitution, but in order that it may be effective for man. It must be accepted by man. This, of course, presupposes that it has been made and offered to him. It is complete when offered, just as a will or testament is complete before it is accepted by the person in whose favor it is made. But its effects can be rendered nugatory by a refusal to accept it. So the covenant made with Abraham might have been rendered of none effect by a refusal to believe and accept it. In like manner the blessings offered and guaranteed in the new covenant or testament may be refused. Faith is the necessary condition to the acceptance of the benefits of the covenant. Then the terms of the covenant are such as to require a life of obedience in order that the full benefit may be realized. In the Old Testament the children of Israel were required to renounce all other gods and walk in obedience to Jehovah. A failure to do so would not, indeed, nullify the covenant, but it would render its effects null and void. And in the New Testament the covenant requires, in like manner, a life of obedience to the commands of Christ. If this be wanting, the covenant still stands, but its benefits are turned into a curse.

Looking, now, at this aspect of the subject, there is room for

a covenant in the way of a vow or act on the part of man. So in all confessions he is required to enter into an engagement to renounce all sin, and accept God as his God and Father. It is only this element of the covenant that Congregationalism seems to recognize, and here lies the great error.

The true conception of the covenant in its general use in the Word of God is, that *it is an act of God to man*, whereas the conception in the Congregational Church is, that *it is an act of man to God.* The error nullifies the true nature of the covenant. This we shall see more fully after awhile.

Meantime, we remark that the covenant which God has made includes signs and seals which God has appointed and ordained as necessary. In the covenant made with Noah, the sign was the bow in the cloud. This bow had no doubt appeared before, but now, by divine appointment, it acquired a new character. Thenceforth it was to be a sign that God would not again destroy the earth with a flood. The sign of the Abrahamic covenant was circumcision. This was made indispensable. The soul that was not circumcised was to be cut off. In the New Testament the sacramental sign and seal is Christian Baptism. This is in like manner regarded as indispensable. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."

Of course, we are not to regard all this as a mere arbitrary appointment on the part of God. The sacrament of the New Testament represents and signifies the objective side of salvation. It signifies the act of God towards man, and his faith expresses the subjective side, the response of man towards God.

The essential importance of regeneration is acknowledged. The Puritan Church not only acknowledged it, but seemed to lay special stress upon it. And they would no doubt have acknowledged that regeneration is a work which God performs in man. This is generally acknowledged in the Puritan and Presbyterian theology of the present day. Man is passive in re-

generation. He can contribute nothing to it. But in connecting with regeneration a certain kind of experience they confounded it very much with conversion. When application was made to connect with the Church, they required the individual to present certain evidences of his regeneration, drawn from his experience, and generally the time and place when it occurred. In their earlier history Church and State were united, so that in order to be a citizen a person had to be a member of the Church; and some had experiences written for them by others and committed them to memory and related them in order to be accepted.

This was, of course, a different conception of regeneration from that which had prevailed in the previous ages of the Church, in the primitive period, and also we think in the time of the Reformation. Previously regeneration was referred to Baptism, and distinguished from a subjective change in conscious experience. This was the case, it is generally agreed, in the primitive Church. That it was so also in the period of the Reformation, appears from the fact that in the Confessions and theology of that time regeneration is considered, not separately as in modern theology, but in connection with baptism. The Heidelberg Catechism, for instance, says nothing on the subject of regeneration in so many words, while it is clear and distinct in regard to faith, justification, and conversion.

It is not to be supposed that such an important subject as regeneration would be overlooked or omitted. It occupies large attention and space in modern theology and confessionalism. May we not account for this by saying that they treated the subject of regeneration in connection with baptism? They did not omit what in these days is so generally understood by regeneration, faith, justification, and conversion, but they regarded regeneration as meaning something different.

And, if we are right in this statement, we believe they had the New Testament with them in their idea of regeneration. The word seldom occurs in the New Testament, and never, we

believe, in the more modern sense. The passage in St. John iii. 3, which is generally quoted, does not use the word "born again," or regeneration, although it is so translated. The word used is "born from above." Yet, allowing that it is susceptible of the translation given, and means the same thing, it does not appear that it there signifies conversion. The presumption is the other way, as gathered from the explanatory words, "born of water and the Spirit." That the Saviour there refers to Christian baptism has at least as much weight of authority on its side as the view that He does not. In Tit. iii. 5 *palingenesia* means regeneration, and in Matt. xix. 28 it means restoration or glorification.

We know that it is asserted that the doctrine of regeneration as involving a subjective change, equivalent to instantaneous conversion, is derived from other passages which teach the substance of it, though not in just so many words—passages which speak of the new man, new creature, etc. But the question is whether all these passages cannot be as well understood and explained by distinguishing in the old Church-sense between regeneration and conversion.

It might seem from this, then, that the difference is only one about words. If the Puritan theology, for instance, understands by regeneration, what we claim the New Testament and the early Church understood by regeneration and conversion, thus including both in one, what difference is there after all? We reply, a great deal. For in thus combining the two in one they have come to identify them, and thus the old doctrine of baptism is destroyed, especially in the case of children. This we know has been the case in fact.

Already in the time of the Reformation, when the subjective side of redemption was made so prominent in the doctrine of justification by faith, there was developed a tendency to fall away from the sacramental side of the Christian religion. The Anabaptists arose, who set aside infant baptism, their adherents rapidly increased, and it required the firmness and de-

cision of Luther, when Carlstadt yielded to their views and even Melanchthon was astounded, to put down the heresy at Wittemburg. Though the Reformation Churches retained infant baptism, yet the tendency has been strong in certain sections to undervalue and neglect it. The early Puritans retained it, but they could see no practical significance in it as connected in any way with regeneration, or membership in the Church. They felt the difficulty somewhat, indeed, when the idea of half-covenanting was brought in to entitle persons to citizenship in the Commonwealth. When the clamor for citizenship became too strong to resist, they effected a compromise by admitting to citizenship those who would assume the vows of their baptism, and their children, though this act in itself still did not admit them to membership in the Church.

But where the true significance of Baptism is lost sight of, it is but natural that it should be neglected. And this we find to be the case in certain denominations by their own confession. To the same cause we may attribute the disposition in certain sects to fall over entirely to the Baptist theory and give up infant baptism altogether. This, we think, is one of the practical consequences of identifying regeneration and conversion. There are others which will appear as we proceed.

What we have now referred to incidentally in our criticism of the Puritan view of regeneration, viz., infant baptism, or baptism in general, we now urge more specially as a defect in their view of what constitutes Church membership. Baptism is altogether left out of the requirements for Church membership. This does not mean that they did not observe baptism, but that they did not reckon it among the things that constituted a person a member of the Church. To show this we refer to the deliverance of the Advisory Council quoted in the beginning of this article, viz., "a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ *by vows and acts which are made directly to Christ Himself*, in a covenant which in its nature is everlasting, etc." These words *might* mean, that in the covenant which God insti-

tutes with His people in Christian baptism, or including baptism, a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ by vows and acts, etc. But we do not believe it was intended so to be understood. We understand it to mean that the covenant is formed when a person performs the vows and acts by which he is constituted a member of the Church of Christ. The Puritan would not mean by this, of course, that God has nothing to do in constituting a person a member of the Church. He would doubtless hold that it is only by divine grace that any one can repent and believe, and thus become prepared for the vows and acts referred to. He would no doubt hold that in the transaction of making a covenant by the person, God accepts the offering and holds the engagement as binding, and blesses it. But it still remains, that the act by which a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ is man's act towards God, instead of God's act towards man.

Here it is we take issue with this deliverance of the Congregational Council. We believe that a person becomes a member of the Church rather by an act of God to man than by an act of man to God. Of course, both sides are concerned in the transaction. There is an act of profession of faith requisite on the part of man, either by himself, or, as in infant baptism, by his parents or sponsors. That is a condition of Church membership—an act of man towards Christ. But upon fulfilling this condition, it is God that constitutes him a member of His Church. This would be true even if we should leave baptism out of view, and consider only that it is by regeneration that a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ. [It will be kept in mind that by "the Church of Christ" a distinction is made from a particular Church, the mode of obtaining membership in which is referred to in another article by the Council]. Except a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. If then in regeneration God is the actor, if God regenerates men, we should rather say, "a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ by an operation which God

performs towards him," than an act which he performs towards God.

But when we come to the New Testament the evidence is overwhelming, we think, that baptism was the rite or sacrament by which men were received as members of the Church. Repentance and faith and confession of Christ were conditions on the part of man, but baptism was the act of God, performed in His name by His ministers, by which they were received and constituted members of the Church. Only refer to the cases mentioned in the New Testament bearing on this point. When St. Peter, on the day of Pentecost, preached to the assembled multitude, and they asked, "What must we do?" he replied, "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." "Then they that gladly received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls." When the Gospel was preached in Samaria they that believed were baptized. When Philip explained the prophet to the eunuch and instructed him in the Christian faith, he asked to be baptized, and upon his confession Philip baptized him. When Peter preached the Gospel to Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, and the Holy Ghost came upon him,* he baptized him straightway. So in the case of Paul, who was baptized by Ananias, and so of the Philippian jailer. It seemed that the end to be reached whenever the Gospel was preached was baptism. This stands out everywhere as the sacrament of their reception into the Church.

This being the case, we might infer that baptism is not a mere empty sign, nor a mere symbol. It is often said, even by those who still observe this sacrament, that while it is right to observe it because our Lord instituted it, yet it is only an outward rite, and has nothing to do with the essentials of the

*The only case recorded in the New Testament where the Holy Spirit was given *before* baptism, and no doubt for the reason that it was a special case, the first calling of a Gentile.

Christian life. The early Puritans observed it, but they make no reference to it in connection with becoming a member of the Church. But when we turn to the Scripture passages that refer to it, they speak of it as having very important significance.

It is called "the laver of regeneration."* "Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism unto death." "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, etc." "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, etc." "That He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word." "Buried with Him in baptism, etc." These and other similar passages which might be quoted certainly regard baptism as more than a mere form or symbol. It has deep significance as related to the Christian life.

When we consider, moreover, that Puritanism made so much account of the *covenant*, it is the more remarkable that no reference to baptism is made in connection with becoming a member of the Church. It is generally allowed that baptism in the New Testament takes the place of circumcision in the Old Testament. As circumcision was the sign of the covenant then, so now baptism is the sign and seal of the new covenant. It would be thought that where the idea of the covenant is made so prominent, baptism would have a place. But such, as we have seen, is not the case.

Let us see now what defect is here involved in the Puritan theory of Christianity. We may characterize it as overlooking *the significance of the objective side of Christianity.*

In our natural human life there are two sides or factors, the objective and the subjective, the general and the individual. Every individual life starts in the general life of the race. The individual life is a product of the race life in the bosom of which he is born into the world. This general life determines him as a human being, while his particular life, or personality, determines his individuality. His individual or personal life is pre-

* Titus iii. 5; Rom. vi. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 21; John iii. 5; Eph. v. 26; Col. ii. 12.

determined by the race life in its general nature or characteristics. When the race life, or human nature became infected by sin, every individual was born infected by sin. Hence, every human being is born into the world as a sinner. Original sin comes from the infection of human nature; actual sin is the result of personal sinful acts. It is not difficult to see here what significance the general or race life has in the development of personal existence.

So, also, in the relation of the individual to the family we have the same truth set forth. The general life of the family forms the type of the individual member. There are certain traits or characteristics which reveal themselves in the individual, while at the same time they are taken up and moulded by his individual development. Nationality in relation to the citizen is another example. The general here moulds the individual so far as the general type of his life is concerned. A person born in England is different from one born in Germany or France. This general life of the nation is the broad bosom in which his personal life is nourished. He takes it up, so to speak, in his individual development. Two factors thus come together, and both are essential in his life.

An individual is constituted a member of the human race in his birth. He is passive here so far as any conscious personal activity is concerned. The idea of the *new birth* implies this analogy. In Christianity we have a renewed humanity, which forms the basis for regenerated individuals. Christianity as a new life proceeding from Christ by the Holy Spirit is a previous condition necessary to the birth of individual Christians. The general life here also determines the general type and character of the individual Christian. He is baptized into Jesus Christ, into His death and resurrection, and therefore he must die unto sin and rise with Christ unto newness of life. In this respect all Christians are alike. They all have the same Spirit, while each develops his own individuality as a follower of Christ.

We may illustrate our meaning still further by referring to the case of a foreigner in becoming a naturalized citizen. Certain conditions on his part are necessary before he can become a citizen. He is required to reside a certain length of time in the country. He must make his declaration of intention. But the authority which constitutes him a citizen is the act of the State, not his. He cannot constitute himself a citizen by any acts or declarations on his part with reference to the State. The authority which constitutes him a citizen comes from the State. In the same way, according to our view, a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ by an act of the Lord towards him. We would just reverse the deliverance of the Congregational Council. This does not set aside the necessity for vows and acts on the part of the individual towards Christ. These are necessary conditions on his part. But no vows or acts of man can constitute him a Christian. This must be accomplished by the grace of God and the act of Christ through His ministering servants who act in His name.

We meet two systems here that are very different in their theories of Christianity and the Christian life. The one provides for infant membership in the Church of Christ, the other virtually excludes it. If a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ by vows and acts which he performs, then there is no room for infants becoming members of the Church. They must in all cases grow up outside its pale, and come into it first when they have reached the age of self-conscious experience, adult age. But if a person becomes a member of the Church of Christ by an act of God towards man, then we can say, "the promise is to you *and your children.*" Room is made for the reception of infants into the covenant, in order that they may be trained up in the Church, not out of it.

This then gives us two different systems of Christian training. The unchurchly theory comes to the child as outside of the covenant and treats it as a heathen. The effort is to lead it from this state of alienation towards Christ, and it can only

become His when it is capable of conscious experience. In order that this experience may be marked and radical, it is considered by many that the sinful nature should be first developed. Then when the transition is made there is a sudden conversion distinguished by time, place, and marked experience. The contradiction involved in this theory appeared, as we have seen, in the early history of the Puritan theocracy. They established a Christian State, or a State Church, and yet they were constantly training alien children, rearing a class who were outside the State as well as of the Church. It contradicted the true idea of a State as well as the true idea of the Church. If their children were not citizens of the Commonwealth, how could they train them in loyalty to the State, and how could they claim from them fealty and devotion to her interests? They owed none. They were aliens. The theory broke down in the end, and the Puritan theocracy became a thing of the past. The authority of England intervened to correct the error in regard to citizenship in the State, but the theory still prevailed in regard to the Church. In later times, Dr. Bushnell sought to correct this theory and counteract its pernicious influence by advancing his theory of Christian culture. He saw the error. His broad, penetrating mind took in the idea of the twofold life of man. He sought to find a basis for the development of individual Christian life in the bosom of a general life, but he failed to distinguish properly between the commencement of natural life in the bosom of a Christian family and the meaning of baptism for the Christian child. Puritanism has sought to get rid of the difficulty by developing humanitarian views. It has tended towards a denial of original sin. Thus the wrong position has perpetuated itself.

The Churchly theory, on the other hand, regards the baptized child as belonging to the covenant and Church of God. It has been constituted such by God in His covenant, the expression of which is Christian baptism. The baptized child is

trained up as belonging to the Lord. The first question asked in the Heidelberg Catechism is, "What is thy only comfort in life and in death?" And the answer is the response and confession of the baptized child, "That I am not my own but belong unto my faithful Saviour, Jesus Christ, etc." On the basis of this consciousness of an objective salvation at hand and belonging to it, the child is to be trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The injunction, "Children, obey your parents *in the Lord*" has full force and meaning. Of course, the necessity of making this salvation its own in the way of subjective experience by repentance and faith, the necessity of conversion in all that it involves, remains. But there is here a vantage ground to begin with. It furnishes the strongest motives for a Christian life. The child is to be taught to love God, not in order that God may love it, but because God loves it and has redeemed it from sin and death. This was already the principle set forth in the giving of the law, "I am the Lord thy God." Therefore, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." It is the motive appealed to in the new Testament. "Ye are children of the light; walk as children of light." Any one can see the difference in the two systems, and it is not difficult to see, we think, which is in accordance with the Scriptures.

One might suppose, therefore, that when the pilgrim fathers landed in the new world and assembled to organize themselves into a Church, they would have planted themselves on the covenant of their baptism, or at least referred to it in connection with the occasion. But not a word appears on the subject. They undertake to enter into covenant with God, and upon the strength of their vows and acts towards Him, they seem to regard themselves as entitled to the divine favor. Imagine a party of Christians in the Apostles' day, or in the time of the primitive Church, settling in a new country and commencing a Church organization. They might have renewed their vows of fealty and fidelity to the Lord, but they would certainly have

first of all recognized their membership in the Church through Christian baptism.

As in the beginning so in the progress of the Christian life the covenant of God in baptism performs an important part. When the New England Churches declined in piety and a revival was needed and sought for, they ordered that the people should come together and renew *their* covenant. They would make a new engagement with the Lord and give Him additional promises, although they seem not to have very faithfully kept the first. Certainly vows and promises are right and proper in their place, and the Lord will not despise them. But the question is whether they here occupy their proper place. That on which we are primarily to rest our faith for renewal or revival of our Christian life is, not our own resolution or promise, but God's covenant love and mercy. For recovery from sin or decline in the Christian life after baptism, the Roman Church instituted a new sacrament, the sacrament of penance. Luther, in opposition to this, taught that the sacrament of baptism was effectual not only for the period of life preceding, but for the whole life. And if we fall into sin subsequent to baptism, we are to return in penitence to the grace of our baptism. There is reason in that. God's covenant in baptism is an unchanging, unfailing covenant. "God is faithful who hath called you to the fellowship of His Son Jesus Christ." We may fail in fulfilling on our side the conditions of His covenant and so forfeit the blessing, but in seeking to recover ourselves we are to lay hold of the divine faithfulness, not our own resolutions. It is in the promise of the Lord that we find a strength to support us. Here is room for the exercise of faith, and it is through faith we are to renew our strength. It is true that faith without works is dead, and for a true revival of religion there should be evidence of sincere repentance in the works of the life. "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves we have Abraham for our father." A mere formal dependence on baptism is not sufficient. But

a living faith in our calling is not of this character. It, and it alone, lays hold of our true strength in God, and here the revival of Christian life must begin. There can be but one birth into the kingdom of heaven. That birth is from above, not from us. The proper way, therefore, is, casting aside all dependence on ourselves to restore faith in the covenant mercy of God. Here is the source of all true strength. If we despair of our calling and God's mercy, there is nothing to save us. But the promise is that His covenant will not fail. "Yea, let God be true and every man a liar." The unfaithfulness of man does not nullify the faithfulness of God. Here is the true stronghold. But the Puritans reversed the order in their procedure. They began with man and his promises. There is in this an element of Pelagianism, and whether found in the Roman or Puritan Church, it carries in it here an element of weakness.

The old Augustinian doctrine sounds the true note for the ages on this point. Our whole salvation, from beginning to end, rests not in ourselves but in God. Therefore, we must regard as primary, not what we do towards God, but what He does towards us. To reverse this is, in one way or another, to rest in works, not in faith. "We are saved by grace through faith, and that not of ourselves; it is the gift of God." Puritanism has a strong tendency to rest in works. It has in it a strong dash of the old Judaism. In opposing ecclesiasticism and antinomianism it goes to the opposite extreme of gloomy devotion to works. Even in the very heart of their own development in New England there seemed to be a sense of this in the antinomian controversy, as it was called, brought on by the persistent and no doubt imprudent efforts of the noted Ann Hutchinson. Puritanism never fully enjoyed the largeness and freedom of the old Reformation doctrine of justification by faith.

We should not, indeed, be insensible to the danger that threatens from either side. There is such a thing as resting on

the objective or sacramental side of Christianity to the neglect of the subjective or experimental side. Romanism in this way developed an ecclesiasticism which became in the end a dead formalism. It was a repetition of the old carnal Judaism which rested content with mere carnal descent from Abraham. Our Saviour severely rebuked it. When they claimed Abraham for their father in this sense, He said, "Ye are of your father the devil, and the works of your father ye do." The Episcopal Church of England, and to some extent the German Church, have not been altogether free from this danger. Even in our own country there have been times and places in which the sum of religion was regarded too much as consisting merely in being baptized and going to the Lord's Supper. Experimental religion was pushed into the back-ground.

But we should not be insensible to the danger on the other side. Subjectivism reveals a weakness too, and its fruits are none the less bad. In point of true morality New England has nothing to boast over the dead formalism of the German Churches. They could boast of great experience to which perhaps the German was a stranger, but along with that all sorts of dishonest cunning revealed itself. The old-fashioned German honesty was shocked by the dishonest trickery of the demoralized Yankee. The great New England revivals did not serve to root out this weakness of their people. And we not unfrequently find the greatest revival excitements closely joined with all sorts of immorality. But these evils, neither on the one side nor the other, should be charged to Christianity as such.

Puritanism was a one-sided development from the beginning. It laid all stress on the experimental side of Christianity and overlooked the sacramental or Churchly. It lacked the breadth and depth of the original Reformation life. It has been more or less provincial and narrow in its tendencies in this new world. We are not blind to its great virtues. It has unquestionably been the leading and controlling power in this country. Its in-

domitable activity, its liberal encouragement of education, as shown in the universities and colleges of New England, its princely charities, all these are certainly deserving of the highest praise. But Puritanism, as it grew in England, was only one phase of the religious tendencies of the age. It needs to be complemented by the broader Christianity of the original Reformation. The Churchly side of Christianity is better maintained in the religious bodies of the Middle States, and here it is we are to look for the more lasting type of American Christianity.

A confirmation of the general plea we have made in this article for a recognition of the general in Christianity, the sacramental and Churchly element, will be found in the stress laid upon *the Kingdom of heaven*, as proclaimed by our Saviour. The establishment or coming of this Kingdom was necessary for individual conversion. Men were summoned to repent because the Kingdom of heaven was at hand. But we shall not pursue this point at present. We think the deliverance of the Brooklyn Council should be so changed or amended as to assert that persons become members of the Church of Christ by an act of God towards them, to which they make the response of faith and obedience of the life. The covenant is of God's ordainment, not man's. T. G. A.

Art. II.—THE CENTRAL PRINCIPLE OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. S. N. CALLENDER, D. D.

Any one who has carefully remarked the discussions of Christian doctrine, for the last twenty-five or thirty years, in the Protestant Church in this country, cannot but be struck with a pleasing surprise at the real progress which has been effected. It was about a third of a century ago, that the slumbers of subjectivism were disturbed by a challenge as to the validity of its assumptions, and a call to make them good. Many of us recollect the impatient spirit it manifested, and the magisterial bearing with which it denounced the intrusion upon its quiet. It saw, or at least it thought it saw, in the claims of objective faith as these were then protested, not only the ghost of the old frigid orthodoxy of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, but the still more fearful spirit of mediæval Christianity—of Romanism itself. The first movement in the way of response, was not an attempt to vindicate its position, but rather, as already intimated, an effort to silence the opposition by loud denunciation, which was vigorously and lustily administered. But it soon discovered that there was too much solemn earnestness in the spirit which called it to an account, to be so easily frowned down, and at the same time an uncomfortable keenness of skill in finding the weak points in its armor. Fortunately for the cause of truth, however, it found itself compelled at length to resort to more hopeful means of defense, which necessarily involved a re-examination of its fundamental principles.

From this point onward has the discussion gone forward,

with more or less of earnestness—with more or less of bitterness, and with what results, a careful study of our present theological and ecclesiastical life will disclose. Subjectivism still lives, and in its proper and true idea, it ever will and must live. As the experiential side of Christianity, its conservation is of nothing short of vital importance. But as being but one side, to claim for it the absolute idea, is not only to wrong the complementary side, but at the same time to pervert and impair its own validity. Yes, subjectivism still lives, and still commands its able, earnest and devout champions. But who that stood by and considered its exclusive pretensions twenty-five years ago, cannot remark the change. Not that it is yet prepared in proper measure to admit the claims of the objective, for with recent and renewed endeavor has it sought to make good its exclusive theological base. But who cannot see its restlessness and disquietude? Who can fail to see the workings of convictions to which it has been forced to consent, and which it is in vain striving to adjust to its assumed theological position? The sect system is now felt to be an evil too intolerable to be borne. The Sacraments are coming to command a respect, which in days past was withheld. The Church is having a growing significance almost unknown then, and her festivals, so sorely reprobated in times past, are growing surprisingly in favor. In many cases, doubtless, these concessions are well nigh unconscious, but they are nevertheless real and growing, and he who a quarter of a century hence may take a retrospect, will doubtless be permitted to see a perhaps still greater advance in the same direction. By that time, may we not hope that the anxious experiment now pending, to comprehend the objective in the category of the subjective, will bring forth its inevitable fruit in failure, and the necessity of the adoption of a theological basis broad enough for both interests in harmonious union, will not only be felt, but will struggle towards an utterance.

The discussion adverted to has of course passed over consid-

erable ground, but it will be noticed that it has not moved in a hap-hazard way. It has moved from educational religion to the sacraments, from the sacraments to the constitution of the Church as the body of Christ, and now at last and fundamentally to the Person of Christ Himself, as "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending." The question most recently reached is, not only what is the relation of Christ in His divine-human person to His kingdom on earth, the Church, but what is His relation to Christianity as the absolute religion, in its totality? Or to state the question in its most general and abstract form, *What is the central principle of Christianity?*

A few very able papers have appeared upon this subject. But for the most part, it has not commanded that wide and earnest attention to which it is eminently entitled, and which ultimately it must and will receive. Some seem to have looked upon it as of low-rate importance, and have affected to regard its discussion as but little better than a logomachy. Others seem to have rather deprecated its agitation, as involving but little else than a misunderstanding on the part of the debaters. While others again see in it, the ultimate question on which hangs the theology of the future—by it are to be tested the claims of a Churchly Christology on the one hand, and of Calvinistic Theism on the other, and its truthful solution will determine the claims of each to a fundamental significance. This, of course, is not to be taken in the sense that the affirmation of the truth of the one position involves the condemnation of the other as absolutely false; only that the one comprehends the deeper and basal principle, and the other must necessarily be ruled by it. Should it, however, finally appear, that they are equally principial, then must we seek further for that ultimate, absolute principle which comprehends them both, and affords them as co-ordinate, a common foundation. For truth is not an aggregation of postulates inductively gathered together, but an organic unity, grounded in absolute principle, and growing de-

monstratively out of it. This is true universally, and theology forms no exception.

If this conception of the significance of the question now calling for solution be just, it is easy to see that it is far from receiving as yet, the attention to which it is entitled. And that it behooves those whose utterances upon it seem to indicate a want of just appreciation, to review the whole subject in a more earnest spirit, and with a more profound grasp.

The issue is, in a word, a fearfully solemn one; for it arraigns the theology of a large part of the Protestant Church; indeed, the dominant tendency of Protestantism from the beginning. The sad experience of this theology in the hands of German Rationalism, has long since moved its defenders to a re-examination of its foundations, and with what learned and prayerful diligence this work has been progressing, reaching to our own times, and looking onward to the future, needs not here be detailed. And if at last, it should so be, that we have reached the crucial test, we should pause to go forward, until with humble self-recollection, and prayer for heavenly guidance, and armed with the faith of all ages, we may venture upon holy ground.

What is the essential character of Christianity? Is it primarily Christological or Theistic? Is its central principle the Person of Christ, or is it the Divine Decree? Is it a vital organism, or is it an order of moral administration? Does it involve a *real* life union of the human with the divine, or only a moral union? Or to propound the question in the form which recent discussion has given it, in the sphere of theology: Is the Incarnation or the Atonement the central doctrine of our holy religion? That is the question. By *central* doctrine is here meant, that which is fundamental, as containing the norm which is to govern and determine the whole system, as its developed contents.

Christianity, and equally so, theology, must have a central principle, else the want of unity in either case, which is incon-

ceivable. For just as little can theology be conceived as an aggregation of unrelated propositions, as can Christianity, as a series of unrelated thoughts and acts of God. Whichever of these two doctrines are taken to be the centre of unity, the other must necessarily be regarded as contained in it, and as finding its whole significance and power only as it is thus comprehended. Now, in the economy of grace, which of these two holds this central position?

Before entering more immediately upon the discussion of the subject, it is necessary that a few remarks be premised upon the twofold movement, which comprehends all our reasoning activities. As long ago as the ripe era of Grecian thought—the days of Plato and Aristotle—were the movements of thought subjected to an exhaustive analysis, and the canon propounded, which to the present day commands a universal acquiescence. All subsequent attempts to enlarge or amend its contents, have resulted in the discovery, that it is all-embracing—comprehending principially what at first may have been supposed to be a new and co-ordinate form. Reason as we will in just obedience to the laws of thought, and upon examination we will find ourselves moving either synthetically or analytically.

Plato, the great master of synthetic or deductive reasoning, proceeds from the general and essential, to the particular and phenomenal. Finding his first principle to be microcosmic of the whole domain which is contained under it, and thus comprehending the *all*, germinally, it becomes the light and determining law of the whole constitution. The first principle is for him the postulate of the intuitive reason, reached by immediate abstraction, in contradistinction from the discursive faculty—the understanding, with its comparative abstraction. The reason, finding its occasion in the empirical fact, eliminating all that is relative and contingent, propounds at once the essential principle, and thus furnishes the stand-point, from which the mind by an *a priori* process descends to the contained genus, still lower to the species and onward to the individual. The

movement is from cause to effect, and is all comprehensive. The effect does indeed, in turn, become cause, but of necessity only secondary, and this last has its value as cause, only as it is comprehended in its fundamental.

Aristotle, on the other hand, the great master of logical thought, proceeds in the opposite direction. For him, the particular, the contingent, the datum of experience, is the starting point. He gathers together the multitude of concretes, and by comparative generalization reaches what is for him, the general. He proceeds to classify, under the heads of species and genus, and bases his first principles, professedly at least, upon a scientific induction. His movement is *a posteriori*, from effect to cause, and his *final cause*, is the last one to which his generalization conducts him. If his generalization therefore be but partial, as it ever must be, his final cause cannot be absolute and necessary. True, he demands a universal and necessary cause, and postulates it, but in so doing he seems not to be aware that he abandons his *a posteriori* method, and takes refuge in the intuitive reason, imagining at the same time that his induction has conducted him thither. Had he been true to his method, he would have had to content himself with the *general notion*, and to draw the conclusion, which hundreds of his more consistent followers have done, that there are no necessary and universal principles, at least attainable by human cognition, and that all generals are empty nominalistic conceptions—he would not have leaped the chasm he could not bridge, and imagined it was a feat of his inductive method.

It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the pupil dissented so emphatically from the master—that for him Plato's *idea* was mere illusion—that he so totally failed to grasp the conception, and so undutifully sought to turn it to ridicule. The solution of the difference between these two really gigantic thinkers, lies not in the want of intellectual strength on either hand, but in the fact that they contemplated a common interest from opposite points of view. The one standing upon the plane

of human experience, trying to resolve its enigmas in its own light, while the other mounted up to the eminence of universal and necessary principle, and seeks to interpret these same mysteries in the light of their own containing idea and cause.

Now, it must not be supposed that the opposition between these two methods of thought is of the nature of contradiction, so that one or the other must be false, and ought to be discarded. Far otherwise. They both lie as laws in the constitution of our cognitive powers, and we cannot discard either, if we would. We live in the bosom of the empirical. The awakening of our rational powers, and their subsequent activity, are conditioned by the phenomenal and the particular. And in the absence of known principles, we have left us no other mode of procedure, than by analysis and generalization. The attainment of the knowledge of principle, is conditioned by experience, for only as this serves as occasion, are our innate ideas evolved into the light of consciousness. Neither must it be supposed that the one method may be adopted by the student, to the exclusion of the other. The analytical is necessarily the primary form of reasoning, but it is incomplete, and can never produce certain knowledge. It is the gatherer together of material—the collector of facts and elements; but these can never become true knowledge, until they are correctly colligated under infallible principle. On the other hand, this principle is merely formal, until it is filled with material contents, thus furnished. These contents, as already said, it is the office of analysis to furnish, and of generalization to gather them into general notions; but these general notions can never become certain knowledge, until they are authenticated by their principles as contents. This, it is the office of the synthetical movement to do, and when done the result is *demonstrated knowledge.* The dictum of induction is, *it may be so;* that of demonstration, *it must be so.* Furthermore, induction must *always* be thus partial. In our present earthly and imperfect state, we never can generalize *all* the material. We cannot by this

method take in all the phenomenal. Whereas, the synthetical is always certain as far as it goes, and needs not an exhaustive induction, to deduce its assuring dictum, which dictum, once evoked by even a partial induction, is necessarily and universally true,—comprehending *the all*,—the actual and the possible. The conclusion then is, that analysis finds its authentication by being justified and comprehended in synthesis, and induction must always suspend its judgment, until it finds itself as the content of demonstration.

To whatever department of knowledge we address ourselves in the way of reflection, we can but proceed in one or both of these lines of movement. In the *empirical sciences*, in the absence of principial postulates, we are shut up to induction and probable conclusion. But in the *fixed sciences*, with their axioms, we proceed both inductively and deductively, and conclude with infallible certainty. The science of theology forms no exception in this respect. Here, too, analysis can never be exhaustive and certain, but only partial and relative. Hence, it never can be the organon for the comprehension of its contents; and only as it is complemented by, or rather comprehended in, the synthetic, is there room made for the collocation of all its elements under one central principle, and so for grasping its whole domain.

We are now able to discern one of the causes at least, of the dissent and conflict with which theological science abounds, and that, too, in the hands of men who are peers in pious earnestness and scholastic equipment. This holds in the fact, of accepting the general *notion* as a general principle, and of taking a partial and relative conclusion, for a demonstrated universal. Many, therefore, perhaps the larger share of our differences, are not to be taken as contradictory, in the sense that to accept one view is to brand the opposing one as totally false, but rather as more or less partial on the one hand, as opposed to that which is more exhaustive and of larger comprehension on the other.

This, we take it, is the solution of the difficulty in the con-

troversy touching the central principle of Christianity. The trouble lies in the stand-point, looking upon the common subject from opposite points of view, and pursuing its investigation upon opposite lines of thought. Those, therefore, who advocate the centrality of the Atonement, cannot be said to hold for true, that which is false. For from one stand-point—for one side of Christianity, the Atonement is central. The mistake lies in taking a part for the whole, and the result of a partial generalization, for the ultimate principle of unity, which of right includes this, together with all that is complementary to it.

We repeat it, that for Christianity regarded as a scheme of *redemption*, from the position of man as under the power and condemnation of sin, the Cross of Christ is the center. No one more devoutly and reverently bows to this glorious truth, than just the man who affirms the deeper organic centrality of the Incarnation. But does the idea of redemption measure and comprehend the *whole* contents of Christianity, as the absolute religion? Does the remission of sins exhaust these contents? If in thought we eliminate the idea of redemption, have we nothing left, which must be the case if the one idea is commensurate with the other? If this is maintained then what becomes of the whole sphere of natural religion; what of the doctrine of creation? What becomes of God's primary purpose, and the whole order of His government? But especially, what becomes of man's relation to God as originally intended in the divine mind; for which he was created, and to which he must attain if he would realize, not only the purpose of his creation, but the imperative needs of his own constitution? What of the question of his need of *positive* holiness, (not merely a *negative* as holding in a freedom from sin), and a participation in the Divine Nature? What becomes of all these, together with all besides which enters into the idea of *absolute religion*, aside from the forgiveness of sin? No, while it is freely conceded, and at the same time unyieldingly contended, that Christianity *has its*

redemptive side, it is just as firmly held that it has its *completive side.* And this, too, not simply as a co-ordinate, and in that sense complementary factor, but rather as related to the former as the genus is to the species—as the end to the means of its attainment. No conception of Christianity can be complete which does not comprehend all this.

The doctrine of man and of nature, conducts us back of the fall—back of the creation, even to the "beginning," in St. John's sense. Not so much to God Himself, but to the "beginning," which, according to the Apostle, presupposes God. Here, in this holy presence, we find ourselves confronted with the fact of the Divine purpose, and the future man's being, as the revelation and bearer of that purpose, shaped and fashioned and conditioned by it. Man, as the organic head, comprehended the whole cosmical order below him—in him were bound up all its purpose and significance. The very needs of his being, therefore, involved not merely a mechanical, or even a simply moral, but an organic and vital relation to God, on the one hand, and to nature on the other. This relation was necessarily, at the same time, ethical, and hence the possibility of its disturbance and perversion. But the fact of such disturbance and perversion must carry in itself failure for man, and both subjective and objective disorganization. The incoming of sin produced just these results—disruption of his right relations to God and nature, and the wreck of his subjective being. Now, the interposition of divine grace which followed, was not just for the rescue of man as an individual, but with far deeper significance, for the conservation of the divine purpose and its final illustration. Christianity then must be commensurate with this purpose, failing in which, to that extent precisely is God's original plan marred, and has miscarried. But faith furnishing no room for such a conception, it remains that Christianity comprehends the whole order of man's relations to God, and is consequently the *absolute religion;* and that it involves primarily the restoration of man to his right organic relations to God, and secondarily, all necessary means to this end.

It is necessary that the reach and scope of Christianity, as thus defined, be clearly before the mind, if we would succeed in grasping its central principle, lest the contemplation of one of its phases or departments should betray us into the mistake of taking what may be central to a part, for what is central to the whole. Furthermore, it is no less important to keep well in remembrance our point of departure, and make due account of our method of investigation, as determinative of the relative value of our conclusion.

The analytical method of procedure, from the stand-point of man's worldly, fallen life, is altogether legitimate in the study of the contents of our holy religion, as far as it goes. This is the anthropological, and is St. Paul's method, as well also of the synoptical gospels. St. Paul, as Apostle to the Gentiles, must needs accommodate himself, in his manner of opening up to them the truth, to their condition and capacities. Their religious apprehensions were all of an experimental kind, as these had been evolved from consciousness in the light of nature. All knowledge commences in the intuitions of sense and proceeds scientifically, and only after the cognitive faculties have thus been stored with contents, is the way open for the apprehension of base principles, and the adoption of the synthetic movement. The heathen religions were consequently the religions of nature, awakening their devotees to a deep sense of sin and unrest, while they mocked their most earnest inquiries after deliverance and rest. Hence, their experience was the only point of affinity for the Apostles' approach—the only foundation upon which he could possibly build. Had he proceeded otherwise, and called upon his charge to ignore all which before had constituted their religious convictions, and propounded to them first principles, from which to evolve the elements of the gospel, of which he was the bearer, he would not only have reversed the whole order of intellectual evolution, as it holds in the laws of the human mind, but have ensured the failure of his mission from the beginning. He must

necessarily, therefore, meet them on the plane upon which he found them, as men under the power of sin—laboring under the consciousness of guilt, and groping blindly in the dark for the means of deliverance. And this was just precisely his method, as we learn from the New Testament. Seizing upon their consciousness of sin, of which their religions with all their terrible ritual were the dreadful expression, he sought first to explain its true meaning and significance, and thus presented to their gaze a clear view of the abyss opened to swallow them up. This he did, only that he might reveal to them with full effect the "desire of all nations"—the Deliverer and Redeemer to whom all their sacrifices so darkly and unconsciously and yet so unerringly pointed. That the slain Lamb upon the Altar of the Cross should therefore have been the central object to which he ever pointed, and the precious blood there so freely shed, as the fountain for all sin and uncleanness, was not only natural, but eminently logical. And that the whole order of religious thought and feeling which his message produced, should cluster around Calvary, as its common center, was inevitable. The problems of deliverance from sin, and redemption from its power and consequences, were the themes he emphasized and illustrated, and for more than these, his infantile converts were not yet prepared.

So, too, in the synoptical Gospels, we have an advance from the human side. They severally and collectively give us a portraiture of the actual Christ, as the teaching, suffering Redeemer. Linking Him fast to our fallen life by a miraculous birth, revealing Him as the bearer of our sins, the teacher of heavenly wisdom, and the conqueror of death and the grave. Emphasizing thus His saving works and His enlightening words. And it is no wonder that the soul in its earliest love, waking to a consciousness of the redeeming power of the Cross, should exclaim, Lord, it is enough! and clinging to this precious fact should almost unwillingly turn its eyes to the survey of a wider, though not holier, revelation of the Glory of God.

Yet who that has closely studied the spirit of St. John, has not felt that while he reveals the same Christ, points to the same Cross, and conducts our hopes to the same heavenly home, he preaches *almost* another gospel. The same, indeed, and yet how different! Who has not remarked the difference between his, and the preceding gospels? He finds not the Saviour in the manger at Bethlehem, nor does he, like the Synoptists, present the actual Christ as He spoke and acted outwardly in the world. His, in comparison, is the more homely phrase, but withal he mounts to a far more towering height and penetrates to a profounder depth. He lifts the veil from the heart on which he loved to rest his head, and reveals those throbs of love, whose mighty pulsations send light and life and love to the remotest confines of the universe He made.

It requires no labored reflection, however, to discern the distinguishing peculiarity of St. John, as compared with the Synoptists and St. Paul, as also with St. Peter. Van Oosterzee, in his *Theology of the New Testament*, page 370, with fine discrimination, illustrates it: "Yet the highest conceivable development of the Christian process of thought is to be found just as little in Paul as in Peter. The deepest insight into the mystery of godliness is not to be obtained in the way of acute logical development, but in the way of spiritual contemplation. In Peter, it is the voice of memory and experience that speaks; in Paul, there is united with this last the power of Christian thought, which, where necessary, can also wield the weapons of a fine dialectic; but it is only John who, with piercing eagle-gaze, penetrates into the deepest depths. The theology of Paul developes itself in a series of most remarkable antitheses; but the complete reconciliation of these antitheses, which is in itself advantageous, is afforded only from the Johannine standpoint." Also at page 376: "As the Pauline theology bears an anthropological, so does the Johannine bear an especially Christological, character. Without doubt, the Apostle proceeds in his doctrine from God, but only as He is known in

Christ. Upon the person of Christ, yet more than upon His work, is here manifest stress laid; the world, sin, the Church, the future, all is viewed in the light of the historic manifestation of Christ. As in James, the opposition between knowing and doing, and in Paul, that between sin and grace, so, in John, the contrast between darkness and death out of Christ, and light and life through Christ, is the axis around which all turns."

St. John starts from a different stand-point and proceeds by the opposite movement of thought. St. Paul is dialectic and inductive, proceeding from the particular to the general, from the effect to the cause, while St. John is synthetic and deductive, moving from the general to the particular, from the cause to the effect. His point of departure is "before the world was," in the "beginning." He stands in the bosom of the Divine purpose, as this found its lodgment in the person of the Logos, and from thence with an inspired intuition grasping the essential contents of the Godhead, proceeds to the development of this plan and purpose with demonstrative comprehension, down through the fact of creation, through the historical revelation of the Word made flesh, and onward in the Apocalypse to its final realization and full consummation. Taking in, as he does, in his vision, the whole scheme of creation, and comprehending in it the whole order of created existence, with its growth and development to the end of time, what from the opposite point of view seemed to be all comprehensive, is for him partial and fractional—as but one of the factors in the drama, but one of the instrumental steps in the grand progress to final consummation.

For St. John, man has a place in the Divine plan and a consequent destiny, irrespective of sin and his redemption from its power and consequences. For we dare not for a moment think of comprehending sin as a determined factor in this plan. In the creation there certainly was a possibility that man would *not* fall, and had that possibility become actual, his final rela-

tion to the plan would have been realized without the Atonement. So, then, man, as a sinner, needs more than simply forgiveness of sin. He must have restored to him again, his needed righteousness and life, and elevated to his original integrity of being and organic relation to the Divine Nature. He must not only be redeemed, but also in addition to this, must be completed both in his subjective being, and in his objective relations to God. So it appears that Christianity has its *completive* as well as its *redemptive* aspect, and this last is comprehended in the first as a means to a higher end.

It must not be inferred, however, from the exposition given above, of St. Paul's stand-point and method of thought, that his inspiration failed him in discerning the partial character of his work, and that for him the Cross was the ultimate center of the whole economy of grace. He clearly saw the wider expanse of truth in the bosom of which his particular mission lay. All this was for him comprehended in the person of Christ from all eternity. Only *in* Him, for the mind of St. Paul, did the Father reveal Himself at all, whether in His person or His works; and *in* Him, at last were all things *absolutely*, both in heaven and in earth, to find their meaning and completion. "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him." (Eph. i. 9–10). Our Apostle's teachings and writings are very far from being anything like an attempted scientific exposition of the whole contents of Christianity. They are made up rather of the inspired utterances drawn out by special circumstances as they arose in the course of his ministry. And it is only occasionally, and more or less incidentally, that his words reveal the far larger comprehension of the truth present to the eye of his faith. Nor would it militate against his inspiration, had we no such intimations of his deeper insight into the mysteries of the Di-

vine economy. He was equipped and furnished for the work committed to his charge, and beyond this we can discern no necessity.

Starting, then, in the interest of theology, as a science, from the position of man as a fallen sinner and in need of deliverance, the understanding is readily conducted analytically to the Atonement as the key to this solemn question. But does the logical faculty find in this a final resting place, as a universal and necessary principle? Instead of this, nothing can be more immediately patent, than that this wondrous fact is something contingent and relative, looking back of itself for its justification and cause. It, therefore, once for all, cannot be a fundamental principle. Science, therefore, demands a further analysis. But just here the understanding finds itself at a loss. It already has the notions of sin and moral agency, but in these it discovers not the cause, but only the occasion. Its powers are in reality exhausted, and henceforth it is compelled to accept the Divine Decree as a postulate of *reason*, and through the decree finds in God its absolute. It has no power to trace an organic relation between the Cross and God. Its only possible bond of union between them is a mere mechanical plan of administration, which breaks down for it at almost every step, as becomes manifest upon occasion of an attempted synthetical return movement, as will appear further on.

Here we have *Theism.* And the conclusion is that Christianity is fundamentally *theistic.* This must ever be the conclusion of scientific thought, as having no power to evidence to itself "things not seen." But scientific theism, as distinguished from the theism of faith, is logically either pantheistic or deistic. So in the case under consideration. The human mind can never accept a mere activity, even of the Deity, as a base principle. This must be an entity, and consequently here God Himself must be the principle. As such, His revelation must either be a development of His being, or the mechanical expression of His will in an outward forensic way. To one or other of these conclusions, has speculative thought for ages

past been conducted, and in our own is anew affirming them with resolute emphasis.

To say that the scope of speculative thought is limited by the powers of human cognition, is but to affirm a truism. Yet it would seem that scientists either lose sight of this axiomatic law, or else viciously project the reach of these powers. The office of the understanding is to trace relations, and colligate the data of sense perceptions under the ideas of reason. The office of the reason is to intuitively apprehend principles and ideas; it is the faculty for the infinite. It can postulate a final cause, and as final cause can postulate *God*. It can in the light of this idea deduce His attributes as comprehended in the ideas of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. But as to the constitution of His being, and as to the activities of His will, He is, and must remain, an unknown God. It has no power in itself to apprehend the *Supernatural*, in the theological and Christian sense of that term. Hence, every attempt of speculative thought to construct the universe in a synthetical way, must inevitably land, as just said, in either pantheism, or a more or less refined species of deism. It either takes the being of God as absolute principle, logically containing in Himself, as principle, the whole universe, which in time becomes actual in the way of evolution or emanation; or holds that having by a voluntary act created the universe, cast it forth from His hand, a separate existence, endowed with fixed laws to regulate its activities, like a watch completed in its structure and wound up, it runs its appointed course independent of the power that made it. Or, if there should be alleged the reservation of a regulative and controlling power, it is somewhat in the capacity of the engineer, who, with hand upon the throttle-valve, commands the energies of the engine.

If, then, a speculative principle be accepted as the base of Christianity, it must not expect to escape the logical results. For logic is unrelenting in its demands. It will not serve the interest to attempt to modify its demands by the counter claims

of an inspired revelation. This might pass with the unthinking. But for the thinking, if done at all, it must be in a violent way, against which the understanding must ever denounce its protest. Fortunately for theology, the abettors of the theistic theory, of the better and Christian stamp, do not accept the being of God as a principle in the philosophical sense, just adverted to, and thus escape the inevitable conclusion of pantheism. But unfortunately they are not so happy in escaping the other horn of the dilemma. Instead of in the being, they find their principle in the *decree* of God. If the above elucidation of the scope and content of a principle be correct, it must be clear that the Divine decree as thus propounded, must not only measure but also contain, potentially, the whole order of thought and action and being as comprehended in the full idea of theological science. It must furnish in a synthetical construction of the universe, as this is comprehended ultimately in Christianity, as has already appeared, the light to illustrate its significance, and the key to unlock its riddles. But can it do all this, or is it even claimed that it can? Contrariwise, it breaks down at the very beginning—at the very cradle of humanity. It is overwhelmed by the awful fact of sin. Logically, it would be compelled to comprehend sin as a necessary integer in the economy of humanity, and require it to find its cause and reason in the Divine will. But against this, Christian consciousness and inspiration alike protest. Unfortunately, however, for our assumed principle, logic is a respecter of neither the one nor the other of these protestants. If to resolve the difficulty the fact of man's free agency be argued, the understanding unhesitatingly disallows the plea, upon the ground that an all-comprehensive and immutable decree excludes the moral agency of the subject. Speculation would solve the difficulty by consistently denying that sin is an evil. Happily, not so the Christian theologian; he prefers a logical inconsistency to a stultification of his own consciousness. He sees himself the fatal necessity of accepting the fullest, broadest

supralapsarianism, if he would preserve consistency and satisfy the demands of the understanding; and also that sublapsarianism is not only an inconsistent, but insufficient remedy—a mere postponement of the difficulty. No, qualify it as you will, there is no escape from *fatalism.* Moreover, in this view, to exclude sin as a content of the principle, is at the same time to exclude the Atonement. For the Atonement is contingent upon sin, and if sin be excluded, so must also be its contingent remedy.

Furthermore, the decree principle contains no room for an organic relation between the divine and the human, and in this respect differs from the theistic principle proper, which centers all things organically in God, and develops them out of Him. It furnishes no vital bond of union. It sees in the creature, a manifestation of creative power, and binds the two together by a moral and administrative tie simply. It invests God with a governing and upholding power, but this in an outward way. The relation is that of the inventing mechanic, to the skilful product of his ingenuity. More than this, the principle under review cannot be said to contain.

When, therefore, man fell under the power of sin, and thus incurred the Divine judgment, the only necessities for his restoration to his complete state, were satisfaction for his sin and the restoration of his lost righteousness. These desiderata were furnished in the sufferings and obedience of Christ. But now, to make man the recipient of these benefits, how is it to be done? His relation, according to this view, whether to God Himself or to the Redeemer and His works, is but a moral one; and so of necessity his participation in these benefits must likewise be only moral, and the change wrought in him by this participation can be no more than a moral change. There are, therefore, no life relations involved, and no life changes provided for. The regeneration, therefore, which the Saviour so solemnly emphasizes to Nicodemus as indispensable to salvation, can be subsumed under no other than a moral category.

It must, therefore, be accepted as figurative, reaching, indeed, the deepest springs of human action, but touching not the substance of his life. So, also, the forgiveness of sin, and the communication of Christ's righteousness. These are, nor can they be otherwise, only outward and forensic. His merits are *reckoned* to man's account, hence he is freed from the penalty he had incurred; His righteousness is *imputed*, yet so as not to involve an immanent indwelling; from henceforth man is *accounted* as holy.

Now, all this is consistent and logical, and in the light of the assumed principle, satisfactory to the understanding. But what does it involve? Just what has already appeared: that God stands apart from man in a separatistic way, and that the bond of union, like the order of His government, is one of power, not of life. This is what is meant in charging *deism* upon the theistic stand-point. Not, indeed, deism, in the sense of the schools, but nevertheless a species of deism, in that it expels God to a simply moral and providential relation; and, also, in that it attempts to bring the contents of Christianity under the categories of the finite rational faculty. Moreover, theism is logically *Socinian*, as having no power whatever to rationalize the constitution of the Divine Essence. To accept the exposition as propounded to faith, by inspiration, is to violate the laws of thought, and divest it of all authority for the understanding—it is to commingle heterogeneous elements, and must ultimately come to be rejected at the bar of speculative thought. It needs only that this whole order of theological thought be logically consistent, to bring it into accord with many of the deductions of our modern "advanced thinkers," and it is not easy to see how it is to justify itself against their assaults upon the religion of Christ, as illogical inconsistency will inevitably come to grief before their tribunal.

Holding Christianity to comprehend the whole creative idea and purpose, as these stand related to the mind and being of God, it is not susceptible of a scientific colligation under the

ideas of reason, in the light of man's unaided powers. Man is indeed a microcosm of the universe, and his reason is the measure of it as the utterance of the creative thought. But the modus of the Divine activity in the creation, and the relation of this last to the Divine essence, are factors which come to no illustration in the constitution of the created order, and likewise are not potential contents of reason. For the apprehension of these elements, which must ever condition our comprehension of Christianity, perceptive powers, other than those of sense, are necessary—powers correlative to the supernatural order, as distinguished from the simply infinite, which order can be perceived only by faith, and by faith, only as presented in the form of special revelation. All attempts, therefore, to reach the central principle of the universe, which is at the same time the central principle of Christianity, without a reckoning in of these postulates of faith, must ever prove abortive. And speculative thinkers and our scientists ought by this time to learn, that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in *their* philosophy."

Analysis and generalization, therefore, are incompetent for the attainment of the central principle sought for, and consequently if the Atonement were an ultimate generalization—which it is not, for it is comprehended in this movement of thought, in the deeper principle of theism—it could not philosophically and scientifically meet the conditions of the claim which is alleged in its favor. We conclude, furthermore, in behalf of St. Paul, that his was not a system of logical rationalism; that while for his practical and partial mission he saw in the Cross the source of grace for deliverance from sin, yet he never dreamed that it was the fundamental center of the whole economy of God's plan and purpose in creation. He saw clearly by faith, that there was outlying, beyond and above this most glorious fact, this far more comprehensive economy, and that his proximate source of grace, was but a means to a higher end. Christianity was for his faith, as is most evident

from the whole scope of his teachings, not merely a deliverance from the evil of sin and its consequences, but what is vastly more, in addition to this, the union of our human life, in body, soul and spirit, to the eternal God in Christ Jesus.

The point of departure for nearly all the Apostles in the work of the planting and training of the Church, was in common with St. Paul, the estate of man as under the power of sin. Seizing hold of this consciousness they pointed to the Atonement, as the fulfillment, once for all, of all that it had through the ages sought, and hoped to find in the burning altar and the bleeding victim. This was the point of affinity in the guilty soul for an objective revelation of grace. And most wisely was the Gospel made to challenge it just there. Instead of ignoring the whole disciplinary and preparatory culture of the past, it confronted this with its solution and fulfillment, as the only possible way to success in their mission. And with what results, the conquering faith and unflinching heroism of the early Christians bear abundant evidence. But it was not long, until human reason, now raised to a new and higher plane, and furnished with new material for thought, bent forward under the inspiration and caught glimpses of goodly land yet to be occupied. And as is ever the case with the human spirit, mere experience could not long satisfy, but inquiry into its source and reason must press the onward movement towards a rational apprehension. Faith is not and cannot be the final goal of apprehension. It but furnishes the base and premises of a living and sanctified gnosis.

This experience was not wanting in the early days of Christianity. The interest was something which lay too near the very core of humanity, to long delay this rational attempt. Questions, deep as the abyss, and high as heaven, pressed for solution, and refused to be turned aside. Who is this world deliverer, this fulfiller of the desire of the nations? What His relation to humanity, what, to divinity? What the constitution of His most wondrous person, and what the measure of the

grace He came to bestow? In these, and such like questions, did *gnosticism* utter itself—gnosticism in its better and true sense, but at the same time in larger measure, gnosticism in its bad and false import.

The rise of this rationalizing tendency furnished the immediate occasion for St. John's gospel. His object, unlike his fellow-Apostles, was not to contribute immediately to the practical and empirical interest, but rather to conserve and promote a true gnosis. Accordingly, while upon the one hand, by presenting the true as over against the false, he assumes the attitude of a polemic, on the other, by following out the true line of procedure from the *beginning*, in his gospel, to the glorious consummation of bliss in the resurrection at the last, in the Revelation, he traverses the whole constitution of Christianity, and gives to the Church of all ages, a synthetical comprehension of its contents.

In pursuance of his work, as differing from his fellows, he begins not with the human side of Christ, tracing His genealogy and establishing His manhood, thus linking Him in a practical way to the world in the interest of redemption, but bounds aloft at once to the fundamental eminence, and uncovers to faith the confounding mystery of the constitution of the Godhead; a postulate infinitely beyond the grasp of unaided reason. And in that eternity of faith, back of creation, finds the base principle, which comprehends all things both in heaven and on earth. He looks not from earth upward to heaven, but from heaven down to earth, and descending proclaims "that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." He wanders not to-and-fro upon the earth, gathering together the concrete facts to fit them in their places in the organic whole, but opens up the windows of heaven, whence pours forth the light which reveals the significance of all created things, and determines their places in the universal economy.

To view Christianity, then, with our Apostle, we must intuitively grasp his stand-point by faith. We find this not in the

being of God, neither in the abstract determination of His will. The insufficiency of these has already appeared. And yet the organic relation between humanity and divinity, everywhere taught on the page of inspiration, points to the divine as containing the principle for which we seek. While it is not the essence of God, neither His decree, it nevertheless grounds itself in Him.

In approaching the subject more nearly, in a positive way, it must be borne well in mind, that except as *final cause*, possessed of certain natural attributes, we cannot "find out God," only as He is pleased to reveal Himself. Except as He does this, His being and His determinations are "past finding out." All that we can have is a theoretic God. That He has, however, revealed Himself we thankfully know; and how He has made Himself known, no point is more clearly enunciated, and carefully defined and guarded by inspiration. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath *declared* Him." "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made." The Divine Nature itself, and its relation to the world, are therefore comprehended and declared in the Logos, and in no other way. In Him, then, we find the point of contact between the human and the divine, and whatever may be the issue of an attempt to *define* the base principle of Christianity, of one thing we may be assured, that it holds in Him. Scripture demands an organic relation between humanity and divinity; Christian consciousness protests a *kinship*, not a mere mechanical relation, and as God goes out of Himself, and reaches over to creation *in no other way than in the Son*, we are shut to the fact, that in Him dwells the fundamental principle of the divine economy as revealed in the universe. The alternative is, to deny that God is the Creator.

In what form, then, does this principle hold in the Logos? Not in the form of His Divine Nature; that were pantheism. And just as little in the form of a mere mechanical activity, for

reasons already considered. And yet it must hold an organic relation to His Divine Nature, and at the same time be a vital entity. Thus we reach the idea of a hypostatical union, binding the two together with the bond of a common life, and yet without confounding or commingling them. Mystery, indeed, but no more so than in the Incarnation.

Creation existed in the Logos in the form of a *Divine thought.* Not a thought in our logical sense, as conception or notion, but a thought in the sense of our Saviour, when He said, "My words* they are spirit and they are life." It existed in Him in the form of *created life* and the act of creation was its uttered word. God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, but realities, entities, and stand linked to His being by the bond of a vital union, inexplicable to our finite powers. "In him," says St. John i. 4, "was life, and the life was the light of men." Life here, certainly does not refer to His essential divinity, for in what sense could the life of the Godhead, in this connection, be said to be the light of men, unless we pantheistically take it as the vital principle. And Light must here be taken in the sense of the illuminating, defining and vitalizing force of a living principle or idea, in the apprehension of which man comes to a conscious sense of his meaning and relations, this idea holding, meanwhile, in the person of the Logos, not in a notional way, but as organically united to His essential being, so as in a deep sense to be one with Him. Just as in the Incarnation, humanity was so united in the Redeemer's person to His divinity, that while each maintained its distinctive essence, yet did they constitute but one person. This exegesis seems to be required by the following verse: "And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Darkness here means the condition of man as in a state of sin. The light of this life has been revealed by the Logos in the works of creation, and although man stands in the very midst of it, yet because of the

* A word is but the objective form of a thought.

darkness that is in him, he has no power to know it. For him it has no illuminating power. He fails to discern his own meaning, and so cannot apprehend his true relations to the world around him. The old Alexandrine punctuation in St. John i. 3–4, and which is by no means wanting in critical authority in its favor, brings out this interpretation very clearly and forcibly. This places the period after ἓν in the 3d verse, and makes ὃ γεγονέν substantive to the following verb ἦν in the 4th verse, so as to make the reading, "All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made. That which was made was in him life; and the life was the light of men." The personification of the *Light* in the subsequent verses, need give no trouble in this exegesis, since in the history of Christ's life while in the flesh, the activities of His human side are predicated of the God-man. Furthermore, it in no way conflicts with the doctrine that God is the absolute ground of all life. The Apostle here is not dwelling upon the contents of the Godhead of the Logos, so much as His immediate relation to creation and its ground in Him. To hold that it grounds itself *immediately* in the Godhead, is, as we have seen, to accept pantheism. To avoid this, while still holding that humanity grounds itself in divinity, it must be held that it does this *mediately*, upon a created base comprehended mysteriously in the person of the Logos. In what form this holds, has already appeared.

In the bosom, then, of this principial base, was all relative existence wrapped up in the beginning. It contained in itself potentially all that could reach an evolution into actuality. It came to its concrete enunciation in creation, subject in its historical development to its own inherent conditions. First among these was its ethical element, carrying in itself the fearful prerogative of assent and dissent, of good and evil. All the conditions of assent were at hand, and required but a normal development to reach its utterance; but necessarily at the same time was present the power of dissent, fraught with its appalling heritage. This alternative of course lies in the very

conception of will as a voluntary power, and as such was involved in our base principle as lodged primarily in the person of the Logos, the fact of which comprehension came to its full revelation subsequently in our Lord's temptation in the wilderness; which temptation we are bound to accept as real, involving the possibility of failure, and not as a mere sham and trick. Unhappily this possibility became actual in the case of man, and hence the presence of sin as a factor in the outworking of our principle. This factor of history, however, could assert itself, not as a destroying but only as a disturbing power, so far as the force of the principle was concerned. For this last carried in itself its own remedy, calling for no outward help or new resource. Disorganization and death were indeed the results, but a resource transcending these was at hand. Humanity in actual fact, was torn from its life union with the divine, but not principially. As thus torn asunder, it had left to it no power of self-recovery, no means for exhausting and transcending the curse. But as united to the divine in its proper and principial relations, this power was abundantly at hand. It needed, therefore, but that this organic union, which held from all eternity in the person of the Logos, should become actual in time, and on the stage of human history. This was realized in the Incarnation.

This must not be taken as a commencement de novo, on the part of God, an after-thought, a new factor to meet a contingency not provided for in the original scheme. It was but an exercise of the volitive element inherent in the great scheme from its inception in the Divine mind. It involved no new or temporary relation between the divine and human, only an actualizing in time of what had been real from the beginning.

Sin, by rending the vital bond which united man to God, had thrust him into a state of separation, cut him loose from his organic moorings, and brought him into a state of death, with the entailment of all its pains and penalties. Now, the want in his case was twofold. Primarily, his restoration to his ori-

ginal organic relations to the divine, and thus recover to him his lost life. Secondarily, his deliverance from the power of sin, with its pains and penalties. This last as preparatory and subsidiary to the first. Man had incurred the judgment of the divine law. This barred his restoration to life, until this curse should be endured and exhausted. Our human life in the person of the God-man, Christ Jesus, met and satisfied this demand in Gethsemane and on the Cross, and transcending the power of death and the grave, came forth triumphant over all hinderances in the way of salvation unto life. Having thus overcome all obstacles, and removed all hinderances out of the way, Christ bore our humanity to its full glorification at the right hand of the Father in heaven, from thence sending the Holy Ghost, as the life-giving agent, to carry into effect the scheme of grace—the restoring of man to his original relations to God.

In the accomplishment of this mission by the Holy Ghost, man's ethical nature is still recognized and respected. His will is challenged by the preached Gospel, calling upon him to repent of his sins and accept the grace of life in Christ Jesus. The preparatory conditions of faith and repentance being complied with, he is regenerated by the Holy Ghost. Being regenerated, he is reinstated in his right organic relations to the Godhead in the Logos, by participating in the life of the God-man, and partaking of this life as having overcome sin, he at the same time is made a sharer in this victory. In this form does he receive the forgiveness of sin. This *new birth* is, therefore, something vastly more than a mere moral change, as the result of a powerful, yea, even divine influence. It involves for him, the transmission into his being of a new life,—his being ingrafted into a new stock of humanity; and as we have seen, the forgiveness of his sin is the result of his participation in this life, as the bearer of the satisfaction it rendered to the divine law, in the person of the Redeemer. It is, therefore, no mere outward forensic act on the part of God, in consideration of a fact separate and apart from the recipient man,

but is primarily inwrought in him by the regenerating energy of the Holy Ghost. So, also, precisely, the believer's participation in the righteousness of Christ. This righteousness is inherent in the divine-human life of the Saviour, and can be apprehended by man in no other way than by a real organic participation in that life. And so on to the resurrection of the body, and the glorification at last in the heavenly world. It is all brought to pass, not by the exertion of divine power in an outward way, but only and always, and to the final consummation, in the bosom of that vital organic scheme whose fundamental principle we discover as holding in the person of the Logos before the world was.

Having reached this point in our discussion, we are prepared in the way of review to appreciate the claims severally alleged to the centrality of Christianity. It cannot be gainsaid but that the Atonement is central to the immediate practical interest of man's deliverance from sin, and the purging of his conscience from a sense of guilt. In the Cross is lodged the power of redemption. But beyond this it cannot go. It is totally wanting not only in the logical, but also in the vital conditions of principial centrality. It stands in the bosom of a deeper and broader economy, and finds its true significance only as interpreted in its light. On the other hand, however, in the person of Jesus Christ, the God-man, we find all the conditions of fundamental centrality. It furnishes the key for the solution of the problem of relative existence, and its historical fortunes. It sheds abroad that light, which reveals the significance of the whole created order, and "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." Not anything, or all that He has said and done and suffered, but only and absolutely, Christ Jesus Himself, in His own proper *theanthropic person.* The foundation alike of personal salvation, and of all theology that would grasp the whole contents of the absolute religion which centers in Him.

ART. III.—THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE ROMANS.

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ON April 25th it was exactly two years since my eyes caught the first glimpse of the Colosseum at Rome. The impression which this stupendous ruin made upon my mind is one that can never be forgotten. Being over 200 feet in height, upwards of a third of a mile in circumference, and capable of seating 87,000 spectators, it gives the student new ideas of the genius and greatness of the Roman people. Castelar, a Spanish Professor, calls it the greatest amphitheatre the world ever saw, and defines it is a circular mountain raised, sculptured, and chiseled by the labor of man. He says that at first sight its immense masses, its gigantic proportions, seemed less the work of man than of nature. But when he came to study the harmony of its arches, the sequence of its columns, the rythm of its architecture rising to heaven like a canticle, he found that these immense masses, these gigantic proportions, had been stamped with the laws of human thought, and that the spirit of a constructive people was visible in the entire building. In the succession of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian pillars, which are always separated in Greek architecture, in the harmonious combination of so many arches, vaults, and staircases this gifted author saw, as in a mirror, the genius of the nation, which took from Greece her philosophy and her religion, from the Sabines their women, from Spain her swords, from Etruria her bows, and from the East her arches. Just as the Colos-

seum unites the most diverse architectural elements into an organic whole, so Rome united all the nations of the civilized world under the sceptre of one man. The effect which such an edifice produces upon the mind of a young student is more easily imagined than described. In days when the whole structure was still intact, the effect was sublime and overpowering. For in the 8th century Anglo-Saxon pilgrims gave vent to their feelings in the words:

"While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand,
When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall,
And with Rome falls the world!"

From the Colosseum my mind always turns to another product of the Roman people, which I consider far more worthy of admiration and a far better index to their greatness and their activity, viz., the Latin Language and its Literature. I bring up Latin Literature in connection with the Colosseum not merely for the sake of comparison, but also because, as we shall soon see, the Colosseum suggests several facts which are of great importance in studying the literary activity of the Roman people. The Colosseum has conquered eighteen centuries, but it is now two-thirds in ruins. The Latin Language is several centuries older, but the literary monuments left by Virgil, Cicero, and Horace, are preserved in hundreds of libraries unimpaired by the lapse of time. Latin is still a means of culture in all the higher institutions of Europe and America, and will no doubt continue so until the end of time, because by means of it the student is brought into immediate contact with some of the greatest minds of antiquity. Although dead, the Latin Language still lives in the literature which is studied by scholars of every clime and country. It furnishes by far the best means of gaining an insight into the manners and customs, the virtues and vices, the thoughts, feelings, and achievements of the people by whom the Colosseum was built. In this respect language is to the student of history what fossils are for the Geologist. It preserves the record of events which lie

beyond the memory of man. By a comparison of the languages of Europe with those spoken in Persia and upon the banks of the Ganges, the philologists of the nineteenth century have come to a knowledge of migrations from Central Asia, which peopled nearly all the territory from India to the shores of the Atlantic. A German author, by the name of Weber, has even ventured to write an account of the occupations and the daily life of the people, who lived in this original hive of nations. Mommsen's history of Rome contains a chapter drawn almost altogether from a study of words in the old Italian dialects. If such fruitful results flow from philological study with reference to prehistoric times, how much more fruitful must be the study of an author like Horace, whose writings furnish an inside view of Roman everyday life in the Augustan age. Take up an author like Cicero, examine his use of that language, whose syntax is the most perfect in existence; study his well-rounded periods, which possess all the beauty and finish of a jewel; read the invectives which drove the traitor Catiline into exile; bring yourself under the influence of that eloquence, which holds calculating senators spell-bound and gives due expression to the aspirations of a world-conquering people; and you will get such exalted ideas of Roman greatness and Roman activity as can not be gained from any ruins of stone and clay.

At first sight, however, this magnificent literature seems to have been within the reach of only a favored few like Augustus and Mæcenas. The modern mind associates literary activity with books, and books with printing. Since the ancients did not possess this art, the inference is that books must have been scarce in those days, and that the great mass of the people took little or no interest in what the poets wrote and the historians recorded. But certain facts have come down to us, which cause the thoughtful student to open his eyes in wonder and astonishment. In his Ars Poetica, Horace says that a well-written book will find its way across the sea and secure for its author undying fame. He likewise closes his first book of

the Epistles with the prophecy that when it has been thumbed and soiled by the hands of the vulgar, it will in silence feed the groveling book-worm, or make its escape to Utica, or be sent bound to Ilerda in Spain. A Spaniard came all the way from Gades to Rome on purpose to see Livy, and having gratified his curiosity, straightway returned home. A parallel to this incident we find in the case of American students, who now-a-days make a pilgrimage to the University of Halle in order to see Dr. Tholuck. But Tholuck's fame is very small when compared with that of Virgil in his lifetime. A friend of mine on reaching Halle, asked the clerk at the hotel where Dr. Tholuck lives; the clerk never had heard of such a man. On one occasion when Virgil appeared in the theatre, the people rose with one accord and applauded him, an honor which was seldom shown to any one except members of the royal family. His latter days were mostly spent at Naples, but when he showed himself publicly in Rome, so great was the desire of the people to see him, that he was obliged to take refuge in a house to save himself from the pressure of the rabble. Mechanics and peddlers could quote his verses; in time of trouble people would open his poems at random just as they now do the Bible, and upon whatever passage the eye fell, that was regarded as prophetic of future good or evil. His birthday, (October 15,) was celebrated just as Schiller's is in Germany. Inscriptions upon the excavated walls of Pompeii, contain quotations from his poems, sometimes accurate, sometimes in the form of parody, the form of the letters showing that it was done partly by school-boys. It is important to bear in mind that his principal work, the Æneid, was not published until after his death; his fame was therefore greater subsequently than during his lifetime.

Other poets did not share the same popularity as Virgil; but the works of some of them must have found their way into general circulation, for they, too, are quoted on the walls of Pompeii. Ovid boasted that his poems were read all the world over, and Propertius, that the fame of his name had reached the

people dwelling on the banks of the Borysthenes (Dnieper). In fact, Roman literature penetrated as far as Roman arms, and no matter how busy public men were they could always find time for literary pursuits. Cesar, while he was engaged in the Gallic wars, did not spend his leisure hours in smoking a cigar, but in company with his Greek Secretary, Didymus, he studied grammar; he even wrote a treatise on the subject, and very few school-boys dream that when they talk of an ablative case they are using a term invented by Julius Cesar. This wonderful man went so far as to establish a daily newspaper at Rome, containing very much the same class of items as the issues of the daily press in our times. What sounds most wonderful of all is the statement of Velleius Paterculus that twenty years after the conquest of Pannonia, the Latin language and literature were known to a very large extent by the half-civilized inhabitants of that province.

These facts sound almost as fabulous as the tales of Arabian nights. How shall we explain them? The mystery resolves itself as soon as we form adequate notions of the schools, the book-trade, and the public recitations of the Romans.

To understand the nature of the Roman schools it is necessary to bear in mind that the aim of their system of education was very different from ours. With us knowledge is power, with them oratory was power. On assuming the toga at the age of seventeen, a young man might be called upon to defend his property before the public tribunal; if he cherished the ambition for public office, the power to speak in public was indispensable. Hence the Roman school-master did not try to cram into the pupil's head the greatest possible amount of knowledge in the least possible time. Scientific facts and mathematical propositions do not enable the lawyer to thrill a jury with his eloquence; for this purpose he needs the power of expressing the deepest feelings of the human heart in language that is clear, forcible, and elegant. The school-boy's time was therefore devoted mainly to the study of the poets.

Euclid was, perhaps, a separate study, but geography, history, mythology, and the precepts of morality were learned from the poets. Except in the case of those who studied Greek, grammar received very little attention, because it is of comparatively little value in acquiring a ready use of one's mother-tongue. The school exercises consisted, therefore, mainly in dictating, copying, and reciting poets like Ennius and Virgil, so that it is not surprising if the common people became familiar with their verses. Those in quest of higher culture studied Greek, because in this way they came in contact with the highest civilization then in existence. Young men went to Athens as they now go to Germany to complete their studies; in their private conversation they employed Greek in preference to their mother-tongue. The great demand for foreign teachers is shown by the policy of Cesar, who conferred the Roman franchise upon all teachers of the liberal sciences, and on all physicians of the Capital, most of whom were Greeks. One of them filled a Professorship founded by Vespasian, with an annual salary of 100,000 sesterces. These teachers of course directed the attention of their pupils to Homer and the other Greek poets. The father of the poet Statius had a school in Naples, the curriculum of which included more than a dozen Greek poets. Roman schools were therefore far more efficient than ours in disseminating a knowledge of poetry.

The second factor in the literary activity of the Romans was the book-trade. In Germany, the assertion of Schmid, that in ancient times slavery did for literature what the printing-press does in modern times, has become proverbial. To bring out the force of this remark it is necessary to dwell for a moment upon the institution of slavery. And it will assist us if we cast a momentary glance at the Colosseum. Picture to yourself this ruin in all its original grandeur and immensity; bear in mind that it was built in less than three years, and you will have some idea of the number of slaves that were employed in its erection. Its inauguration was celebrated by gladiatorial com-

bats, which lasted one hundred days. History records that nine thousand animals perished upon the arena; of the slaughter of men it says nothing, because human beings were more worthless to the Cesars than wild beasts. Subdued enemies were habitually sold as slaves; their number was so great and their price so cheap that the division of labor was carried to an almost infinite extent. Different domestic duties were performed by separate slaves. Cicero in depicting the meanness of Piso's housekeeping, says that the cook also had charge of the hall, and that there was no butler (pistor) in the house. Horace ridicules Tullius for being attended by only five slaves on his journey; he intimates that it was not respectable to keep less than ten. Indeed the manner of estimating a person's social standing was somewhat similar to that which prevails in certain American cities. In Boston, it is said, people ask: "How much does he know?" in New York, "How much does he own?" in Philadelphia, "To what Church does he belong?" in Rome the test question was, "How many slaves does he keep?" (Quot pascit servos?) A freedman under Augustus, who had lost much of his property in the civil wars, died leaving four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves. In some cases the number ranged from ten to twenty thousand.

Now this immense slave population was turned to account for literary purposes. They acted the part of readers and secretaries, and sometimes supplied the brains which their masters lacked. Seneca relates that a rich man, who was desirous of showing literary taste and anxious to hide his ignorance, got one of his slaves to commit the whole of Homer; another, Hesiod; a third, the nine lyric poets; it was the business of these slaves to stand behind him at the table and furnish quotations as occasion required. But the chief use of them was made in transcribing books. There were booksellers at Rome who had large wholesale establishments, in which one slave dictated and the rest wrote, so that a large edition could be brought out in a short time. Pomponius Atticus employed

several slaves in manufacturing materials for the use of the rest. Of a book which possessed only transient interest, one thousand copies were prepared at the expense of the author; other books were issued in much larger editions. Augustus confiscated in Rome two thousand copies of the pseudo-sybilline books; this occurred several years after their publication; hence many copies had already gone into the provinces. From certain data preserved in Martial's writings, Fredländer has made an estimate showing that books could be bought at Rome for double their present value in Germany. By reason of the twenty-five per cent. duty on all imported books, we Americans pay very nearly as much for books as the Romans did. So brisk was the book-trade that the booksellers monopolized one street as they now do in London ; the shops and columns of the porticos in front were adorned with advertisements of the latest publications. Julius Cesar conceived the idea of establishing a public library ; he offered the office of librarian to Varro, one of the most learned men of that day, although a former adherent of Pompey ; but the project was not carried out on account of Cesar's untimely death. Asinius Pollio erected the first public library containing Greek and Latin books; Augustus added two more; and in the fourth century after Christ, Rome could boast of at least twenty-eight such libraries. I have not found any record stating how large they were; but an inference may be drawn from the fact that 1,700 scrolls were found in one of the excavated rooms at Herculaneum, and from the statement that the grammarian Epaphroditus, owned thirty thousand volumes, and Samnonius Severus, sixty-two thousand. The famous Ulpian library, founded by Trajan, was perhaps not much inferior to that of the Ptolemies, which has been variously estimated at from four to seven hundred thousand volumes.

But there was another factor at work in the literary activity of the Romans. Look again at the Colosseum. The games take place in broad day-light, when the people of our modern

cities are engaged in earning their daily bread. That sea of heads, which have been pouring into the Colosseum like waters into the ocean, shows what a set of idlers the Roman people were; otherwise there would have been but few spectators to witness a series of games lasting one hundred days. The great body of Roman citizens were clients; they lived upon the bounty of their rich patrons and of the government. Freed from the care of providing for themselves, they had ample time for all sorts of amusements. The poets and historians took advantage of this circumstance to bring themselves into notice. Asinius Pollio took the initiative by inviting a select circle to hear the reading of new publications. These public recitations soon grew popular. The ancient manuscripts were written with frequent abbreviations; they were devoid of all punctuation marks; hence the pleasure of reading was very much diminished, if it did not degenerate at times into a task. The populace, having nothing else to do, were ready to listen to an author's words as they fell from his own lips; sometimes not a day passed without a public recitation of some sort. Since from want of time an author could not read a production entire, the extracts which the public heard, only served to stimulate their interest in and eagerness for his works. Titus Labienus was seen to omit certain portions. Some one asked the reason. He replied that a future generation would read these portions, that they were too far in advance of the present age. Other authors resorted to committees of applause to get up a favorable impression in their behalf, and in this they showed as much ingenuity as our College Fraternities. By the promise of money, or a mantle, or a good dinner, freedmen and others possessed of good lungs, were induced to take their places in the audience and at a given signal to applaud by loud bravos and energetic clapping. Indeed it is almost impossible for us to conceive of the extent to which the ancients carried their demonstrations of applause. Pleaders at the bar and pulpit orators were frequently interrupted by the clapping of hands and stamping of

feet in which their hearers indulged. A sermon which Chrysostom preached at Constantinople against this abuse, was most enthusiastically applauded by those that listened to it. At Rome the people sometimes showed their approbation by throwing kisses at the author.

What share the gentler sex had in these literary exercises, is more than I know, the records being very deficient on this point. How the Roman ladies dressed, how they girded themselves in order to improve their external appearance, by what ceremonies they were engaged and married, on these and similar points there is perhaps no lack of evidence, these being things which men love to write and talk about; but what advantages for mental culture woman possessed, Latin authors fail to tell us. Still some facts have come down to us, showing that her education at Rome was better than among the Greeks, and better than we would suppose. At Athens she could not go much beyond the threshold of her own house without endangering her reputation; her highest glory was to be thought of by the men as little as possible either in the way of praise or blame. Roman laws of propriety did not impose on her the duty of shunning the public gaze. In many provincial cities, it is true, a respectable matron did not dare to go through the streets unless she was borne by the stout arms of Gallic or German slaves, whose business it was to defend her from insult and danger. But in the imperial city itself she was allowed to attend the theatre; the husband was not ashamed to take her to a social banquet, where her presence would never have been tolerated if mental culture had not made her agreeable in society. I do not, indeed, find that any of them attended a class in Æsthetics; I am quite sure they never spoke of the privative negativity of the sublime; but at banquets they entertained others by talking of the beauties and merits of Virgil and Homer. Some wrote verses and delighted to be compared with Sappho; others when going on a journey had a long-bearded philosopher in their retinue; a few even took up the

study of Mathematics. The majority of them were not satisfied with a knowledge of their mother-tongue, for from Lucretius we know, that in his time the language of lovers was Greek. Juvenal says that a woman who is a professional critic, is worse than one that is too fond of wine; Horace ridicules a love-sick spinster for placing treatises on stoicism between silk cushions; and Martial declares that one of the wishes of his life is a wife not possessed of too much learning. The younger Pliny boasts of his wife, that love for him induced her to study literature; that she had read and committed some of his publications; and that she watched his literary and forensic success with the most sympathetic interest and anxiety. In general, we may take for granted, that inasmuch as Roman girls were betrothed at twelve, so that their education devolved in a great measure upon their future husband, the majority received sufficient mental culture to make them agreeable companions for life.

In view of these facts we should not be surprised to find treatises by the Romans on subjects ranging from the nature of God to the art of cooking, nor should we consider Mommsen extravagant when he asserts that antiquity was not materially inferior to our own times in the diffusion of elementary attainments. A knowledge of the literary activity of the Romans likewise enables us to form a proper estimate of the influence which the writings of the Church Fathers exerted upon their contemporaries. The defences of Christianity which they wrote were not read simply by the persons to whom these were addressed. The Apologies of Justin Martyr, which were written, one for the Senate and the other for Antoninus Pius, may well be compared with the Institutes of John Calvin, which, though dedicated to the King of France, were read all over Western Europe, and exerted more or less influence upon all classes of society from the throne to the huts of the peasantry. The brains which the Fathers brought to the defence of Christianity, were of equal importance with the blood by which so many sealed their faith. The extensive literary

activity of the Roman people was a necessary preparation for the Savior's advent and a potent help in the establishment of His kingdom upon the earth.

The greatness of the Roman people was manifest even in the decline of the Latin Language and its Literature. This decline was partly due to the oppressive policy of the emperors. Take away from a people the stimulating atmosphere of civil freedom and their literary life is stifled. Titus Labienus, for instance, committed suicide that he might not survive the productions of his pen. But the main cause of decay lay in the fact that the native energy of the Roman stock had been exhausted by long-continued luxury and vice. Most of the old patrician families were extinct or approaching extinction. Augustus in order to promote marriages found it necessary to levy a special tax upon all old bachelors and upon such widows as did not marry within a specified time after the decease of their husbands. But laws cannot renovate society. History, which is more powerful than the decrees of emperors, supplied the deficiency. From the cold regions of the North hosts of barbarians poured down over Italy, barbarians, who were so hardy, that when the first snow fell they stripped naked and rolled themselves on the ground out of pure joy, whose bodies were so strong and vigorous that Cesar's soldiers wept and made their wills at the prospect of a battle with them. Roman discipline resisted them for a while; but in the course of time the empire was overrun by them. Since grown people seldom learn a foreign language in its purity, the Latin tongue was corrupted more and more by the influx of these hordes from the North. Learning took refuge in the monasteries; the monks cherished their manuscripts with the same fond care with which a mother nurses her children; when they could save nothing else from the general destruction they fled, taking their manuscripts with them. Henceforth "Classic Latin was cherished in the schools and cloisters as a dear favorite of the past, whose voice seemed like that of a sweet bird, flying down through the

ages and singing as it flew. It found, like the sparrow, a nest for itself among the altars of God's house; and in the twelfth century its song was heard again everywhere in the open air, in the sacred church-hymns of the times, as of a bird uncaged and at home once more in its native element, full of freedom and of joy." The Vandals could pillage Rome and destroy her edifices; at least ten feet of dust and rubbish covered the Forum before the late excavations; but the ground-work of the Latin Language they could not destroy, for the pages of French, Spanish, and Italian books still bristle with Latin roots, and the excellencies of the mother language live on in the daughters which have sprung from her. "Each one of the Romanic dialects," says Dwight, "has specially preserved some separate cardinal characteristic of the old native stock, which it has kept with jealous care, as a special proof of its original parentage. The Italian has still in possession its fullness of form and sweetness of tone; the Spanish has appropriated to itself its majesty and dignity, and the Portuguese its soft and tender strokes and touches; the French, on the contrary, best exhibits its elements of vivacity and its practical business qualities, and, therefore, like it, abounds in contractions and abbreviations, and is full of martial fire and energy, while the Wallachian has kept most of the old national disposition to appropriate and assimilate extraneous influences and elements to itself."

In conclusion, one lesson may be learned from the literary activity of the Roman people. Their literature did not spring suddenly and in fully developed form from the brains of a few authors as Minerva is fabled to have sprung from the head of Jupiter; but a long period of intellectual activity preceded the golden age of Latin Literature. This activity was superinduced by the influence of Greek studies. Cicero, Virgil, and Horace had drank at the fountains of Greek wisdom and poetry; as early as the days of Cato, the elder, young Romans conversed in Greek just as the sons of Pennsylvania Germans do in English. From that time to the present educators have

found the study of foreign languages the most potent means of mental training. Nothing can ever supply the place of the Classics in this respect. The tendency of our day is to decry the old college curriculum and to substitute in its place mathematics and sciences. Far be it from me to undervalue these, for science teaches a young man to observe facts and to reason upon them correctly, and mathematics tends to make a man's thinking as clear as a crystal, a quality which the quasi-philosophers and young theologians of the Reformed Church stand greatly in need of; nevertheless scientific facts, and mathematical formulæ do not enable the lawyer to thrill a jury by his eloquence, much less do they enable a minister to inspire an audience with higher ideals of goodness and purity. Dr. Duryea, the most promising young divine in Brooklyn, declared a few years ago before the students of Rochester Theological Seminary, that a young minister who neglects his Hebrew, cuts off one arm, and he who neglects his Greek, cuts off the other. At this rate how many American preachers are *minus their arms!* Young man, if you would wield an influence over others, remenber that you need two things: 1, the power to think; 2, the power to express thought. This you can acquire in no way better than by studying the writings of men like Virgil and Homer, Cicero and Plato. In translating these, you must think their thoughts, then weigh words as in a most nicely adjusted balance, and, lastly, construe these words into good language. You thus acquire the power to express the deepest feelings of the human heart in language that is clear, forcible, and elegant. In proof of this assertion, let me point to Dr. Tayler Lewis. It would weary you if I were to give the names of all the classic authors, which he read in his youth;* to-day his newspaper articles are prized like so much gold, and

* During those secluded years, before the call to the New York University, he (*i. e.*, Prof. Tayler Lewis,) read the Hebrew Bible through *annually*, for fourteen years, the Iliad and Odyssey, entire, almost as often; the whole of the Greek

his pen is a thorn in the flesh of all the infidel scientists of America. Is it not a significant fact, that Gladstone, than whom there is not a more influential man in England, can quote Homer with the same facility with which the pulpit orator quotes his Bible? He did not acquire his power of expressing thought and of using the English language by "riding on the backs of Greek and Latin ponies," but by that thorough linguistic drill, which Oxford and Cambridge afford. Then sell your ponies, come down bravely to the digging up of Greek and Latin roots, read the ancient Classics until it ceases to be a task, and when you come to study Blackstone you will not be frightened by his Latin quotations, or if you choose theology, you will delight to read Melancthon and Calvin, and the Church Fathers in the original. In either case the effect will be seen in your diction, and in the success which will crown your subsequent life.

drama, forty-nine extant plays, twice over, and many of them oftener; all the dialogues of Plato, some of them frequently; nearly all of Aristotle—his Physica, Metaphysica, and his more special physical treatises, and also his ethical and political writings, a large part of the lesser hexameter poets, such as Apollonius, Rhodius and Aratus; also Pindar and the pastoral poets, all of Thucydides; all of Herodotus; all of Xenophon; nearly all of Plutarch, Longinus, Lucian, Diodorus Siculus, and the Gnomic and Epic poetry; all of Virgil, Horace and Ovid; and all of Cicero, except his orations.—Hart's Manual of American Literature, page 578. Quoted by Prof. J. M. Hart, in his book on German Universities, to show the value of reading rapidly and reading authors entire in studying a foreign language.

Art. IV.—THE CHURCH QUESTION IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The agitation, at present, going on in the Lutheran Church in this country is certainly worthy of consideration, not only by the members of that Communion, but by all who are interested in the welfare of Christianity at large. The Church Question has by no means reached a satisfactory settlement in Protestantism. The wide-spread disposition to rest satisfied with the present condition of Christendom is, to a large extent, only a deception and a snare. There are those who would entirely rule out the Roman Catholic Church from any consideration in their theory of Church union. Moreover, many consider the present attitude of Protestantism, with its endless divisions, as entirely satisfactory. They make no account of the unity of the Church. Others are satisfied with certain tendencies that look towards a sort of coöperative union among the different denominations as sufficient to satisfy all the demands of the case. Meantime there is a spirit of latitudinarianism at work, which would make orthodoxy a mere myth, holding that all Protestant creeds are good, that agreement in doctrine can never be reached, and if only the essentials are held, it is enough.

All this feeling of satisfaction, however, results to a large extent from covering up the real difficulty. The emptiness of the pretense reveals itself, from time to time, when some practical evidence of this great liberality is demanded. The liberality demanded very often proves to be a demand that all other denominations should agree to come to "us." Each denomination, somehow, feels that its denominational peculiarities must carry in them something essential, as well as its generalities

which it holds in common with other denominations, otherwise it convicts itself of unnecessarily dividing the mystical body of Christ. Then again, we find certain bodies, such as the Episcopal Church, the Baptist Church, and even some small sects asserting an exclusiveness in refusing to recognize any other Church but their own. It is somehow felt that it belongs to the true Church to be exclusive as against all heretics, and every denomination claiming to exercise the functions of a Church feels that it must be able to sit in judgment on false doctrine, otherwise how can it claim to be a safe guide to its people?

These difficulties were all brought forward and earnestly discussed in the Reformed Church years ago. The agitation produced by their discussion has indeed come to an end, but the Church Question is by no means yet settled, and we may look for some serious troubles and solemn admonitions before the Church shall be delivered from its present helpless condition. For these general reasons we are disposed to look with serious interest on the agitation at present at work in the Lutheran Church, threatening as it does to rend it still further, and bring its different parts into still greater opposition.

In order to understand the question fully it might be necessary to present the leading movements in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country. This, however, our limits will not allow in the present article. We can refer to them only in a general and cursory way.

The Lutheran Church, like nearly every other Protestant body, has in it two general parties or wings, a conservative and a radical, a new and an old side, a churchly and an unchurchly element. Dr. Mann, in his monogram on the Lutheran Church, published some years ago, divides it into a right and a left wing, and a centre. The right wing is the rigid Missouri Synod, the left wing, the General Synod, and the centre, the General Council.

The left wing is what Dr. Mann styles "American Lutheranism," and exists in the General Synod, which was formed by a

combination of different Synods, and published its "Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," in the year 1820. This body takes for its guidance the Bible and the Augsburg Confession. "In the preliminary principles of this formula no mention whatever is made of the confessional documents of the Lutheran Church, nothing further being said than 'that every individual is bound to receive this (the Old and New Testament) as his infallible rule of faith and practice, and to be governed by it.' Only in Chapters 18 and 19, which treat of the examination and licensure of candidates, and of ordination, allusion is made to a Confession, and an obligation imposed in the question, 'Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?' In the constitution which the General Synod laid down for the government of the Theological Seminary, it reads: 'In this Seminary shall be taught, both in the German and the English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures, as they are set forth in the Augsburg Confession of Faith.'" This section of the Lutheran Church has literary and theological institutions at Gettysburg, Pa.

The right wing consists of "the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States," which was organized in Chicago, Illinois, in 1847. This organization grew out of a separation from the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, which was formed in 1817 under Frederic William III. This union was composed of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Prussia. A disaffection existed, from the beginning, among some of the Lutherans, which was increased by the introduction of the *Prussian Agenda* (Liturgy) in 1822. Under the persecution that followed some preferred to leave their fatherland and emigrated to America. A party which had seceded from the Lutheran Church in Saxony, came over in 1838 under the leadership of a Saxon preacher, Stephan, whom they afterwards expelled from their communion. In addition to these, others

came from Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover in 1840. Most of them settled in the far West, and not being willing to unite with the General Synod, they organized themselves into the Synod above named. They have a College at St. Louis and a Seminary at Fort Wayne. They hold strictly to the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, and adhere in the main to the forms and customs in worship of the Lutheran Church of the Sixteenth Century. They keep lights burning on the altar, use the wafer in the Communion, and make the sign of the cross in baptism and other services.

The centre is found in the General Council, which is composed of a number of Synods, the leading one being the oldest (and perhaps the largest) Synod in the Lutheran Church in this country, "the Synod of Pennsylvania and adjacent States," organized, if our memory serves us, in 1748. This body adheres also to the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, viz.: the three Ancient Creeds, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's two Catechisms, and the Formula Concordiæ, but differs from the Missouri Synod more perhaps in regard to certain rules and customs than doctrinally.

For properly understanding the question which is at present agitating especially this centre of the Lutheran Church, the General Council, it is necessary also to consider that the Lutheran Church claims to have attached the greatest possible importance from the beginning to *purity of doctrine according to the Word of God.* It is true that originally the Reformed Church emphasized the formal principle of Protestantism, the Bible the only standard of faith, more than the Lutheran. The Lutherans claimed to hold whatever was not forbidden by the Word of God, while the Reformed would hold only that which was commanded in the Scriptures. And it is known that Luther was accustomed to make the material principle govern the formal, at least so far as to judge of the inspiration of the Scriptures. But it is still true that the Lutheran Church from

the beginning, has always laid great stress on purity of doctrine. It grew to be, in a special sense, the theological Church of the Reformation. In the Seventeenth Century the formal principle asserted supreme control in the Lutheran Church, as was the case also in the Reformed Church at that time. Orthodoxy became the test of a standing or falling Church.

The discussions and differences between the General Council and the General Synod have, no doubt, tended to intensify this feature of Lutheranism as represented in the former body. This, indeed, is one of the main causes of difference between them. The General Synod refuses to be rigidly bound by the Lutheran symbols. They profess to hold the Lutheran doctrine substantially, but claim freedom as to particular points. It is charged against them that they have seriously departed from the original Lutheran faith, and fallen largely under Puritan influence. And it must be acknowledged that many among them hold views on the Lord's Supper that are more Calvinistic, and even Zwinglian than Lutheran, and that they have come to a considerable extent under the influence of the New-Measure revival system as contrasted with the Catechetical or educational system. The General Council Lutherans claim to be true to original Lutheranism. They hold firmly to all the Lutheran symbols, and claim that this is essential to anything that claims to be pure Lutheranism.

Under these circumstances the General Council was led to consider the necessity of maintaining the true faith and protecting it from being corrupted, and it decided that, as necessary for this, Lutheran pulpits can be occupied only by Lutheran ministers, and Lutheran altars be approached only by Lutheran members. When this dictum was first promulgated, it was allowed that exceptions could be made by individual ministers. A later decision, however, claimed that the duty of excluding all but Lutheran ministers from Lutheran pulpits and all but Lutheran members from Lutheran altars, is based on the Word of God and the Lutheran Confessions, and as a divine law or

rule can admit of no exceptions; the question under dispute now is whether the rule shall not be rigidly observed without allowing any exceptions. Prominent men in the General Council are divided in their opinions, not so much, it would seem, in regard to the rule, as in regard to the exceptions.

The principle is acknowledged by all Churches, that the true doctrine of God's Word must be sacredly guarded from error. Each denomination requires its teachers of theology and its pastors to teach and preach the doctrines of the Word of God according to the standards of its particular Church. And this principle is so rigidly adhered to at times (though most wofully disregarded at other times), that a minister or a teacher of theology may be, and often is, presented for heresy, if he differs in his teaching or preaching from the Catechism or Confession of his Church. It is fresh in the recollection of all how rigidly and strenuously this principle was carried out in the Presbyterian Church against Albert Barnes, in the contest which resulted in a division in that Church.

And it would seem that if a pastor is not allowed to preach anything contrary to the Confession of his Church himself, he would not be allowed to invite a minister from another Church to do what he himself would be condemned for doing. If it be urged that a large portion of the preaching is occupied with points on which there is a general agreement among Evangelical Churches, and not with points that distinguish one Church from another, and that therefore a minister of one Church may preach in another without giving offence, it is replied, that if these denominational differences are important and fundamental, they will necessarily mould all the preaching, and if they are not important and fundamental, the Church that holds them to the extent of maintaining a separate denomination is guilty of schism. The Roman Church acts on this principle; so does the Episcopal Church, so far as the pulpit is concerned; and the Baptist in one section, so far as the altar is concerned. We refer to these points here in order to show that the princi-

ple laid down by the General Council is concerned with what is regarded as important by Protestant Churches generally, and should not be judged or condemned without careful and serious consideration. Indeed there is a feeling in every body that claims to be a Church, as if instinctively, that it possesses the true doctrine of God's Word to the exclusion of all other doctrine. This we believe is an unconscious testimony to the great importance of true doctrine, and that whatever claims to be the Church should be able to teach it to the exclusion of heresy.

This side of the question has been urged by Dr. C. P. Krauth, in a series of articles in the *Lutheran and Missionary* recently, with an ability and a solemn earnestness which must command attention and respect. In one article, in which he exposed the hollowness of sectarianism and the hypocrisy of much of the so-called unionism of the day, a unionism which unites the loosest latitudinarianism with the narrowest sectarian bigotry, we were reminded of the scathing philippics which Dr. Nevin once launched against the spirit of sect and schism. So far we can go with Dr. Krauth. We regard sectarianism as an evil, one of the greatest evils that afflicts Protestantism. We regard the present denominational form of the Church as temporary and interemistic. But when he comes to present his solution of the question, his remedy for the evil, we differ fully as decidedly. That solution and that remedy is, the claim that *the Lutheran Church is the only Evangelical Church on earth since the Reformation and at the present time*, and that all other denominations and churches, claiming to be such, are only heretical and schismatic bodies. We respect Dr. Krauth's honesty and earnestness in maintaining the claim, while we dissent from it as fearful and monstrous. We dissent from it, not as implying that we endorse the doctrinal position of the other wing of the Lutheran Church, which stands arrayed against the General Council. As an internal Church discussion, a family dispute, we do not wish to meddle with it. But

in taking this position publicly, Dr. Krauth presents a challenge to all other Protestant Churches, which is not a whit behind the monstrous claims of Romanism. We may find salvation in our other Protestant denominations as individual evangelical Christians, but not as members of the only true Church. If we get to heaven in them, it will be in spite of them, and not as in any proper sense a true mother to lead and guide us thither.

And in uttering this dissent and protest, we must remind Dr. Krauth, that in making his claim for the Lutheran Church on the basis of the Word of God *and the Lutheran Symbols*, he is going quite beyond the original principle of Protestantism, and really surrendering to the Roman principle. The Protestant principle set forth the Word of God alone as the rule or standard of faith, while the Roman Church presented the Word of God *and tradition*. We are aware of the difficulty that arises here, but it is a difficulty originally between Romanism and Protestantism, and to surrender to it, is at once to yield to the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. The Bible requires to be interpreted, and everything depends on the right interpretation. Hence the need of a symbol or confession of faith. Protestantism responded to this necessity. It did not teach the doctrine of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture. Even the radical extreme of Puritanism did not teach the right of the mere natural reason of each individual to interpret the Bible. When Robinson dismissed the band of pilgrims at Delft Haven, he enjoined upon them not to hold merely the doctrines they then had, but to receive whatever else additional *the Holy Spirit* might reveal to them from the Word of God. Even he recognized something more than the mere natural reason as necessary in order to understand the Scriptures. Much more did original Protestantism recognize the necessity of a confession that would contain the true doctrine of the Word of God. Hence it gave us the Augsburg Confession, the first Reformation Confession. It gave us moreover the Heidelberg Cate-

chism, and the Thirty-nine Articles, and other Lutheran and Reformed confessions. But, now, to take any one of these, or any one class of them, as the Lutheran, and place it or them alongside the Word of God, and say that these together constitute the rule of faith, this, we say, is to surrender the original principle of Protestantism. In order to maintain his position, Dr. Krauth must maintain that the Lutheran confessions are inspired, and for that we do not think he is quite yet prepared.

If the General Council were to mean merely that, in its judgment, the Lutheran Symbols contain the purest form of Christian doctrine, and, therefore, to maintain it in its purity, and preserve their people from being confused or injured by any other form of doctrine they exclude all but Lutheran ministers from their pulpits; and further, that the Lutheran Church can be responsible only for its own members, and, therefore, it cannot assume the responsibility of admitting members from other Churches to their altars, it would be a different matter. But the rule as maintained by Dr. Krauth is based upon the claim that the Lutheran is the only Evangelical Church.

We are ready to admit that the Reformation symbols have a special sacredness and authority attached to them, just as the symbols of the Primitive Church are of special sacredness and authority. We recognize the Reformation as a historical movement under the guidance of the great Head of the Church and of His Spirit. There was a special guidance vouchsafed to those who were called to lead in this movement, and the period of the Sixteenth Century became for Protestantism what the first five centuries are for universal Christendom. But we dare not place the Reformers on an equality with Apostles, nor the Reformation Confessions on an equality with the inspired Scriptures. Dr. Krauth does not claim this, we know, but we think his argument necessarily requires it as a postulate. We may argue in favor of a Church symbol and maintain that it

contains the purest form of doctrine, but we cannot make it binding on the consciences of others by virtue of any mere Church authority it contains. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament alone are binding in that way.

Just here the argument of the Romanist meets us. The Church must hold to the true doctrine or become heretical. But in order to have pure doctrine, the Bible must be interpreted by an infallible authority. This authority is the Church. Therefore we must receive and believe the doctrines taught by the Church (the Roman Church), on pain of condemnation as heretics and exclusion as schismatics for refusing. The argument proves too much; for if the doctrinal exposition of the Scriptures must be infallible, then an infallible guide is equally necessary to mediate and impart that exposition to the people. Not only must the Pope be inspired, but the officers below him, through whose hands the truth must pass before it reaches the people, must be inspired likewise.

But the premises, in our judgment, are not correct. It is not necessary that the Church shall hold absolutely to all true doctrines in order to be a Church, nor for individual Christians in order to salvation. It is desirable that they should, we grant, but doctrine is of human authority as to its form; only the verities of faith, as presented in Holy Scripture, are absolutely necessary for salvation. What we mean is that in a Church, doctrine may, in some features, be imperfect and even erroneous, and yet it does not necessarily thereby forfeit its claim to be a Church. Just here, perhaps, lies the centre of the question under consideration.

Christianity consists essentially and primarily in life, not doctrine. The two are nearly related, we know, but they are not one and the same thing. Life comes first, then doctrine. The Christian life commenced by believing in the verities of faith. Primarily the object of faith is Jesus Christ. The original disciples believed in Jesus Christ, and this faith was confirmed in them in the baptism of the Holy Ghost on the day

of Pentecost. The first thing we get in the history of the Church is *creed.* The life of the primitive Church first centred in the Apostles' Creed before it went on to elaborate its doctrinal system. Creed is not just the same as doctrine or dogma. We may not always be able to make the distinction, to draw a line between them. Creed deals mainly with the facts of salvation. In the Apostles' Creed, for instance, faith is confessed in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but there is no doctrinal definition of the Trinity or the person of Christ. Such definitions are, indeed, introduced to some extent in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan and Athanasian creeds, whether for better or worse we will not say; but even here we are still limited to the immediate objects of faith.

In doctrine faith is rationalized for the understanding. This process is a very necessary one. Faith and reason cannot be sundered. What is received by faith must enter the domain of the reason. Moreover doctrine is necessary as against error. The doctrines of the early Church, on the Trinity, the person of Christ, sin and redemption, were all developed as the rise of error furnished the occasion. They would have had a development in any case. The Church did not start, however, with doctrine; it started with life, new regenerate life, and this stood in faith, which gives us creed first and then doctrine. It may indeed be said that the Church had doctrine implicitly if not explicitly, that it held all that afterwards was developed, only not in conscious expression; but this is yielding the point, for as implied, it was not yet doctrine but faith and life.

We strike here the weak point in the Roman Catholic argument. It maintains that all the true doctrines must be held implicitly. We know that many a Roman Catholic is ignorant of the doctrines of his Church, as are many Christians in every other Church. He could not, perhaps, tell what the Church teaches in regard to the person of Christ. But, the Roman argument urges, he believes implicitly all that the Church teaches. The evil lies not in not knowing the doctrines that

the Church teaches, but in refusing to believe in the guidance, the infallibility of the Church. But here the point is yielded, that faith in all true doctrine is necessary to salvation. Another doctrine is substituted, viz.: the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church, or, as now taught, of the Pope. It is difficult to see, however, why this one doctrine becomes saving, and a refusal or unwillingness to hold it, damning, when a Christian may be ignorant, or even heretical, in reference to some other doctrines and yet be saved.

We know that Dr. Krauth makes the distinction, that while a knowledge of and belief in all true doctrine may not be necessary for individual salvation, yet to hold and to teach it is absolutely necessary for the existence of the Church. But the Church itself has not always been infallible in reference to all Christian doctrines. The head of the Roman Church, the Roman bishop, was for a short time Arian, and so was the larger portion of the whole Christian Church at the time. Honorius Ist. was a Monothelite, and, as such, was anathematized by two Œcumenical Councils. And the Church before the Reformation, all Protestants must hold, fell into doctrinal error. In saying this, however, we would by no means let go the great truth that the Church is "the pillar and ground of the truth." It can never lose the faith or the truth, and must always teach it sufficiently for salvation.

The Church can never lose the true Christian doctrine, nor indeed any part of it. But we cannot see that the fact that the doctrinal Confession of a body claiming to be a part of the Church is incomplete, or even contains error in some points, necessarily makes it a heretical sect and no true Church. And, therefore, even allowing the bold claim of Dr. Krauth, that the Lutheran Confessions, among all Protestant Confessions, alone contain the true doctrine of God's Word in its purity, we cannot see that this would necessarily unchurch all other Protestant bodies. Of course we do not allow the claim. It seems to us as absurd as it is bold.

We meet a difficulty here, it is true. If a Church may hold erroneous views on any one doctrine, and yet be a true Church, where shall we draw the line which shall determine whether its claim is valid or not? How much error may it hold and yet remain a true Church? And who shall determine on what particular doctrine it may be, partially at least, in error and still be a true Church. To be unsound, for instance, on the person of Christ or the Trinity, to deny the divinity of Christ, is considered more grievous than to be unsound on some doctrine like that of the millennium, or the decrees. But where and who is the umpire to decide which are what may be called essential doctrines? We feel the difficulty, but it will not remove it to set up a Pope or a Confession as an infallible guide, for these, as matter of fact, have time and again failed. Neither is it removed by the cry, the Bible alone is the only infallible guide, in the sense this cry is often uttered, that is, that each one is to interpret the Bible according to his private judgment his natural reason. The common view, in regard to holding the essentials, does not help us much, as we have seen, because there is a difference of opinion as to what is really essential though we think the truth lies near this when properly understood.

What we press at this point, however, is,—that Christianity is essentially *life*, and that faith and Creed go before dogma. It is sometimes said, "you must know what you are to believe before you can believe,—knowledge must go before faith." But the "what" here is not primarily doctrine, but fact, substantial reality. The primary object of faith is Christ the Lord, not a doctrine in regard to Him. "But," it may be urged, "when you say you believe in Jesus Christ the Lord, you must attach some meaning to the words. Whom do you believe Christ to be? What think ye of Christ? and so you get at once a doctrine of Christ." We get, not doctrine first, but Creed. Faith and Creed involve some knowledge of the object, we grant, but the difference will appear if we consider

how little of subsequent doctrinal distinctions and definitions entered into the faith of the first Christians. These distinctions and definitions became necessary, some of them at any rate (though it is a question whether a great many of them might not be dispensed with), but still they are not the same as Creed. We believe the Lutheran Church goes too far in making true doctrine the sole foundation of the Church. Christianity is essentially *life* first, objectively considered, and life apprehended by *faith*, subjectively, then doctrine, not *vice versa*.

As this is a point of great importance, we deem it worthy of still further consideration. We have no desire to undervalue sound doctrine. Very often those who clamor against doctrine and theology, do it under the impulse of doctrines or a theology of their own. They mean, whether conscious of the fact or not, that all doctrines but the ones they hold, and all theologies but their own, are worthless. We have no sympathy with those who would resolve Christianity into a system of maxims or rules for the government of the life. They say too, Christianity is life, but they mean their own life, or at any rate the life of the Christian man. They make Christianity a mere system of morality. They do not want any creeds or confessions. They select such portions of the Word of God as the Sermon on the mount, and claim that this should be the only guide for the Church. This is not what we mean when we say that Christianity is essentially life. We mean life in the sense in which our Saviour says that He is the life, or as St. John says of Him, "In Him was life, and the life was the light of the world." Life first, then light. The life of the Lord, mediated to man by the Holy Spirit and nourished there, is the substance of Christianity. This is something deeper than doctrine.

The Church did not start with a system of theology nor a code of doctrines. Even the most doctrinal epistles of the New Testament, as Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Hebrews, &c.,

show this. They address themselves to specific practical wants. In modern confessions, one of the first and main points considered is the Trinity, yet there is only one passage in the New Testament which gives us anything like a formal doctrinal statement of the Trinity, and this is generally conceded to be an interpolation, at least its genuineness is doubtful. And this must be so, for as we have already said, doctrine is not primarily and directly the object of faith. Yet faith and doctrine are vitally connected. True doctrine is necessary for the development of faith. "Add to your faith virtue, and to virtue *knowledge*." False doctrine tends to vitiate and destroy faith. Hence heresy is dangerous and must be condemned. This requires that the Church must be able to discern the true doctrine and distinguish it from the false. For this end the Holy Spirit dwells in the Church to lead it into all truth. We believe in such inspiration and guidance.

Are we not then, after all, thrown back upon some doctrinal confession which the true Church presents for our guidance? And must not that be a Reformation Confession, produced at a time when the Church was enabled to cast off the accummulated errors of Romanism? But the Reformation has given us different confessions. Must we take one of these in such exclusive sense as to regard all others as heresies, and the bodies that hold them as schismatical sects? That seems to be the only alternative with Dr. Krauth. For him the Lutheran confessions determine the only true Church as exclusively as the Episcopal succession determines and bounds it for the Episcopalian. The Lutheran Church is the only Evangelical Church. Christians there are in other Protestant bodies, but they are such only by virtue of holding the essentials of Lutheran doctrine. The denominations to which they belong, however, cannot be branches of the one true Church. Thus we get the very principle promulgated by the Roman Church, and to hold it is to surrender the Protestant principle.

Doctrinal formulas and definitions are of human authority.

They seek to reduce the verities of faith to intelligible forms for the understanding. These verities present the absolute truth, centering in Christ, while the truth of doctrine is relative, approximate, and not absolute and final in any given formula. Hence doctrines are progressive. They admit of change and improvement. Take, for instance, the dogma of the Atonement. In the beginning, this had no formal doctrinal statement. Then, in the Primitive Church, at one time it took the form of a satisfaction made to the Devil, from whose power man was delivered. In the Middle Ages it was changed, in the Anselmic theory, to a satisfaction made to the justice of God, and in modern times the dogma has been treated under still different aspects. So the dogma of the Trinity came to a full definition in the Athanasian Creed, but even this cannot be regarded as exhaustive and of binding authority for all time. The Reformation brought out new sense from the Word of God in Soteriology. It developed in clearer statement than had ever been given before the doctrine of justification by faith, reading with new insight the Epistles of Paul to the Romans and Galatians. But can we stop here and say the doctrinal formulas as then elaborated are ultimate and absolute? To do so would be to reduce Christianity to a formula of doctrine; it would be limiting that which is infinite to finite, fixed forms. The mere understanding can never take in the whole of Christianity. Faith has God for its object, but what effort of the understanding can ever give us a complete doctrinal explanation of the infinite being of God. Faith, more specifically, lays hold of Christ—God in Christ—yet who can reduce the person of Christ to a doctrinal definition?

The chief doctrinal difference between the Lutheran Church and the Reformed in the time of the Reformation, started here. It found expression, it is true, in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but it was found that back of this lay the difference in regard to the person of Christ. The Lutheran faith held to a closer union of the two natures in Christ, tending, as the Re-

formed thought, towards Eutychianism in the *communicatio idiomatum*. The Reformed faith held to a wide separation or clearer distinction between the two natures, tending, as the Lutherans charged, towards Nestorianism. The Lutheran view emphasized the immanence, the Reformed, the transcendance of Christ. And this difference involves, then, different views of the relation of the infinite to the finite, a purely metaphysical question. Now, who shall say that the whole truth lies exclusively on the one side or the other? If it be said, the Bible here must be the umpire, we grant it. The Bible teaches the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. But the Calvinistic Reformed view holds this as well as the Lutheran,—the difference relates to the mode of the presence, Now the difference here brought to view can be overcome, transcended, only by a deeper apprehension of the person of Christ. In this way doctrinal differences are generally resolved. The approach to doctrinal agreement or unity comes only by a sort of dialectic process (which characterizes all intellectual progress), by which two conflicting views are taken up (aufgeheben) in a higher. But this shows certainly that Christianity is not doctrine, and that doctrine is progressive, and, therefore, that no one fixed standard or statement can be sufficient for all time.

Some help may be sought in the solution of the problem, by making a distinction between dogma and doctrine. The dogma of the Atonement or of the Lord's Supper is one in all ages, while the doctrines in regard to it are changeable. That Christ offered Himself a sacrifice for man is fixed and settled once for all. The explanations of the fact may vary. That the Lord's Supper is a sacrament in which the believer feeds upon the body and blood of Christ is an unchangeable dogma, while different explanations may be given in regard to the manner of His presence in the Holy Supper and of the believer's receiving Him. But this distinction, right and proper as it is, does not remove the whole difficulty; for, in the first place, we must

get back even of dogmas to find the essential substance of Christianity. The dogma of all dogmas is the person of Christ. The number of dogmas that may be set forth depends on the progressive intellectual apprehension of Christianity. At first it was, "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." Then came the enlargement of the faith in the Apostles' Creed, and so as the case required, other additions were made to the original "good confession." Then, in the second place, a confession, such as the Augsburg Confession and the symbols of the Lutheran Church, and, we may say, all the Reformation symbols include doctrines as well as dogma, and to one form of these, exclusively, we are now to be bound, according to the theory we are reviewing.

We claim, then, that to make any one Reformation Confession, and the Lutheran in particular, of binding authority in such sense, that the Church which holds it is the only true Church, to the exclusion of those Churches which may hold to others, is a giving up of the Protestant principle and a surrender to Rome. Between the two, if we are required to give up the Protestant principle, we would rather choose the guidance of the Church of Rome than the Church of Luther. But we are not reduced to this alternative, for we hold that there is something deeper in Christianity than doctrine, and the Church may be a safe guide to souls even while her doctrinal formulas may be imperfect.

But where then is the safeguard in the Church? Where is the assurance that the Church is advancing in the development of her doctrines to the full truth for the intellect, as she furnishes the full truth for faith in the new creation in Christ? We shall try to answer this question according to Protestant teaching. Protestantism gives us two principles, which, however, are organically united. The one, justification by faith, refers to the material side of Christianity. The Church has committed to it the deposit of faith. Jesus Christ is the object of faith and, through the Holy Ghost, the source of life and

salvation to all who believe in Him. This, we may say, is the deepest side of Christianity. The life of Christ is the material substance of the life of His people. There is no break in the onward flow of this new, regenerated life of humanity through the ages. There is a deeper succession than that which holds in a form of Church-government merely, as the Episcopate, or of merely orthodox doctrines in a Confession. The Church is a body which perpetuates its own life, though in a different manner, as really as the natural race of man. Here faith is the organ on the part of the members, which must apprehend the mystery of grace in Jesus Christ. In order to be justified in Christ, faith is necessary. Hence the Reformers taught that man is justified by faith alone, though faith must bring forth good works as its fruit, otherwise it would not be genuine faith, as St. James tells us.

The Church has committed to it the Word and the Sacraments. The Word contains the formal expression of revelation, the revelation in language corresponding to the revelation in life in the person of Christ. This Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, furnishes the full and complete guidance for the Church, in coming to the apprehension of the truth as it is in Christ. Hence the guide for the Church itself is the Word of God. By this all Creed, and dogma, and doctrine are to be judged. The Word of God is a living word; it differs from mere human utterances, and therefore from all doctrinal formulas. As the Word of God it carries with it infinite fullness. It can not be exhausted in any age of the Church. It is for all time, a well from which believers may drink in every age. The sense of the Bible is deeper than finite thought. Its meaning is unfolded progressively in the Church. Different portions of it become invested with new meaning and significance at different times. There are mysteries in the Old Testament which have not yet been fathomed. The epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians became the source of new enlightenment to the Reformers. The parables contain a depth of hidden meaning,

which has not yet been fully brought to light. The Revelation of St. John has been as yet, for the most part a sealed book. Bengel led the way in modern times to the importance of getting at the meaning of its prophetic mystical utterances, and its ethical significance for the Church.

Being such, the Bible can be understood only under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Its mysteries can be apprehended only by faith. Its inner spiritual meaning is open only to those who come to it with a spiritual sense. Hence it is very evident that it cannot be properly interpreted by private judgment, if by this we mean the mere natural reason. But if we mean that it is accessible to all believers, and not merely to a class, then there is truth in the theory of private judgment. There are those who are appointed to teach it under the direction and authority of the Church, but this does not set aside the privilege and duty of every Christian going to it and drawing from its living waters.

We see from this that the Bible is a standard of faith different from a Confession of doctrine. Its meaning is susceptible of continuous progressive unfolding. It is, therefore, a living guide for the Church in every age. Dr. Krauth would likely agree with us in all this. The Reformers were guided in bringing out the truth of the Word of God for the exigencies of that epoch. Until we reach another epoch we must stand on the Confession they gave us as a condition for any right progress. But the Reformation was clearly not limited to the movement started by Luther (even that had within it the strictly Lutheran and Melanchthonian tendencies), but arose simultaneously in nearly every country in Europe. Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, Knox, Cranmer, these, and such as these, were leaders that did much to guide the different-sided movement that arose. What authority is there for taking one of these and claiming that he must be received to the exclusion of all others? We agree with Dr. Krauth in attaching importance to the Reformation symbols.

Now in the conflicts, contradictions, and divisions that have grown out of the freedom of Protestantism we look forward to a new advance, for the Church cannot stand still. Where shall we look for guidance and help? May we not expect a new revelation of the deep inner meaning of the Word of God, which shall help a struggling Church to still greater light? In turning to this source we would not undervalue the importance of confessions and of theology. The Reformers did not do this with reference to the ancient creeds and confessions. They did not discard tradition, but made it subservient to the Holy Scriptures, and used it as a help in studying them. If such tradition did not seem to help them so much immediately and directly (for they appeared to come to the Scriptures with a sort of new sense, awakened by their spiritual want), yet it served its full purpose in producing the new Confessions, and in linking on the confessions and theology of the Protestant period with all previous times. But we would thus keep the Bible above all traditions. One part of the work our Saviour performed in His teaching was to flash new light upon the Old Testament Scriptures and reveal to the Jews the new meaning contained in them. There are still whole sections of Scripture that have not yet yielded up their hidden treasures. May not the Church find in this rule of faith far more even than they thought when the Reformers fought for it at the time of the Reformation?

We would not go to it, of course, as it was viewed in the Seventeenth Century, when the Bible was made the whole of revelation; when the distinction was largely obliterated between the material and formal principles of Protestantism, the former being made to absorb the latter. It is not likely that the needed light will come through the excessive learned criticism to which the Bible has been subjected in these latter days. All this may, indeed, be rather an impediment in the way rather than a help directly to what is required. But the Holy Spirit will guide the Church into all truth. There is here a factor at work which transcends all merely human thought. The Spirit

alone comprehends the deep mysteries of revelation, and He brings them to the knowledge of the Church. If we are on the eve of a new epoch, as many earnest minds think, in the history of the Church, an epoch which may be even greater than that of the Sixteenth Century, may we not look for such new direction from the Spirit through the Word of God?

Meantime where shall we look for guidance? Must we wait for such new revelation before we can find the true Church? No, we reply, we have the true Church in the Reformation Churches, the Reformed as well as the Lutheran. There is no greater difficulty now in ascertaining the true doctrines of the Word of God than in former ages, except that in transition periods, such as this seems to be, there is always unusual peril. We sympathize with the conservative, Churchly tendencies of the Lutheran Church of the General Council, but if that body undertakes the task of unchurching the whole Reformed Church, yea, the whole Protestant Church outside of Lutheranism, it will find itself, we fear, where the Roman Church found itself when it undertook, at the Council of Trent, to unchurch Protestantism. We look for some better solution of the question that at present agitates the Churches of the General Council. T. G. A.

Art. V.—THE REALITY OF PROPHETIC INSPIRATION.

BY PROF. F. A. GAST.

The prophets of Israel have justly been the admiration of the world. They shed a brilliant lustre on their own nation. They opened a fountain of truth from which all other nations can drink and be refreshed. They exerted a mighty influence, which has extended beyond their own age and their own people, which is felt to-day and will continue to be felt to the end of time. What were they? Their pure and lofty Theism at a period when even the most highly-cultivated nations were sunk in profound spiritual darkness; their fearless proclamation of unwelcome truths in the very face of kings and princes; their bold denunciations of the popular vices of their day; their unquestioning certainty of soul that the word they uttered was not their own, but the word of the Lord; their wonderful glimpses into the future, enabling them to threaten impenitent lives with the inevitable judgments of heaven, or to console despondent hearts with the glorious salvation Jehovah would surely bring; this, and much else, fills us with a desire to learn what sources of knowledge they possessed and by what authority they spoke.

Other nations had their oracles and soothsayers, Israel alone had prophets. In what light are these prophets to be viewed? Some have compared them to the popular orators of antiquity, men who, themselves filled with a lofty enthusiasm, harangued the people and sought by burning words to stir them up to high and noble deeds. Orators many of them were. But when we have said this, we have said nothing to the purpose. We have given no explanation of anything characteristic of their work as prophets. It is probable that some of their oracles, espe-

cially in the later period of prophetism, were never orally delivered. The resemblance these prophets bear to the orators of other nations is at best only superficial. It extends simply to the external form of their activity, not to anything essential and peculiar. Greece and Rome, too, gave birth to orators; but Israel alone gave birth to prophets, men, who came professedly with a message direct from heaven, whose sole theme was religion, and whose only aim was the advancement of the kingdom of God.

Others have regarded them as patriotic statesmen, who, gifted with a profound insight into the actual condition and higher needs of the nation, were able to propose right measures for the present, and even to cast correct glances into the future. Their lessons were, indeed, for their own age; but they enforced these lessons by warnings and consolations drawn from the ages to come, by a superior wisdom which discerned the necessary connection between sin and judgment, between righteousness and salvation. This is, doubtless, true. The prophets were statesmen, though of a peculiar kind. Theirs, we may say, was a Divine statesmanship, which related to the affairs of the kingdom of God. It had nothing of a merely secular character about it, but rested wholly on moral and religious considerations. The prophets were theocratic statesmen, who viewed the nation in the light of its relation to Jehovah, its King. They interpreted for the Israel of their own time the will of heaven. But how did they ascertain that will? Was it by natural study and reflection; or was it by a supernatural disclosure from heaven itself?

Others have represented the prophets as poets, who, by the inspiration peculiar to genius, had deeper intuitions of truth than are vouchsafed to ordinary mortals. They lived, it is said, in an ideal world which their lively fancy invested with all the attributes of reality. Rising above the confusion and turmoil of their age, they conceived and cherished lofty ideals, which filled their souls with unquenchable longings, and often

proved to be wonderful anticipations of what was afterward actually brought to pass. There is, indeed, a close affinity between the prophet and the poet. The prophetic style naturally tends to become poetic. Deep emotions, such as were experienced by the prophet when the word of the Lord took possession of his soul, always find expression in a rythmical flow of language and in a richness and variety of imagery. All this, however, bears only on the form of prophetic communications; it does not help us to ascertain the source of the truths communicated.

The true prophet is more than orator, statesman or poet. Not in any one of these nor in all combined are found those characteristics which distinguish him from other men. What is peculiar to the prophet is, that by a supernatural inspiration he reveals the will of God.

But, it may be asked, is not the poet inspired as well as the prophet? And, if he is a religious poet, whose soul breathes the deepest piety of his age, is he not at the same time a prophet of heaven? There is, indeed, an inspiration that belongs to the poet, as to genius in general. The great creative thoughts to which genius of whatever kind gives birth, are real and true inbreathings from another world than that of the individual spirit of the poet, philosopher or artist. They are in no sense the products of his own study and meditation. They are not at his command to be willed into existence. They come by sudden, mysterious flashes, instantly lighting up the soul—whence and how, he cannot tell. They are not self-produced, but given, and come, unbidden, by an inspiration which is more than a figure of speech. For the human spirit rests in the Divine Spirit. In God we live, move and have our being. It is a grievous error when Pantheism identifies the human and the Divine, acknowledging in the one only a transient manifestation of the other; but it is a no less grievous error when Deism, in its desire to keep the human and the Divine distinct, actually sets them wide apart, leaving the mind of man to its own sepa-

rate workings. The truth is, that the Divine Spirit breathes into the human spirit, and that this inbreathing is the source whence we derive whatever is true, and beautiful, and good, and forms at the same time the indispensable condition of all right progress. "There is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men."

This inspiration of genius, however, belongs to the natural order, and is in virtue of God's general relation to the world. But there is another and higher inspiration, of a supernatural kind, the consequence of a special relation into which God enters with men. The difference between natural and supernatural inspiration corresponds to the difference between secular and sacred history. God is present in both; but in the history of revelation He is present in a different and higher form than in the history of the world at large.

It is not enough, then, that the prophet be inspired: so, too, is the true poet. It is necessary, if he is to disclose the will of God, that he be supernaturally inspired. And the question now arises, whether we are justified by the facts that come before us in the prophetic writings, in ascribing to Israel's seers an inspiration, other than that which belongs to the world's great poets.

A name is often the embodiment of a belief; and it may well be that the name by which the prophet is ordinarily known bears witness to the popular faith in his inspired character. נָבִיא, the usual Hebrew word for prophet, is derived from a root נָבָא, which is found in Hebrew only in *niphal* and *hithpael*, but is most probably connected with the root נָבַע, having the signification "to well up," "to bubble forth," like a fountain. It is a question, however, whether the noun is to be taken in a passive or in an active sense. Here scholars are divided in opinion. The form of the word is properly passive, and it is significant that the corresponding verb is used only in *niphal* and *hithpael*, which are so closely allied to the passive. This gives proba-

bility to the view, that *Nabi* marks out the prophet as an inspired person—as one into whom the truth of God is poured, and in whom, as it were, it bubbles up. Others, however, give to the word an active sense, and maintain that it designates the prophet as one who pours forth words—as the orator, the spokesman, the interpreter. It would thus be the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin *vates*, from *fari*, and of the Greek προφήτης, from πρόφημι, which originally meant "to speak forth," and only at a later time acquired the signification "to foretell." In confirmation of this view, appeal has been made to Ex. vii. 1, where God says to Moses: "I have made thee a god (Elohim) to Pharaoh; and Aaron, thy brother, shall be thy prophet" (Nabi), the spokesman who shall lay before the king the words thou givest him. But the passage is not decisive; for, though Aaron is indeed the spokesman who announces to Pharaoh the words of Moses, yet he announces only what has been suggested to him by Moses, who, on this account, is represented as his Elohim, his inspiring god. Practically, then, it matters little how this etymological question be settled, since, even if the word be taken in an active sense, it always implies a close relation of the prophet to God, who reveals His will that it may be announced by His interpreter to men.

This, at least, was the popular belief. But was that belief well-founded? It was not peculiar to Israel. The heathen μάντις, too, was regarded as inspired. And if this wide-spread faith was mistaken in the one case, might it not be equally mistaken in the other? How does it appear that the supernatural inspiration ascribed to the Hebrew seers, was a sober reality, and not a popular delusion? Let us question those prophets themselves, to see what claims they put forth and how they propose to authenticate their claims.

They witnessed to certain facts, of which they claimed to have personal knowledge. The first relates to the Divine call. The true prophets, if we may accept their testimony, were not self-made. They professed to have received their higher charac-

ter immediately from God. Personal inclination formed no necessary qualification. For the most part, indeed, they shrank from the office to which they were called, fearing to take upon them its responsibilities and to incur its dangers. When the call came to Moses from the Burning Bush, even he, the greatest of the prophets, with whom Jehovah spake mouth to mouth, sought to draw back. He plead his unworthiness; he insisted that the Israelites would not hearken unto him; he urged his lack of eloquence; and not until Jehovah had overcome all his doubts and met all his objections, did he summon courage to enter on the work. What is true of him is true of others. The same hesitation was shown, for example, by Jeremiah. The prophets were such, not by their own will, but by the will of One whom they dared not disobey.

Nor, by their own confession, could human study or learning qualify them, however richly endowed by nature, to do a prophet's work. There were, indeed, "schools of the prophets," in which, we may believe, many young Israelites of promising minds engaged in the study of the Law, cultivated sacred poetry and music, and acquainted themselves with the history of the nation. But such schools come to view only in two periods—first, in the time of Samuel, and again, in the Northern kingdom, during the days of Elijah and Elisha. Of all the prophets whose writings have been preserved, we know of none who was a pupil in those seminaries; but we do know of at least one, who disclaimed having been trained in them for his work: Amos was neither a prophet nor a prophet's son; he neither belonged to the prophetic order, nor had he received his knowledge in the prophetic schools. The true prophet had no human teacher. He claimed to be Jehovah's scholar, and to have learned from Him the truth which he communicated to the world. His tone and bearing, therefore, are wholly different from those of the Scribes and the Rabbins of a later time. These introduce their instructions with the formula: "It is

written;" the prophet prefaces his communications with the bold words: "Thus saith the Lord."

For he is conscious that, however unworthy he may be in himself, he is the mouth-piece of Jehovah. He looks back to a definite hour in his life, when there came to him an irresistible call from heaven—when he was endued with power from on high and became the bearer of a commission from God. He is as fully assured of that as of his own existence. It was the Divine call that made him a prophet; and when the call came, he could only obey.

Isaiah refers his prophetic call (ch. vi.), to that vision of glory in the heavenly temple which he beheld "in the year that King Uzziah died." It was the revelation of that holy Presence, whose glory fills the earth; and at the sight, the youthful Isaiah exclaims: "Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts." But from the flaming altar, a bright seraph takes a burning coal and, applying it to his lips, purifies him of defilement. And then, when the Divine voice is heard asking: "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" immediately comes his response: "Here am I; send me." From that moment Isaiah was the royal prophet.

So, too, Ezekiel relates (chs. i. ii.), how, when he stood on the banks of the Chebar, the heavens were opened and he beheld a vision of the glory of the Lord. Filled with fear, he fell upon his face; but on being lifted up, he heard a voice commissioning him: "Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel; * * * and thou shalt say unto them, thus saith the Lord God. And they, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear (for they are a rebellious house), yet shall they know that there hath been a prophet among them." That was Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office.

But the prophet, even after having received this higher consecration from God, was not at all times able to evoke a

prophetic word. His office was permanent, but his inspiration was sporadic and transient. There were moments in his life when the word of Jehovah came to him with clearness and power; there were other moments when no wrestlings of his could force a response from heaven. He must wait in patience till his God is pleased to reveal himself to His servant.

The prophet was no heathen soothsayer, ransacking heaven and earth for signs that might serve to indicate the will of God. He had no science by which to interpret that will. He was wholly dependent for his prophetic knowledge on the direct manifestation of Jehovah to his spiritual eye and ear. We find him watching that he may catch the vision; listening that he may hear the Divine voice speaking in his soul. Such was the attitude of Habakkuk: "I will stand upon my watch and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what He will say (not *unto*, as in the A. V., but) in me," (Hab. ii. 1.) And this watching, waiting, listening, which is true of this one prophet, is true of all.

They confess that God in His communications to them exercised the most perfect freedom. Long periods elapsed during which He made no disclosures to His servants. In the days of Samuel, the word of the Lord was rare, and there was no open vision (1 Sam. iii. 1). Amos predicts that when the judgment shall break forth upon Israel, "they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it" (Am. viii. 12;) and according to Ezekiel: "They shall seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest and counsel from the ancients" (Ezek. vii. 26).

And as there were times when Jehovah sent no prophets to His people in Israel, so there were times when He withheld His counsel even from the prophets. Their inspiration was intermittent, and so far beyond their own control, that they were not able at all times to discern the truth. When the Shunamite, on the death of her son, hastened to Elisha and fell at

his feet, Gehazi "came near to thrust her away." But the man of God said, "Let her alone, for her soul is vexed in her, and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me" (2 Kg. iv. 27). On a certain occasion Jeremiah was requested by his countrymen to pray to God for the revelation of His will. He gives them the promise that "whatsoever thing the Lord shall answer you, I will declare it unto you" (Jer. xlii. 4). He prays; and yet, though the need of an answer was very urgent, it was not until "after ten days, that the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah" (v. 7).

The word is not the result of their own meditation. It is not an image conjured up by their fancy, which by a poetic figure they represent as coming from God. They are its passive recipients, not its active originators. It comes to them from beyond their own minds, and independently of their own volition.

The bearer of this word, they assert, is the Spirit of God, through whom, according to Zechariah (vii. 12), Jehovah sends His words by the prophets, and who, according to Micah (iii. 8), fills the prophets with power. The language employed to describe the agency of this Spirit shows that He was viewed as distinct from the personal spirit of the prophet. He "comes upon" them (1 Sam. x. 10), and "falls upon" them (Ezek. xi. 5).

Similar expressions are frequent throughout the Old Testament. And how could the objectivity of the power that lays hold of the prophet be more plainly indicated than when it is said that "the hand of the Lord" was on him (Is. viii. 11; Jer. xv. 17; Ezek. i. 3, etc.); or when the words of the Lord are represented as put in his mouth (Deut. xviii. 18; Jer. i. 9); or when Ezekiel is commanded to eat the roll (Ezek. ii. 8; iii. 3)? The prophet was conscious that the word of the Lord to which he gave utterance was not the product of his reflection nor a fiction of his imagination, but a Divine communication of whose objective reality he was as fully assured as of the ob-

jective reality of the surrounding world. It came often with an overwhelming force, which Amos beautifully expresses when he says: "The lion roars, who does not fear? The Lord Jehovah speaks, who must not prophesy" (Am. iii. 8)? Because the word of the Lord was daily made a reproach unto Jeremiah, the prophet said: "I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name. But His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay" (Jer. xx. 8, 9).

If, then, we may accept the testimony of these prophets as trustworthy, it is evident that they were the recipients, through an extraordinary Divine influence, of thoughts which, it must be observed, they distinguish in the most careful manner from the suggestions of their own minds. The visions they beheld were at times mysterious and unintelligible to themselves; and while their imaginations were engaged in giving them shape, their understandings were endeavoring to ascertain their meaning. Take as an illustration, Ezekiel xx. 45–49. After a command to the prophet to prophesy against the forest of the south field, there follows a representation of the vision, which "is written throughout," says Fairbairn, "in a style so singularly abrupt, and in some parts so utterly enigmatical, that it may certainly be considered, as a whole, one of the darkest portions of Ezekiel's writings." The vision was obscure even to the prophet himself. It was evidently not the free creation of his own fancy. The obscurity in which it was enveloped belonged to the form in which it was given to him, so that when he was reproached for speaking in this mysterious way, it is almost with a feeling of injured innocence that he remonstrated with his God from whom the vision came: "Ah, Lord God, they say of me, Doth he not speak parables?"

The human judgment of the prophet was one thing, and the suggestion of the Divine Spirit, another. The prophet was always able in some way to distinguish between them. When David, towards the close of his life, proposed to build a Temple

for the Lord, Nathan, before whom the king laid his pious project, at once approved and said: "Do all that is in thine heart, for God is with thee." It seemed to him eminently proper. Did not David himself dwell in a house of cedars, while the ark of the covenant of the Lord still remained under curtains? The prophet, therefore, acting on his own suggestion, encouraged the king. But in this he erred; for it came to pass the same night, that the word of the Lord came to Nathan, saying, "Go, and tell David, my servant, Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in" (2 Sam. vii).

There were false prophets as well as true; and the difference between them lay just in this, that the false prophets spoke their own minds, while the true prophets spoke the mind of God. Ezekiel draws the contrast: "Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel, and say unto them that prophesy out of their own hearts, hear ye the word of the Lord; woe unto the foolish prophets that follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing" (Ezek. xiii. 2, 3). In the one case, the vision is merely subjective; in the other, it is an objective reality. The true prophet spoke not out of his own heart, but out of the heart of God; in his message he followed not his own spirit, but the Spirit of God.

And this leads us to notice another remarkable fact, viz., the sudden change of persons which we often observe in prophetic addresses. It is as if the prophet were the subject of a double consciousness—his own human consciousness, in which he speaks of God in the third person or addresses him in the second, and a divine consciousness, in which God speaks through him as through a passive organ. This dramatic character is not so surprising in lyric poetry, and yet there it is much less frequent than in the prophets, especially in the second part of Isaiah. Thus Is. lxiv. consists throughout of a prayer addressed to Jehovah: it is the cry of His people, "O that Thou wouldest rend the heavens, that Thou wouldest come down," and closing with the question, "Wilt Thou refrain Thyself for

these things, O Lord? Wilt Thou hold Thy peace and afflict us very sore?" And then, without any indication of a change of speakers, the next chapter contains God's answer spoken by Himself: "I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not."

Many instances might be given, where it is difficult to determine who is the speaker, Jehovah or His prophet. We have a striking example in Is. xlviii. 16: Come near unto me, hear ye this; I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I: and now the Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me." In the first part of the verse God speaks but not in the last. The words "and now the Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me," are the utterance of him who was sent by Jehovah to bear the message. There is a transition from one speaker to another, and the transition is so sudden, so abrupt, so unexpected, that both in ancient and in modern times it has been denied by commentators, some of whom regard the prophet as speaking throughout, while others regard the speaker as identical with Jehovah.

Such an interchange, as it were, of personalities is conceivable only in a state of the highest ecstacy; and nothing is better adapted to show how deeply the prophet was penetrated with the consciousness that he spoke, not out of his own heart, but out of the heart of God; or, rather, that God spoke out to the world in and through the prophet's heart.

And this is the secret of that absolute assurance felt by the prophets respecting the truth of the word which they claim to have been commissioned to reveal. They never doubted for an instant that what they uttered was a real communication from heaven; and they had the most implicit trust that, however improbable it might seem, it would yet be fulfilled. Such was the promise of Jehovah: "As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall my word be that

goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it" (Is. lv. 10, 11). They never shrank from proclaiming the higher truth thus disclosed to their minds. They never faltered or manifested any doubt, even when confronted with death itself. They always acted and spoke as men who had the most perfect faith in the message they delivered.

Let us now gather up these several facts to which the prophets bear testimony, and ask how they are to be explained. It is a fact that they claim to be prophets, not by reason of any personal inclination or human training, but in virtue of an immediate call from God. It is a fact that they acknowledge themselves unable to call forth at will a word from the Lord. It is a fact that they represent the truths they teach to be, not the offspring of their reflection, but a communication from heaven by the Spirit of God. It is a fact that they distinguish between their own thoughts and counsels, and the thoughts and counsels conveyed to them by the word of the Lord. It is a fact that at times they speak as men having a double consciousness, in virtue of which there is often an abrupt change from the prophet who speaks as the interpreter of God to men, to Jehovah who speaks to the world immediately and personally, as it were, in and through the prophet as His organ. It is a fact, finally, that they felt the most unquestioning certainty of the truth of the message they profess to have received from the Lord.

Now, how shall these facts be explained? Deny to the prophets the supernatural inspiration they claim, and nothing remains but to pronounce them either impostors who wilfully deceived others, or fanatics who innocently deceived themselves.

Were they impostors—men who, to give authority to their personal opinions, professed to hold immediate intercourse with heaven and to have received the truth direct from the mouth of

God? The time when they would be regarded in this light has passed, we trust, forever. No skeptic to-day would so far risk his reputation as to pronounce an Isaiah or a Jeremiah a conscious deceiver. The noble lives and pure teachings of Israel's seers preclude the belief that they were acting a lie. They incurred danger and braved death in delivering their message. They knew the fate to which the law (Deut. xviii. 20), condemned the false prophet. Yet, said Jeremiah: "Know ye for certain that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves; for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you" (Jer. xxvi. 15). "This man is worthy to die," was the exclamation when Jeremiah prophesied against Jerusalem; but the prophet calmly replied: "The Lord sent me to prophesy against this house and against this city all the words that ye have heard. Therefore, now mend your ways. As for me, behold, I am in your hand; do with me as seemeth good unto you" (Jer. xxvi. 11–24). It is not thus that designing impostors speak and act.

Were, then, these prophets blinded fanatics—men who devoted themselves so exclusively to religion that their minds lost their proper balance, and who, with rapt hearts and excited imaginations, mistook their own fancies for communications from heaven? Enthusiasts they certainly were, but of a noble kind. Theirs was the enthusiasm which earnest devotion to any calling always begets. But fanatics they were not, if by fanatics are meant men who, by being entirely absorbed in a single idea, are partially frenzied, whose judgments are blinded to truth and right, whose moral perceptions have become dulled, and whose imagination so dominates their reason that their wild dreams are regarded as divine inspirations. They exhibited none of the signs of fanaticism. They were, indeed, deeply moved, at times powerfully excited and even rapt into ecstacy; but their views of God were exalted and ennobling, their insight into Divine things was far-reaching, their moral sense was clear and true, their conscience was pure and sensitive, and their counsels

were wise and good. They have not the look of self-deluded, though honest men. They discriminated clearly, as we have seen, between their own thoughts and the thoughts of God. The oracles they uttered were often burdens which weighed heavy upon their sympathetic hearts—burdens which, but for the Divine pressure on their souls, they would gladly have left unspoken.

Is there any valid reason, then, why we should not acknowledge their claims? Unquestionably, they were not conscious, intentional deceivers; yet they assert that they heard the voice of God, saw visions of God, and had disclosed to them the word of God. However these expressions may be interpreted, they were manifestly intended by the prophets to indicate the reality of an objective communication of truth from the Spirit of God to their own spirits. How else can we understand their denunciations of the false prophets? These, like the true, professed to be filled by the Spirit of God (1 Kgs. xxii. 24), appealed to divinely-inspired dreams (Jer. xxiii. 25), and made use of the formula, "Thus saith the Lord" (Jer. xxiii. 31). "They have seen vanity," says Ezekiel, "and a lying divination, saying, The Lord saith: and the Lord hath not sent them: and they have made others to hope that they would confirm the word. Have ye not seen a vain vision, and have ye not spoken a lying divination, whereas ye say, The Lord saith it, albeit, I have not spoken?" (Ezek. xiii. 6, 7). Thus the true prophets, if we may believe their testimony, spoke out of the mind of God, whilst the false prophets spoke out of their own hearts. Can we accept their testimony? or were they mistaken?

They have themselves given us a criterion by which we may test their supernatural insight into Divine things. They appeal to the fulfillment of their word. Micaiah, the son of Imlah, predicted by the word of the Lord that Ahab should fall at Ramoth-Gilead; and when the king commanded him to be imprisoned till he should return in peace, the prophet said, "If thou return at all in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me"

(1 Kgs. xxii. 28). "The prophet," says Jehovah, "which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die" (Deut. xviii. 20). Such was the law in Israel. But if it be asked, "How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken," the Lord Himself has given the answer: "When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously" (Deut. xviii. 22). So profoundly convinced were the true prophets that the word they uttered was the infallible word of the Lord, that they hesitated not to stake life itself upon the issue. Has history, to which they made their appeal, substantiated their claims? Have subsequent events fulfilled their predictions? This question is too broad for discussion now. We content ourselves with a few general remarks.

It must be observed that Old Testament prophecy is essentially different from divination. Its primary aim is not to foretell single, isolated contingent events. It is, indeed, predictive in its character; but its predictions are subordinate and subsidiary. They are never uttered as independent truths, apart from all connection with the historical present of the prophet. Prophecy is not an unveiling of the future to gratify the curiosity of man, or to furnish the apologist with proofs by which he may establish the claims of the Christian religion. Its value does not consist in the number and definiteness of its special announcements of things to come, as if it were, in the words of Bishop Butler, "nothing but the history of events before they come to pass." It is a communication made by God to man through Divinely-commissioned persons. Its specific character varies with the nature of the communication. It may be the disclosure of some higher spiritual truth, or the inculcation of an imperative duty, or a prospective delineation of coming events; but it is prophecy no less when it sets forth the grand

truths of God's kingdom, than when it foretells the future acts of His providence.

Prophecy is essentially practical in its purpose. It is a message from Jehovah to the prophet's own nation and age, a disclosure of the Divine will suited to the peculiar needs of his time. Its immediate aim is to bring the kings and people of Israel into right relation to Jehovah, their supreme national King; and as a means of accomplishing this end, it makes predictions of events nearer or more remote, which may serve to encourage the righteous or deter the wicked. It not only lays bare the present and judges it in the light of God's law, but soaring upwards and taking a broad survey of the future, it points out the issues to which the present must lead. Prophecy always finds its occasion in the historical circumstances of the age, though its field of vision may extend far beyond into the ages to come. And it is of the utmost importance to notice that its view of the future is perspective, not panoramic. It peers down, as it were, through a long vista, where the more remote objects lose much of their sharpness of outline, and where objects seem near together that are really wide apart. Accordingly, its style and diction are peculiar. Coming events are not described, as they are described by the historian after they have actually transpired. Moreover, as prophecy brings a message to a particular age, it must clothe its predictions in terms intelligible to that age. Its true substance will assume a special historical form; there will be an intermingling of the circumstantial and the essential; and in seeking for the fulfillment of a given prophecy in history, it is necessary to distinguish with accuracy between its real form and its ideal contents.

Viewed in this light, the predictions of the Old Testament are more than vague longings, more than happy guesses; and though not anticipative history, they clearly forecast the future in a way that manifestly transcends any natural power of divination possessed by the human mind, and by their fulfill-

ment prove a supernatural relation between the spirit of the prophet and the Spirit of God.

But are there such predictions, and have they actually been fulfilled? In brief answer, we cannot do better than quote the following sketch of Messianic prophecy by Fairbairn.*

"We conceive ourselves in the presence of one who doubts; doubts, perhaps, whether there were anything more in the prophecies of the Old Testament than certain indefinite longings after some distinguished guide and leader, or a series of guides and leaders, who might carry the nation to a high degree of glory; and whether anything written and verified in this respect was so peculiar as to exceed the limits of men's unaided powers. How should we proceed to deal with such a person? The difficulty is not where to find materials of proof, but which to select as best fitted to produce conviction on a mind that is likely to be affected only by the more palpable and obvious lines of resemblance. In such a case, nothing more than fragments of the truth can be presented, as it will naturally appear to those who are conversant with the entire field. Yet even a fragmentary exhibition of the truth ought here to be sufficient, if rightly presented, to carry conviction to a mind that is not absolutely foreclosed against it. There is, in the first instance, the gradual contracting of the purpose of Heaven from a more general to a more specific object of hope and expectation, till it evidently centers in a person of singular gifts and endowments; beginning with the woman's seed generally, though, as the nature of the case implied, and the course of Providence soon clearly determined, that seed only in the spiritual line; then confining itself to the seed of Abraham, still, of course, under spiritual conditions; then to the tribe of Judah, where it first distinctly assumes the personal form in the promise of a future Shiloh or prince of peace; next to the house of David, a family within the tribe of Judah, which is appointed to the high des-

* Fairbairn on Prophecy, p. 231.

tiny of carrying out the provisions of the Abrahamic covenant, of bearing sway in the affairs of men, and diffusing among them the blessings of salvation; then, finally, to a son of that house, a definite child of promise, to be born of a virgin, and somehow mysteriously connected with the Godhead, so that divine names are freely applied to Him, and a divine work—the work of making reconciliation for iniquity, and, in the proper sense, redeeming a people whom He was to rule and bless—is associated with His appearance and mission.

"Finding thus the proper personality and special destination of the Messiah distinctly marked in the prophecies of the Old Testament, we would hereafter point to the local circumstances and individual characteristics plainly ascribed to Him; the clear designation, for example, of the place of His birth in Bethlehem-Ephratah (Micah v. 2), historically verified in a manner that effectually prevented the possibility of collusion: the mingled lowliness and majesty of His appearance, as of a rod from the stem of Jesse, and a branch or tender suckling from His roots (Is. xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5); or as one marred in His visage, and without either form or comeliness, yet withal a King, clothed with power and authority to subdue every form of evil, and bear the government on His shoulder, coming like other kings with a herald or forerunner, yet not coming in lordly state, but as one meek and lowly, riding on an ass (Is. ix. 7; lii. 14; liii.; Zech. ix. 9; Mal. iii. 1); on the one side, having experience of the sorest trials and indignities, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief (Is. liii. 3); on the other, possessing every element of greatness, the elect of God and the hope of the world (Is. xlii. 1–41; nay, more marvelous still, a priest as well as a king, and a priest that was Himself to become an offering for sin, and give His life a ransom for many, while yet He should prolong His days, and out of the travail of His soul should have given to Him a seed and kingdom in every respect worthy of His incomparable merits and successful mediation (Is. liii.; Zech. vi. 12, 13; Ps. cx). What a singular combination of

qualities and results! And yet how completely authenticated by the history! The heights and depths, the apparent anomalies and seeming incompatibilities, such as no human imagination of itself could have conceived, yet all most wonderfully meeting in the history of Jesus of Nazareth. If such a series of characteristics, traced out hundreds of years before the person appeared in whom they were to be exemplified, could have at once originated in human conjecture and received, as they have done, the seal of Divine Providence, then it may justly be affirmed, there are no certain landmarks between the human and the divine; the possible achievements of man have nothing essentially to distinguish them from the power and operations of Godhead."

ART. VI.—THE HOLY GHOST.

BY REV. A. G. PEASE.

OFFICE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

PERHAPS it is not easy for us to define accurately the special function of the Spirit in reference to the Godhead, the order of which He is a member—or in that divine body of which He is one of the organs and the Word the other: nor, indeed, to define His function in reference to the lower order of the *human* with which He stands in vital relation. The Word, we know, stands to that order in the relation of root, or fountain Head. Does the Spirit sustain to it relations equally essential, fundamental? Perhaps so. For possibly, if it were not for the function of the Spirit with reference to mankind, that of the Word would be practically, that is, so far as any good is concerned, null. It may be that the function of the Spirit is necessary to the carrying out into true and legitimate *effect*, that

of the Word, so that, if it were not for that of the Spirit, that of the Word would be in vain. Just as if it were not for the light of the sun, which evermore visits the earth along with its heat, the heat would come in vain. Of what use the general growth and nourishment of plants and animals if they are forever to be invisible? Of what use the faculty of sight without the light by means of which alone we see?

But let us consider whether we do not greatly err in our method of studying the Godhead. Let us be sure that in this study above all we pursue the right method. Is it not manifestly impossible to arrive at the true knowledge of the Godhead by making it the direct and immediate object of contemplation? Obviously, for in the very nature of the case, such direct beholding, in the present state of our faculties, is impossible. It is impossible for us in this way to see God. The object is so transcendently glorious as to be quite overpowering to our vision. The only result of such an attempt, is to be dazzled and blinded by it so that we can see nothing either in that or in anything else. We must adopt another method. We must behold God as He is revealed to us in His works—as He is reflected to us in the creation—in the world within and the world without—in nature and in our own spirits. God has impressed very distinct and clear *characters* of Himself upon all the things which He has made, and except in His own image is nothing made which is made—more or less distinctly every thing bears the impress of the Creator. The universe as well as man is made in the image of God, though in man it is clear and "express." It is by beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, that we come to discern His features. They are thus seen not directly, but by reflection from the polished surface of His most fair and glorious works.

Take, as an illustration of this particular point—the function, I mean, of the Holy Spirit in the Godhead and with reference to the lower order of man—the sun and its constitution, both with reference to itself and to the lower sphere of the

planet earth. Perhaps we may find analogies here which will instruct us in regard to the point in question. "*For now we see, by means of a mirror, dimly,* not yet *face to face*" (1 Cor. xiii. 12).

The sun has two elements or modes of action and manifestation which are known to us. It imparts, as Plato (Rep. Book vi. ch. 19), says, to things which are seen not only their visibility, but likewise their generation, growth and nourishment, though not itself *light* nor itself *generation.* The sun is not light, but imparts it. It is not generation, nor anything generated, but it is the parent of the *generative principle, heat.* Light and heat are two things and have different functions. Things may exist on the earth in ever so great variety, and with ever so great adaptation to our wants and to our organs of perception, and we may have the best of eyes with which to perceive them—but all in vain without the light by which alone objects become visible. It is true that there is no such thing as light without heat, nor as heat without light, yet light is, nevertheless, not heat, nor heat light. They are just as much different organs or principles as though they did not always go together. So, again, there is no such thing as light and heat without the sun; if there were no sun, there certainly could not be either light or heat. So, also, there could be no such thing as the sun without both light and heat; for if it were without these, it would not be at all what we mean by the sun; and yet the sun is neither light nor heat, nor both together. Nor are they, either separately or together, the sun. Light and heat are principles of being and of visibility to us. They produce these for us in our sphere, whilst the sun is principle or *fountain-head* to them. It is life to them as they are to us. We could not see or be as beings on this earth without them—our existence is inseparable from theirs, and yet we are not light and heat, nor they us. So the being of the sun, and that of its light and heat, are inseparable, and yet the one is not the other. They are as really distinguishable as though they

were not inseparable. In the constitution of the sun we must distinguish an organic life and an organic principle life—and these make it strictly an organic unity. Thus the sun presents us a lively image of the trinity in the unity of the Godhead—the sun, or organic principle of the unity, representing the Father, the principle of heat, the Son, and the principle of light, the Spirit. The heat is a principle, has a life and power of its own, and is generative, life-producing. But within its own order of being, it is not ultimate and original. The sun is its original—it is a derivation from it. And the life of the sun is the life of its life—in other words, *life principle to it.* So Christ (John v.), says, *As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself.* That is, the Son hath a life of His own, which becomes the life-principle of other lives. But that life, though original with reference to the sphere of the creation, is not so as regards the sphere of the Creator. For in that sphere, the Father is life-principle to Him. The life which He has, as God, is given to Him by the Father, the life-principle of the Godhead. *The Head of Christ is God* (1 Cor. xi. 3).

Plato uses this comparison or image of the sun, and its light and heat, to illustrate a *Trinity of his own.* Having *the good in itself*—the absolute and ultimate and super-essential *good*, or principle *of being* as its fountain Head, and *truth and science as its members.* He says: "*This, then, is what I call the offspring of the good—what the good generates analogous to itself. And the good is in the sphere of intelligence with reference to intellect and the objects of intellect, what the sun is in the visible world with reference to light and visible things.*"

Thus, then, if he had been called upon to state his doctrine of the *trinity* of *the* good after the manner of the Catechism, he would have answered somewhat in this way: There are three *principles* in the *goodhood*, the good, *truth* and *science.* And these three constitute the unity of the goodhood, or of that order of being of which the good is the head. They are, there-

fore, not co-ordinates, nor by any means equal in power and glory, though they are the same in nature. For the good sustains to the other two principles the relation which the life-principle of an organic unity sustains to the life of that which lives in and derives its life and being from it. Thus, he would not be guilty of the absurdity of representing the goodhood as an abstract unity and then contradict himself by saying it was a thing of parts.

He says, further: that, therefore, which imparts truth to what is known and dispenses of knowledge to him that knows, you may call *the idea* of *the good* and the principle of science and truth. And as both these, knowledge and truth, are so beautiful, you will be right in thinking that *the good* is something (organically) different and still more beautiful than these. Science and truth here, in the sphere of the intellect, are as light and sight there (in the visible world), which we rightly judged to be sunlike, but yet did not think them *to be the* sun. So, here it is right that both of them (science and truth), partake of the form (or nature), of the good, but yet not right to suppose that either of them *is* the good, inasmuch as the *good in itself* is worthy of still greater honor. (Republic, B. vi. c. 19.)

If, then, we substitute in the *trinity* of Plato, for *the good*, the name of the Father, and for the truth, the name of the Son, and for science, the Holy Ghost, we have the Christian Trinity.

He adds, very profoundly and beautifully, as it seems to me: We may say, therefore, as to things cognizable by the intellect, that they become cognizable from the good by the light of which they are known, but likewise that their being and essence are derived from the good, while the good itself is not essence, and beyond essence, and superior to both in dignity and power [the same in substance, yet *superior* in power and glory, not *equal*, as the Catechism says]. Here Glaucon, laughing heartily, said, By Apollo, here is a marvellous transcendentalism! (Book vi. ch. xx).

But do we not, I ask, with all deference to Glaucon, say, that heat (for example), is a principle—a real essence, and light also the same—and that these, though sunlike and derived from the sun, are yet not the sun? but that the sun is their superior and parent? In what sense, then, superior, but in that of being the principle of these principles, the essence of these essences—the ultimate and absolute essence from which these are derived?

Again. Has he not just now said, that the idea of the good is the principle of science and truth? Yes, but are not science and truth themselves also principles? If so, then is not the principle of the good the principle of truth and science, and thus we are brought to the conclusion, that there may be such a thing as a *principle of* a principle, that there is such a thing as principle that is derived from principle—principle, therefore, that is ultimate and above and beyond principle; not so, however, as not itself to be principle, but only so as to be the organic principle in an organic unity of principles. Not co-ordinate with the other principles in the unity, but *correlative* to them, and in *rank their superior.*

Does not Christ say (John v. 26), As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself; and does He not, saying this, ascribe to Himself life in its principle—make Himself life-principle to that which is in Him and below Him in rank; and does He not, at the same time, make the Father life-principle to Him, or the life of His life? And is not this just what Plato means by the essence of the good as being above and beyond the essence of all else that is good, or that has true being?

Now, with reference to the function of the Spirit as regards the lower, the human order, of which Christ is the head, may we not say that as Christ is the organ through which the life of the Godhead is communicated to men, so the Spirit is the organ through which the light of the Godhead comes to them? Especially, as He represents the Spirit (John xiv. 16), as *another*

paraclete or mediator whom the Father would send to them, to compensate for His absence. He thus represents the Spirit as the mediator between the Godhead and men with reference to the light, as Himself the mediator with reference to the *life.* The Spirit becomes light to them, that is, as Christ becomes life to them. And this would seem, in the nature of things, to be necessary. For if the light does not come—if the Holy Ghost is not given, if they do not receive the light-baptism of the Spirit—it is in vain that the life is given. It must needs remain latent until it receives the gift of light to quicken it. Thus we need a mediator both of the light and the life. And the one is in vain without the other. As it is in vain that we have the heat of the sun to produce life on the earth, unless we have also the light of the sun to develop the life germs, as well as to make living things visible. As there is no life in the germ without the heat, so there is no growth of the germ without both the heat and the light.

We need one who shall be to us knowledge and sight, as well as one who shall be to us the truth, which is to be *seen and known.*

We can conceive such a thing as that Christ might indeed be our head and life-principle, and yet we destitute of the blessed and soul-quickening consciousness of His being such to us.

Hence, that Christ might not only be, but be known to us, as our living Head and Redeemer, the gift of the Spirit was necessary. And does He not say this when He makes the Spirit another paraclete who should come and abide with us forever; for how could He ever be dispensed with? How could we ever live and grow and have the consciousness of our life in Christ and of Christ, as the source of our life, without the blessed, all-illuminating and all-quickening light? Has He not this in view when He calls the Spirit the Spirit of truth, and says that He shall guide us into all the truth? Is it not the peculiar office of the light to serve as *guide* to us, and does it not discharge its office in regard to us by guiding us into all that truth

respecting Christ and our relations to Him and to each other, which it is needful, in order to our best good, that we should know? And does not the Apostle John say the same thing and give exactly this idea of the function of the Spirit, when he says (1 John iv. 13): Hereby know we that we dwell in Christ and he in us, because he has given us of his Spirit? It is through the gift of the Spirit that we have this most needful and blessed consciousness.

And when Christ further says (John xvi. 13, 14), "Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth. He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall *shew* it unto you."

Is it not the very office of light not to create things, but to take the things that are created, and *show* them to us, thus making itself the medium through which we see and know them, and they become assured and practical realities to us, and thus exert their legitimate power and influence upon us? The light shines, not so much for the sake of revealing itself, as for the sake of making visible to us other objects and thus glorifying those objects—its office being thus subordinate to them. In strict accordance with this same idea of the function of the Spirit, does not Paul say (1 Cor. xii. 3), that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost, and that no man speaking by the Spirit calleth Jesus accursed?

As, then, the light and heat of the sun, which come to us interlacing and interpenetrating each other, distinct and yet inseparable, may be said to constitute the body of the sun, the sun itself sustaining to them the relation of their Head, or organic principle of unity, the three together constituting that organic unity which we denominate the sunhood, or order of the sun, so the Son and the Spirit, inseparable yet distinct, constitute the body of the Godhead, the Father being its Head, and the three together constituting that organic Unity which we call the Godhead. Whatever the sun may be in itself, or however it might appear to one standing within its sphere, to us in

our position on the earth it is the *source* of light and heat. We know it by the functions which, through its organs, it discharges towards the earth. And thus it is to us light and heat, and the parent of light and heat. So the Godhead is to us the Son and the Spirit, and the parent of both, God the Father. *Neither of the persons is the Godhead, but each of them is God;* but they are not, as such, co-ordinate and equal, for in that unity which they together constitute, the Father is the Head, and the Son and the Spirit the members.

The light is solar, the heat is solar, and the sun is solar, but they are, nevertheless, not equal in their solarity. And this not because either the light or the heat has something that is not purely solar mingled with its solarity, and thus not solarity pure and simple, but deteriorated by the admixture of a lower element. The reason is that the sun is solarity in its fountain-head and organic principle, whilst the light and the heat are solarity in the stream, or in its *organic body.*

So the Son is divine, and the Spirit is divine, and the Father is divine, but He is greater than they in His divinity. In His relation to the Godhead He is superior to them both; whilst they are equally divine with Him, because they belong to the Godhead as truly as He does. They are equally with Him within the Godhead, but they have not an *equal place*, dignity and power with Him in it. Their inequality with the Father is not owing to there being anything in them that is not purely divine, but it is owing to the relation which they sustain to the order or system to which they equally with the Father belong. In that order their relation is inferior to His. They are of the same nature with Him. He has nothing in His nature which they have not in theirs. The difference is, that He is the nature in its fountain-head, whilst they are that same nature in its members. The nature of the Vine and its branches is one and the same. The difference between them is not in their nature, but in the relation which they sustain to that nature which belongs to them in common. The nature which they have can

exist in no other form than that of root and branches. It cannot exist certainly in branches without root, nor in a root without branches. The root contains the branches, and the branches live only in their root. They constitute together an organic unity, and are made by our Saviour to stand as the symbol of the unity of the Godhead in the Father, as well as of the manhood in the Son.

THE PROMISE AND THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER.

John xiv. 1, 2.

Let not your heart be troubled; put your trust in God and rely upon the truth of what I am about to disclose to you and the assurances that I am about to make to you for your comfort in this the hour of your distress. In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

Eph. ii. 19–22; Heb. iii. 1–6.

Ye belong to the household of God, whose house are we. In whom, also, ye are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.

Let not your faith be shaken as to the divinity of my nature and my mission, as though the promises of God and my own assurances had f iled you altogether, and as though in giving me and my mission your confidence, you had been building upon merely human foundations, with no rock-bottom of the divine humanity beneath you. You do believe in the divinity of the Father, believe that in trusting to me you are not building your confidence upon the word of a mere man, but that my word, as my nature, is divine also. The assurances you have already had are divine. Not one of them is to fail, and the event is to prove that, in confiding in the words of comfort that I am about to leave with you, you are building upon no sandy foundation that will be sure to give way beneath you in this storm, whose gathering is now distinctly visible, and whose mutterings are already quite audible in the horizon. You have reached the critical moment in which your faith is to undergo its extremest trial. In the midst of all the terror and the peril, and when dismay is filling all other hearts, let yours be stayed upon the assurance of the divinity of the foundations

upon which you have rested your hopes and of the promises that I am about to make to you.

2. In my Father's house are many mansions. Apartments is the probable sense, distinct places of abode, particular residences within the one great building which He calls His Father's house. Now what, according to the analogy of Scripture, is the sense in which we are to understand this phrase, the House of God? Who is its occupant? For whose inhabitation is it built? Ye are built, says the Apostle, upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone—in whom ye are builded together for an habitation of God, through the Spirit. Is it not this same spiritual house to which He here refers, of which God Himself, by His Spirit, is the occupant, and which He has Himself built, not for His own indwelling, but only by it, and you the material out of which it is built, and each one of you, therefore, one of the many mansions or distinct compartments? Is it this living temple, with its vital union of part with part, each communicating with and partaking of the life and substance of the other, the eternal Spirit, the one builder, architect, and inhabitant, and the soul of each believer a vital residence and organ for that one, and the very same Spirit dividing to each severally as He will? Is this the idea, or is it merely an outward and material residence, constructed of no divine material, and having really nothing of the divine in it?

Is it a merely outward and mechanical building that He is presenting to them, and is this the sort of consolation that He is addressing to them in this solemn hour? The foundation upon which He urges them to base their confidence is wholly divine—the Word of His Father and Himself. Now, what is it of which upon this lofty authority and assurance He is setting before them as the mainstay and support of their spirits and comfort of their hearts in this dreadful hour of the power of darkness? Is it a mere external and material building, to which, after a short absence spent in making ready,

He will take them? And is that the heaven of Christianity—of the Christian's highest hopes and immortal longings—a mere material habitation, in which each one shall have a place and a room of his own? It is frigid, to say the least of it. It wholly fails to meet the soul's expectations of the kind of consolation He would give them in this the concluding hour of His earthly abode with them, in these His last words to them.

Now, has there not been wholly a mistake in the interpretation which has been given to this promise? I believe that there has. And it has arisen chiefly from supposing that the words are to be taken literally. Under the circumstances, and considering the nature of the subject and the customary style of our Lord's teaching, were it not naturally to have been expected that the style of His discourse, instead of being grossly literal, would be highly figurative? Especially, as He had very little in the way of material comfort, repose and safety to assure them as a means of comfort and support in the trying circumstances in which they were to be placed in the immediate future, in the hour that was coming and even then *was*. It would seem as though anything rather than such images of material repose and comfort would have suggested itself to Him, and been the matter of consolation that He would address to them under the circumstances. The event did anything rather than verify and justify any such images as these, if this were to be literally and materially understood and taken as a description of the essence of the Heaven of which He wished to assure them. In my Father's house, the spiritual and eternal home and habitation of my Father, are many divisions and compartments builded together into a living and organic structure, each of whose rooms God has builded for Himself, and each of which is the soul of a member of the body of Christ. In my Father's house, then, there are many abodes of the divine Spirit, just as many as there are souls of His people, and He dwells in them all alike and at once—and at all times at home and happy in one as another. No choice among them in this respect. Even as

the Spirit dwells alike in all parts of the body. In this respect no one being favored or honored more than another. For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many, are one body, so, also, is Christ. So, also, is His Father's house. Nay, much more those members of the body which we think to be less honorable; upon these we bestow more abundant honor, and our unseemly parts have more abundant comeliness. 1 Cor. xii.

Then, He adds, I go to prepare a place for you. In this clause, as in the other, the figure is that of inversion, and the real sense is intended as the reverse of the literal sense. The meaning is that, by His going, He prepares each of them for his particular place. The process of preparation that is going on during and by means of His absence, is going on in them, rather than anywhere else or in anything outside of them. O, it is this, and most deeply does He feel it—it is this that needs the preparation. It is not so much the place that is unprepared for them, as themselves that are unprepared for their place. What is that place—to be the habitation of God through the Spirit? They are in their place when they are serving the purpose for which they are called and redeemed. He means not so much that He is going to provide an office for them, as that He is going to prepare them for their place, which is their office in the kingdom of God, His Father's house. Nothing surely but this can be meant. But His real meaning could not be communicated without the use of these material images. It is here impossible, in their intellectual and spiritual condition, to give them a right idea of the subject. The most that could be done was to put into their minds the idea of a place of safety in another world, to which they should be transferred at their death, leaving it to them to invert the sentence and put the true interpretation upon it when the preparation should have taken place in them, and their souls should actually have been the abodes of God through His Spirit. The Spirit was almost immediately to be given, and through Him the preparation was to

be wrought in them, and then would be brought to pass the saying that He spake to them—I go to prepare a place for you. Accordingly, then, the word place is not to be objectively and literally, but subjectively and spiritually taken, and to be understood as meaning fitness for a position, an office and a function in the body of Christ which He also speaks of under the figure of His Father's house. For their minds were yet so darkened that the idea of the body of Christ was beyond the reach of their sensualized understandings, wholly incapable of embracing the true conception of the kingdom of God and the true home and joy and rest of the soul. Similar to this is the style of the Apostle in speaking of the realities of future blessedness and the future home of the ransomed spirit. Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him. Inverting the order, read the things for which God hath prepared those that love Him. Their love prepares them for things unseen and unheard of, and glorious and blessed beyond the power of man to conceive. The things for which His love prepares them are within and not outside of them. They are inward and spiritual realizations and experiences—of which none can have any idea but he who experiences them. His going prepares them, because it is owing to this that the Spirit comes, and the work of preparation to which He refers, is that which is wrought in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, which if He does not go will not come, but if He goes He will send it to them. In this sense it is that by His going He prepares a place for them, that is them, each of them, for His particular place and office in the house of God, the body of Christ. This, it seems to me, is spiritual instruction, and quite to the point—the other not. So dreadful and calamitous the mistake and loss of those who adhere to and inhere in the letter, and do not, through a spiritual apprehension, pass inward to the Spirit that lies within and beneath!

3. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again

and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also. He comes to them again after the preparation has been made and they are prepared to receive Him and their place, rather than their place them, after it has been prepared for their reception.

And where is their place? When this question is answered, we shall be prepared to answer the question, what is the preparation which is to be wrought, and where it is, whether in them or in that which is to receive them? He comes not again unto them until a great and radical change has taken place in them, in consequence of which He shall be to them no longer the same that He is now. He will come back to them when He comes unchanged, indeed, in Himself, and in all that is essential to His divine humanity. But as the result of the change that has taken place in them, they will see Him with new eyes, and He will be a different being from what He is now, and their ideas of the place, and the where, and the preparation, will be radically changed. The place which He intends, and which He speaks of going to prepare for them is a place in Him as members of His body, which, again, is what He intends by His Father's house with its many mansions. This is the heaven which He is going to prepare for them, or, rather, them for. And surely, the necessity of a very radical change in them, in order to fit them for this place, is very obvious. No change is necessary to be wrought in Him in order to prepare Him to receive them, but a great change is requisite in them in order to prepare them to fill their place in Him as members of His body—His flesh and His bones. The nature and the change and the means by which it is brought about, is shadowed forth in what He says about His going away to prepare and His coming again to receive them into the place which has not been prepared for them, but they for it. The change is, of course, a spiritual one, and is wrought by the Holy Ghost in the center of their humanity—giving it a new heart, new eyes, new feelings and perceptions and apprehensions, and causing their risen

Lord to be an altogether different Lord to them from what He was before He had died and been raised again from the dead. With resurrection eyes they look upon their risen and glorified Lord. A death has taken place in them, and they have and they are risen to a new and resurrection life as really as He has died and been raised again by the glory of the Father. And the two deaths and resurrections stand in the relation of cause and effect to each other. The one is the consequence and result of the other, for without His going away no preparation would have been made for them, nor would they have been prepared for their place. The change and its cause is clearly set forth by the Apostle, and by the use of numerous symbols; but the favorite and most expressive, as well as impressive one of all is, that of the old and new man. The first of which he says must be destroyed, must be crucified and slain after the pattern and similitude of the crucifixion and death of our Lord. The old man—the old, fallen, corrupt, debased and sensualized humanity must be killed and slain outright, not to be raised again, but that a new humanity may be created and rise again in the place of the old. Under the renewing power of the divine humanity with which, through faith, they are brought into vital union, the old humanity is slain and sloughed off. As the Apostle says, that ye put off as concerning the conversation [life, spirit, aims and ideas], the old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind [and what can this renewed spirit of their mind be but the divine Spirit of humanity], which is quickened into life in the heart of our individual and personal being as the result of being brought into contact with the divine Spirit and power of our humanity felt in the person and life of Christ. The same person still—the continuity and ideality in the personal consciousness not being at all interrupted or impaired—but a new head, a new spirit and purpose and seed, a joy of life within him through the life of Christ the God-man that has entered into him and become the

heart of his humanity, giving character to his personal and individual will, and becoming thus the formative principle of his character—the principle upon which it is formed—the life of his life—the vis vivanda vitæ as respects all that is truly personal, responsible, moral and spiritual. He continues, and that (in the place of the old), ye put on the new man which is renewed in righteousness and true holiness after the image of Him that has thus renewed him in the spirit of his mind and created him to newness of life in Christ Jesus, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all—the one life, soul and substance and being of all. I am the vine, ye are the branches—there are no hereditary or race or national or traditional or conventional distinctions among the branches of the one vine. One blood runs in them all—they are perfectly homogeneous and one in all that relates to the life they have, the fruit they bear, the sympathies they cherish, the ends they seek, the principles that actuate. Christ *is* all and is in all of them, and the very same in all, not one thing in one and another thing in another, according to race, distinction, or national or hereditary or educational or religious prejudice, preference and predilection. He is not a Greek in one branch or a Jew in another, circumcised in one and uncircumcised in another, bond in one and free in another, male in one and female in another, but He is all in all and the same in all. He does not send one type or modification of sap to one branch and another to another, so as to preserve and perpetuate the old, false, factitious distinctions, prejudices and peculiarities.

National and hereditary and traditional distinctions and peculiarities may still exist, but they do not enter into the essential spirit of the mind, and have nothing whatever to do with the formation of character. That is formed entirely from within, and is the spirit of the vine—life of the divine human—the life of Christ in them. He is all there is in either of them as respects this—the spirit of the mind, the character of the

life. He is all of character and of the spirit of their humanity there is in them. So that there is nothing that is not Him or of Him, and He is the *divine* in them, and all there is of the *divine*, and the divine certainly is not a thing of creed or nation. In so far as we are divine, or as the divine is in us, we are all one. It is just as much one, just as little affected by internal and national and natural differences among the men into whom it enters, as it is in the vine itself. Consequently, His people are one just as much as He is one—the branches just as much as the vine. The divine humanity as it is in Christ, in virtue of its divinity, swallows up and purges entirely and forever out of the hearts and lives of those into whom it enters, all that is merely human and creaturely, or born of the flesh, or of the external circumstances, training, or race or national peculiarities in men.

That where I am ye may be also. Where, then, will He be when He comes after the work of preparation is accomplished in them? Where will He be, and where will He find them, and where will they find Him when He comes again to receive them unto Himself? He will certainly *be in them*, for one thing this at least is certain—the effect of the change wrought, the preparation made in the period and in consequence of His absence, will be this, He will be in them and they in Him. There is where they will find Him—within themselves—that is, where He will find them within Himself—branches of which He is the vine. They certainly, then, will be where He is if He is in them—they will be where He is if they are in themselves. They certainly will be where He is if they are in Him. When He is in them and they in Him, they will certainly be in the same place.

He will have received them unto Himself when they have received Him into their hearts. So that, really, His reception of them is their reception of Him; and we have the same rhetorical figure of inversion continued and used to represent the reception as well as the *place*. By inverting the natural and

material order and relation between the terms by a simple, easy, and natural transposition, the spiritual reality is presented, and the true relation between place and person—between the received is made known. It needs only that the figurative character of the style should be recognized and the transposition suggested, in order to make all plain and simple and obvious, and set the true signification beyond all dispute or question. And surely there is enough in the utter frigidness and unsatisfactoriness of the discourse, according to the literal reading, to suggest some change, and this is the one that is most likely to suggest itself, and the one sure to be adopted when it is once suggested.

He intended to teach them, and in the light of experience the truth flashes upon our minds at once as soon as the idea is suggested, that He is using a figure of speech when He speaks of the mansions many and of going to prepare a place for them, that the preparation is to be wrought in them to fit them for their place, and that that place is to be each of them in His Father's house, gloriously fitted up and adorned, so as no material palace for human residence and delight can be, for the indwelling, glorious Father and Lord of life and glory Himself. He would teach them that they would need comfort and consolation in this world, now that He was about to leave them alone in it, and that they would first find it, find it first and last and forever more in their work. He was going, and by that going He would prepare them for their work. And it is in His work, if anywhere, that the soul of man first finds its proper rest and satisfaction. In the right and legitimate exercise of his faculties in the proper way and upon their legitimate objects. In and by means of this the man is taken out of himself and finds something better than himself to exercise his thoughts, his cares and solicitudes upon. Not until he loses himself in this, is he truly saved from his doubts and his fears, his selfish longings and desires, in which hitherto he has lost himself.

THE MISSION OF THE COMFORTER.

"And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."—John xiv. 4.

And the place to which I go, though I thus speak as though it were at some unknown distance and of strange appearance, is one very well known to you, neither are you by any means strangers to the way that leads to it.

Of course He can by this language mean nothing but Himself. In Him, and nowhere else, was the *where*. It was no place at a great remove from them, or at least, somewhere outside of Himself, but all that He referred to in the way of place was Himself or within Himself, and to be found nowhere outside of Himself, in some region of space remote or near. And the same in regard to the way by which they must reach it.

He was to go to His Father. But where was He except in His Son? Where can He find Him except in Himself, and where His disciples except in Him? If you expect to find the Father anywhere except in the Son you will surely be disappointed, elsewhere in all the universe you search in vain. He is there or nowhere, and in Him the soul of man finds Him if it finds Him at all. All ideas of external residence in space, high or low, here or there, must be dismissed in thinking of the Almighty and Eternal Father, and the thought and the gaze must be fixed upon the God-man, the divine humanity, in the person of Jesus. But how then was it a going, and have the idea of departure or change involved in it? Change, indeed, was to occur. Change, great, very perceptible, and not to be mistaken; but not change in place. Removal from human sight, withdrawal from outward observation, and to be seen no more in the flesh. In this sense a speedy and a very sensible departure, which would cause the greatest difference in their experience and their circumstances, and be to them the entrance upon a new stage of development. At first the change would be a merely outward one, and in that sense a great loss, but not irreparable, for it is to be made up to them, and more than made up, it is to become to them the means of a great, a glorious, and an immortal gain, and of a

joy that would infinitely transcend all that they ever had or could experience from His presence with them in the flesh, and which once theirs no man taketh from them. You know Me, or at least you think you do. If you do, then you very well know whither I go, for I go nowhere but to My Father, and My Father is nowhere but in Me. In order to find Him, and be where He is, I do not have to go out of Myself, and you, too, when you find Him and find yourselves where He is, will find yourselves nowhere but in Me. It is by being in Me that you find Him, if you ever find Him at all, and you will find Him just where I do and where alone He is, either for you or for me, that is, in Myself. Do you ask for the way that you must take in order to come to the place where He dwells and where your souls may find Him? For the medium, in other words, through which He is revealed and you have access to Him, what is it other than My own nature and person? He was surely right in saying then that they were no strangers to the place, and that the way was a thing of daily and hourly familiarity to them as though they had trodden it often and there was not a foot of it with which they were not thoroughly acquainted. Surely He might say that they knew Him with whom for so long a time they had been upon such intimate terms.

5. Thomas says to Him: "*Lord, we know not whither Thou goest, and how can we know the way?*" How are we going to know the way to a place of which we are entirely ignorant? Of which we do not know so much as the direction even in which it lies from us? It is certain, in the first place, that we have not the slightest idea of the place, though You say that we know it well. Instead of knowing it well as You say, the truth is, that we do not know it at all. The mention of it awakens no image in the memory, there is nothing in our memories or consciousness at all corresponding to any such thing. This being so, it is the wildest absurdity to talk of the way leading to it as one quite familiar to our thoughts. There is a

logical difficulty involved in the assertion about our knowledge of the way that cannot be surmounted, and besides the statement as to our knowledge of the place is contrary to the fact, if You speak of any conscious knowledge of ours, or any idea in our minds corresponding to the objective reality of which You speak.

This answer of Thomas has something intensely personal and individual about it. Though, doubtless, the same impression existed in the minds of the others, yet there was not one of them that could have given it such expression, or stated the case in such plain matter of fact and logical terms as he did. It is characteristic, and shows the type of mind he had, and which is very strongly represented by him. Of all the College he was the matter of fact and logical Apostle. He had a mind of his own; he knew what it was, and was not afraid to trust it and walk in the light of it. For his part, he knew no other light there is for a man to walk in. The man that walks not in the light of his own mind, walks in darkness. So clear was he in his convictions and so sure of his ground, that he was not afraid to put the matter to his Lord in the right up and down positive manner he does. It was the right, the manly, the straightforward way, and the only way to get a definite and positive explanation in return. By his direct and flat denial of his Lord's statement he puts himself at issue with Him on the question of fact, and there was no alternative for his Lord but to make good His declaration and establish the strict truth of His statement, notwithstanding its apparent contrariety to the truth. So far as any experience of the Apostles, or common sense or reasoning was concerned, it was *false;* false in appearance, so far as any knowledge, or consciousness, or common sense of theirs was concerned, it manifestly was. It remains for Him to meet the plain issue as Thomas has put it, and show that it was true as matter of fact. This He proceeds, in the ever-memorable words of the next verse, to do. Words, the echo of which has not yet died on the air or on the ear of humanity, and never will.

6. *I am the way, the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by Me.*

If by the place to which He went He meant His Father, and if the Father dwells nowhere but in Him, and no man cometh unto the Father but by Him, then, certainly, if they knew Him, they knew both the place and the way. He was surely right in assuming that they knew Him; in that knowledge, then, if they had it, they had the full and familiar knowledge both of the place and the way leading to it. In expressly contradicting the statement of his Lord, therefore, he showed that he was ignorant of his Master. His denial is a confession of entire ignorance in regard to the reality that in the person of his Lord had so long stood before his mind—that is, of the real nature of the being and mission of his Lord.

Of this ignorance their Lord was very well aware. But though in this sense ignorant, yet in another sense, *i. e.*, the material and external, his words were literally true. There was nothing with which they were better acquainted than the person of their Lord, so far as sense and the natural understanding could reveal Him to them. In the natural human way, in the way in which objects of sense and of the natural understanding are known to us, they knew Him well. But as anything else than a fellow-creature and fellow-man, they knew Him not. It was just as Thomas said, as the place to which He was going and as the way leading to it and over which He would lead them, as the abode of the Father and as the way, the medium, through which we come to Him, they knew Him not at all. But His principal, nay, His whole spiritual reality, import, end, and meaning lay in that, nay, He was that, more than anything else, that, more than the flesh and blood in which He tabernacled, and through which He manifested Himself to, and became a real living presence among men. More than anything else, surely, substantially, and intrinsically He was His Father's house of many mansions. We constituting the mansions, He dwelling in them and the Father in Him, and thus

forming the living link by which the Father, the fountain-head of the Godhead, we who constitute the body of Christ through His indwelling, are reduced into a living and organic unity. I in Them, Thou in Me, and thus they in Us and We in them. This is Christ. This is the divine humanity in His essence, in His office, and in His relation to the Godhead on the one hand, and the elect regenerate manhood on the other. We constitute His body in which He dwells. He to us is living spirit, we to Him are living body. As the living Father hath sent Him and He lives by the Father, so we that are in Him, even we live by Him. He is the principle, the life of our life, even as the life of the Father is life principle to Him, or the life of His life. With this in its outward semblance in the form in which it was manifest to the senses and natural understandings of men, in the form and in the sense in which He was in the world and as a worldly reality, they were very well acquainted, but of it in its inward substance, life, and reality they were not, indeed, as Thomas so unequivocally and without reserve or circumlocution declared. His declaration is quite appropriate, timely, and to the point, for it gave the occasion, prepared the way for the statement and explanation which their Lord makes in answer to it.

I am the way, the truth, and the life. The *way*, in the sense that no man cometh unto the Father but by Him. The *truth*, in the sense that the knowledge of the Father consists in the knowledge of Me, and that He is in the Father and the Father in Him. The truth respecting the Father is seen and known in Him and in no other way, and this fact, that He is in the Father and the Father in Him, is the central truth. In the divine humanity is comprehended all that is truth to men. In it we have the key to all mysteries, and all realities in the light of this central truth stand out before us in their light, what man is, what God is, and the relations they sustain to each other. In the divine humanity is couched all that is truth, all that gives substance and reality to truth, and makes our knowledge real and

vital. He is the life of our humanity, He is the divine element in our humanity, and the life of our humanity consists only in its eternity. It is living and immortal only as it is divine, and it is divine only in the divine humanity. Humanity is living only as it is divine, and it is divine only as it is in Him and He in it, living only as it has the divine humanity as its life-principle.

7. If ye had known Me ye would have known My Father, and from henceforth ye do know Him and have seen Him.

Literally taken, and without reference to the organic unity of the Godhead, and the organic relation between the Father and the Son in it, in virtue of which the elements are in each other, mutually inexistent and not identical with each other, this language could be understood in no other way than as affirming that He was His Father, that no two persons are meant but one and the same under different names. The difference between them being merely nominal, in reality there being no difference at all, or at least none that is essential. In saying, if ye had known Me ye would have known My Father also, it is not implied that He and His Father are one and the same person. But His language could have no other sense than this, if there were no such thing as the organic unity between the Father and the Son, and this had not been the divine, the vital and transcendent mystery which He intended to reveal. If ye had known Me, known as to My inward being and relations to the Godhead, you would have known Me as the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person, just as you know the sun in its brightness, the original in its image, the vine in its branch, the spirit in the body, which is its house, in which it dwells and through which it manifests itself. It is impossible to have a direct and immediate knowledge of the Father as such. In knowing Christ we know the Father in the only way in which it is possible that He should be known at all, nay, perhaps in the only way in which it is possible to know Himself at all. At all events He knows Him as He knows His

other and counterpart self. As the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man, and the *Head of Christ is God*, the Spirit can be known only in the body in which it dwells as its shrine or tabernacle, as the Lord, the divine-human, the divine in the human can be known only through the human, as the vine can be known and bear fruit only in its branches, so the Father, the life-principle of the Godhead, can be known and manifest Himself only in that life which is the product of its own, and through which it makes itself a possible object of apprehension, and in and through which alone it can make its way into our consciousness. As the life of our humanity, the very mind of our mind, Christ enters into our consciousness, and entering Himself He must needs bring in His Father with Him. For it is with reference to His Father that His life has all its significance. For it is a life whose spirit is that of a servant and a child. The spirit is in the highest degree filial, nay, absolutely so.

I *came not* to do my own will but *the will of Him* that sent Me. As a will it is subservient, and it has its whole significance in its labor, animation, and spirit of obedience. He knows no end of life but obedience to His Father. He is in His own unclouded apprehension, true to Himself and to the end for which He came into the world, nay, came into being only when He is absolutely obedient to His Father. Has no will of His own, but His only will to do the will of His Father. "Not My will but Thine be done," is the language not only of a particular act of His life, but of His life in its every act and in the one end that He continually purposed to Himself. Hence they could not know Him without knowing His Father also, for He was but the embodiment, the expression, the execution of the will of His Father. You cannot know the medium of manifestation without knowing that of which it is the manifestation. It is nothing at all except as a manifestation, and it is not a manifestation except as something is manifested in and through it, but becomes a mere nullity, a word without a meaning. His life, and His being,

and His mission were nothing except as an expression, an embodiment intelligible to us. To know the expression we must know what it expresses. If you had known the sign you would have known the thing signified by it. It is truly idle to say that you know the sign when you have no idea of that which is signified by it. My life, My acts, are signs and expressions and executions of the will and of the life of My Father. I am but the living and personal exemplification of the life and will of My Father. How can you be said to know the exemplification, as such, while yet you remain in entire ignorance of that which it exemplifies? In that case it is not an exemplification unto you at all, and not being that, it must be either nothing to your view or a thing of which your view is entirely mistaken or wrong. Thus, then, if in and through Me you have not known and been made acquainted with My Father, your knowledge of Me must be entire ignorance, or misknowledge, which is worse than no knowledge and no idea at all. Let the emphasis, then, be laid *here*, where it should be laid, and all is plain. "*If ye had known Me*," in My true character, in the true purport, and content and intent of My mission and My being, ye would have known My Father also. For I am nothing but the expression of My Father's will, the revelation of His being, His nature, and His design. But now, from henceforth, from this time onward, this ignorance and misapprehension ceases. The veil which to your eyes has rested over Me is removed, the darkness that hitherto has blinded your eyes on this greatest and most momentous of all points, the indwelling of the eternal Fatherhood of the Father in the divine humanity of the Son, is dissipated and forever at an end. You are to be in darkness on this cardinal, essential point no more. It is enough that I have given you this clear, plain, and unequivocal statement of the actual facts in the case. Now, in the glass of my clear statement and plain words, you have the reality reflected upon your minds that no obscurity or doubt in reference to it can ever henceforth rest upon your minds.

Mark the positiveness of this statement, put as though by this simple, verbal statement everything had been accomplished so far as related to the full enlightenment of their minds on this momentous subject, notwithstanding the truth in regard to it was a matter so far beyond the capacity of the carnal or natural understanding, and so foreign from the common apprehensions of the human mind. Henceforth ye know and have seen the Father. Hereafter it cannot be said that ye have failed as to the spiritual apprehension of the nature of My being and mission. We must surely understand the Saviour as using strong language here, language so strong, that literally taken, it states what is not rather than what is the truth on the point. The truth is, that they were in just as much darkness after He had spoken as before, if we understand Him as having reference to the immediate present. He should then, if so understood, be regarded as stating what ought to be rather than what actually was. As, if He had said: "Now, after this plain and unequivocal statement on My part, there ought to be no more dullness, or doubt, or misapprehension on your minds, you either are or ought to be well acquainted with the Father, and to be just as familiar with Him as you are with Me, for you have now been distinctly informed on the highest authority that in knowing Me you have known Him, that the knowledge of Me is *but the knowledge of the Father through Me*, as much then, and just what knowledge you have of Me you have of Him. The knowledge of Me is at the bottom nothing but the knowledge of Him." Undoubtedly then the intent of the language was rather to call out from them the statement of the fact as it was in reality, and to lead them in the utterance of their own lips to reveal their actual mental condition, than to state it in His own words. They are words that are uttered as a means of eliciting the true statement from the proper source, their own consciousness, rather than as containing it in themselves. Accordingly Philip becomes mouth-piece and responds, just as their Lord knew that he would and intended he should.

Words the most natural that can be imagined and that were actually *forced* out of him just as the previous reply on the part of Thomas was *forced* out of him, by the direct appositeness of the statement to the fact in the case as they were conscious of it in their own experience. The words stated the direct contrary to what they knew to be fact if they knew their own minds and were acquainted with their own thoughts and convictions. He had said, Now after what I have said you know the Father. In the glass that I have held up before you I have clearly reflected His image upon your minds. I have now shown you the Father so clearly that you will have no more occasion to inquire as to anything about Him. Now in knowing Me you know that you know all about Him.

8. Philip saith unto Him, Lord, *show* us the Father and *it sufficeth us.*

Lord, do not trifle with us, do not use language that seems to us a mockery of our ignorance. Do not any longer say that in seeing Thee we have seen the Father. Thee, indeed, we have seen and known, but Him we have *not* seen and do not know. These words show us Thee but they do not show us the Father. To us Thou art Thyself and no other than Thyself, Thou art not Thy Father or any other than Thyself. To Thyself Thou mayest be more, Thou mayest be what we do not see in Thee or anywhere else, but to us Thou art none other than Thine own blessed self. Full of love, and grace, and truth, and all that is dear and venerable to our hearts. So much the greater our grief, and loss, and bereavement at Thy departure. That taken away nothing is left to us, without a showing on Thy part entirely different from any yet made, any there is in the words, "If ye had known Me ye should have known My Father also." We have known Thee, there is nothing doubtful or contingent about that, we have known and we do know Thee, but the fact is, notwithstanding Thy express words to the contrary, we do not know *Thy* Father, we cannot discern the one in the other. In Thee we see and can see nothing more

but Thyself. He may be there, but for us it is all the same as though He were not there, if we do not see Him. What does Philip mean? He means *make us* see Him. Not merely tell us He is there for us to receive as a matter of hearsay. Give us the evidence of our senses. Why not? In the same manner in which Thou art shown to us show us the Father, let us have the same evidence of His presence, the same light in which to see Him as that in which we see Thee, and it *sufficeth us.* We will ask no more, we shall be satisfied, we ask no more than that. But so much as that we must have before we can be satisfied. How can we be satisfied with anything short of that? We know nothing about seeing one person in another. We know nothing of one person being and living in another. We can conceive of no such thing as any such hypostatical union as that. Any such thing as a double personality is inconceivable to us. In one and the same person it is impossible to see, and it is impossible that there should be any person but Himself, any personality but His own. But the idea of one person in another, and of forming a personal acquaintance with one person in the person of another. It is impossible to know one person by personal acquaintance with another. Now, whether or not, this subtlety of distinction entered into the mind of Philip, we may not be able to decide, but so much as this he must have meant to say: that it is impossible to form personal acquaintance with one person in and through the person of another. In the knowledge of one man we cannot have that of another. For he does not understand his Lord as meaning to teach that there was identity of person and character between Him and His Father at all, but that they were different persons and characters as much so as any other two individuals. This being so, how is the knowledge of the one to be that of the other, and how can the one be known in the other? From his point of view, impossible, he would say, and so say we, and so say reason and common sense. The organic distinction and unity being unknown, the case is just as stated by

Philip. The persons being regarded as co-ordinate the union is impossible, the knowledge of the one in the other is an absurdity. The organic distinction of rank must be recognized, so that one may be in the other as the universal is in the particular, as the universal Spirit of Life is in the body and all its members, as the vine is in the branches, the vine-life in the branch-life, and the one life, the life of the other life, its source, its original, its sustaining principle.

The union between the Father and the Son is a union of personalities, so that the two become one and the same, but they are united so as to remain, perfectly distinct, the one giving life, character, and expression to the other. Not My will but Thine be done, implies no distinction of the subordinate will, but only its subordination. Its will is to make itself the means or medium of carrying out the will of the other. Thus they might have seen in the will of Christ the will of the Father reflected, not *lost*, but the two wills conspiring and co-operating, the one determining the other, the one submitting itself to be determined by the other, without being thereby merged, destroyed, or lost, or made inactive.

9. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father. And how sayest thou then show us the Father?

10. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? The works that I speak unto you I speak not of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in me He doeth the works.

So that in reality it is He rather than I that speak in my speech. My speech, my teaching is His rather than mine. And why? I answer, because He is the fountain-head out of which it flows. The thought is His, the truth is His, the work is His, I am only His agent in doing it. In all that I am doing it is His work rather than my own doing. He is the original source of thought and purpose, as well as of being and

of life. Nothing lives or knows or purposes or is, except as it lives in Him and He in it. He is the life of all life, the being of all being. All that truly lives, moves, or has a being lives, and moves and exists in Him, and except as in Him and deriving its being from Him and living and being in Him it neither lives nor is at all. He is a being *who hath* comprehended and includes *all things* in Himself and His own substance, and without whom and besides whom there is no true substance. Without Him as the source and support of its life and its being nothing truly lives or is, for the life and being is no more self-sustained and self-supported than it is self-produced. God is self-existent, but nothing else exists from itself or is the basis and support of its own being and life. We live and are because He lives and is in us, and if we did not live and have our being in Him we should not live or have being at all.

Besides Him—outside of and independent of Him there is no true life or being. To say the contrary is to deny that He is all and in all, and that in Him we live and move and have our being.

That which is in part or the imperfect, the creaturely, is that which hath its source in or springeth from the Perfect, just as a brightness or a visible appearance floweth out from the flame of a candle or the branches out of their vine. The life-principle of the branches is the vine in which they live and which also liveth in them. For them there is no life-source or life-support but in the vine, or as they are in the vine and the vine in them. Without the vine they can do nothing, and can be nothing. The life of their life, the sustaining principle of their life and their being is the source out of which they flowed. But where God as God is made man, or where God dwelleth in a godly man, or one who is made a "partaker of the divine nature," in such a man there is a somewhat appertaining unto God which is His own—there is in Him somewhat of the divine nature—something that is divine and of the nature of God—something of God Himself, which is his own and belongeth to Him only

and not to the creature. Being of Himself it is not a part of the creature and belongs not to the creature nature at all. Now without the creature this would be in His ownself as a substance or well-spring or vine, but would not be manifested or wrought out into deed. Now God will have that which is of His own life and substance to be exercised and clothed in a form, for it is there only to be wrought out and exercised. What else is it for? Shall it be idle? What then would it profit? As good were it that it had never been, nay, better, for that which is of no use existeth in vain, and that is abhorred of God and nature. However God will have it to be wrought out. And this cannot come to pass as it ought to do, without the creature. Nay, if there ought not to be and were not works and a world full of real things, what were God Himself, and what had He to do and whose God would He be? (Theologia Germanica, chap. 36). When it is said that such a thing or such a deed is contrary to God or hateful to God and grieveth His Spirit, ye must know that no creature is contrary to God or hateful or grievous unto Him in so far as it is, liveth, knoweth, and hath power to do or produce ought, for all this is not contrary to God. That an evil spirit or man is, liveth and the like, is altogether good and of God. For God is the being of all that are and the life of all that live and the wisdom of all the wise, for all things have their being more truly in God than in themselves. And *thus all creatures are good.*

What He asks them to believe is not that He is His Father or the Father Him—not in the identity of the persons, or that the distinction between them is merely external, nominal and modal—no Sabellianism, but the symbol of the Nicene faith, the consubstantiality or organic unity of the Father and the Son—in no mere abstract or formal or nominal unity, a shadow and a sham, a deception and an imposition. And so almost as though He resented the construction they put upon His words, as an imputation to Him either of insincerity or incapacity, as though He could be guilty of endeavoring to impose

upon their credulity so great an absurdity, as though it were sense instead of nonsense, a mere artificial and nominal distinction, instead of the most profound and vital reality in the Universe out of which indeed all other reality springs, He exclaims I only ask you to believe that I am in my Father, that is, that His life is the root of my life. I only ask you to believe that the vine lives in its branch, and is the power by which the branch lives, as well as the source from whence it springs. I ask you to believe that the wisdom which I utter is not mine, that the designs which I am here to carry out and accomplish are not mine but His that sent me. I ask you to believe that I am here upon the business of Him that sent me here and not my own. And I ask you to believe that the power by which I do the works which I do is not mine but the power of the Father exerted through me. That what I do I do in the power of my Father and not in a power which is original and independent in me. It is a power and a wisdom derived from the Eternal and absolute source of all being, power and wisdom.

Is there anything so very unreasonable, incomprehensible or inconceivable in that?

11. Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me, or else believe me for the very works' sake; for the works' sake, that is to say, independent of any assertion of mine on the subject.

It is a fair and necessary inference from the nature of the works themselves that they must have had a divine origin, are such as could have come from none but the Eternal Creator, the first source and author of all things. The miracles that I have performed are as truly creations as the frame-work and laws of the universe itself, and could have sprung from no source but that which made the world. Only He who gives life and being to man can raise him from the dead or restore his life to him again after he has once lost it. You must either believe that I do these things in the power and by the will of my Father, or else that there are two separate and absolute creators

and two moral kingdoms each with a different head, two creations each with a creator of its own. Either you must hold to this or believe what I tell you, that I am in the Father and the Father in me. That we are organically but not personally nor merely morally one—together constituting the unity of the Godhead of which He is the Fountain-Head, I its subordinate member. I declare unto you in all this no greater mystery than the residence of the living Spirit in the members of its body and the life of the members in their fountain-head or life-principle.

12. Verily, verily I say unto you he that believeth on me the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do because I go unto my Father.

13. And whatsoever ye shall ask in my *name* that will I do, that the Father *may* be glorified in the Son.

14. If ye shall ask anything in my name *I will do it.*

The heart of the mystery here propounded is all couched in the one grand idea and fact of the Intercession of the Divine humanity. With this and its import fairly and distinctly in mind the mystery or rather all the seeming difficulty and inconsistency vanishes. The power that resides in the believer all flows out of the Intercession of Christ. And the reason of all the mighty works that it is given to the believer to do is that the Father *may be glorified in the Son.* And there is no way by which the Father can be glorified in the Son except in the works that His Son doeth; and He can do nothing,—He can bear no fruit without them. The vine can bear no fruit without its branches. All that it contains is that which it bears upon its branches. Nor is it at all strange that He should speak of works yet to be performed far greater than any He without His branches has hitherto performed. For really and as regards the true work, the establishment of His Kingdom—spiritual and transforming effects on the hearts and minds of men—the making them new creatures in Christ Jesus, very little has as yet been done by Him. Wherefore it is not strange that He should

speak of the effects yet to be wrought in His Kingdom through those who have become mansions in His Father's house, members of His spiritual body, as greater than any that have yet been wrought when as yet not so much as one instance of true and radical spiritual renewal has taken place, and the old man has not been destroyed, and sloughed off and the new put on in a single instance.

If these spiritual transformations to be wrought by the Spirit through their instrumentality are to be considered greater than the healing the sick or the raising of the dead body, something of higher moment and of more enduring importance and significance, then He might well say, the works that I do shall he do also and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father, or in other words, taking the consequent for the antecedent, because the Holy Spirit is given, and through His operation they become the agents of a higher work than any that even the divine power can produce in any other way or through any other instrumentality. If it is the one end of the Incarnation that the Father may be glorified in the Son, if its one end is to be found in the everlasting Kingdom of righteousness and of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost which flows therefrom, then the interest He takes in the fruitfulness of His members is easily explained. He bears fruit only in them; the supreme desire of His heart is fulfilled in their fruitfulness, in the spiritual works which they are the instruments of performing.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father. John xiv. 12–14.

I think it is by no means difficult to see the ground of the special emphasis used here. The thing is most startling and even stumbling in its sound, but in its reality a truth the most evident and the easiest of comprehension when the meaning is understood. All the strangeness and the incredibility in the case disappears at once in the light of the cause which He as-

signs for the effect. Viewed in the light of the cause, it is no more than we should naturally expect, and what must naturally follow. Without the cause assigned, it would be quite incomprehensible, indeed, obviously impossible. With it, nothing is more obvious, reasonable, and to be expected as a matter of course. Because I go *to my Father.* They could not, indeed, enter into the import of the cause here assigned, or see how any such effects could follow. How, a going to the Father, was to have in it that which should enable them to work such stupendous miracles as He had wrought, or how there could be anything in His going away that would clothe them with superhuman and miraculous powers at all. Naturally, they would expect to be made even much weaker rather than stronger as the result of their being left without Him. They could not see how there could be in that anything to add to their strength, much less how, by means and in consequence of it, they could be rendered immeasurably mightier than before,—nay, clothed with divine and supernatural strength, so as to go through the land illustrating their progress and marking their path with works of superhuman beneficence and might far transcending the most stupendous of the miracles which their Lord had wrought. Nothing could be to them or in itself more unintelligible than this, unless a cause entirely absent or inoperative before enters upon the stage, and by its presence making it an entirely new one, and substituting an entirely new for the old dispensation. If such a thing should happen as He had predicted, it would be a new dispensation, and His going away would be both the signal and the cause of its introduction.

And nothing could be more true. All this would be involved in such results and works as He predicts as to follow His going unto the Father. So He undoubtedly meant to be understood, not then, indeed, but afterwards, when the prediction should be explained and verified by the *event.* He did not expect His prophecy to be understood until interpreted by the event, but He knew that that would verify it, and make those few blind words

grand and luminous and pregnant with meanings, that eye had not seen, nor ear heard, and that at that time had not entered into the heart of man to conceive or have even the faintest idea of. Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. As that to outward view and to the eye of sense insignificant kernel of wheat is to what springs up from it and what it becomes, and the glory and the fruitage that it puts on in consequence of its being sown in the ground and then undergoing utter decomposition and decay, as that single and insignificant kernel is to the stalks of wheat crowned with the heavy-laden and bending ears into which it is transformed by the process of decay and growth which it undergoes as the consequence of its being sown, so are these few, simple words of Jesus, predicting what should follow from His going to the Father to the glorious meanings it contained, which within a few days should fill the world with their light and the heart of Heaven with exultant joy,—a new dispensation—the dispensation of the Paraclete—the Kingdom of God with power,—humanity made divine, putting off the old man and putting on the new man, as the result of being by the act of the personal faith of the heart of the individual believer brought into vital contact with the divine humanity as it is in Jesus. It is from the touch of the magic wand of the divine in the humanity of Jesus, in the hand and through the influence of the Holy Spirit that all these astounding effects are to be wrought and the new dispensation brought in. Under it so great shall be the development of spiritual and divine and transforming power hidden in the heart of the Incarnate mystery, that a single unlearned believer with no more than the ordinary gifts of nature and of the Spirit, shall exert a power upon the minds of men and carry a demonstration to their hearts far beyond all that had been exerted by the words or even the miracles of Jesus. Frequently was the most ordinary of them to transcend his divine Lord and Master in the effects wrought by his simple testimony, accompanied at

first with the evidence of miracles to authenticate his preaching and his mission.

The works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to my Father.

The grammatical structure, the simple form of the words, according to their plainest and most literal sense, reads us a lesson of light and power. By the works that He does, He evidently intends His miracles, which had produced so great a sensation and been so startling and convincing in their immediate effects, even upon the impenitent and sensualized minds of the people. They had been esteemed great, and had produced a profound impression, but it was local and transient, and confined to the moment and the immediate circle in the sight of which they were wrought. Works of the same kind as these they, too, will be enabled to perform in virtue of the new influx of power which is to follow almost at once in consequence of His going to His Father. But in the next clause He speaks of greater works than these which they were to do. Works, in comparison with which all such works as these would seem and be really, positively, as well as comparatively small.

What could He have meant by works greater than material and outward miracles? In respect to the power, the nature and kind of power involved in the working such miracles, there could be no distinction of greater and less. The least of them implies the same power as the greatest; for by nothing short of divine and Almighty power can the least of them be performed. How, then, can one of them be greater than another? He must, then, have meant works of another kind. The work performed upon the soul of man by which it is created anew in righteousness after the image of the divine humanity of Him who created it, is certainly of a different kind and of far greater importance and value than any that can be exerted upon the body. The renewal of the body to a natural life of a few days' continuance is a small thing certainly in comparison with the renewal of the soul in righteousness—to an im-

mortal and blessed and glorious life of righteousness beyond the grave. The work, whereby the humanity of man, which is corrupt, according to the deceitful lusts, is purged of its corruption and made righteous and immortal, is certainly a far greater one than the resurrection of a single human body. Both, undoubtedly, speak the presence and exercise of divine power, but they bear no comparison with each other; the one is trivial in comparison with the other, if regard be had to the intrinsic value of the results involved. The renewal of the fallen and sinful soul of man in righteousness, after the image of the divine humanity, which was its eternal author, original and pattern—the changing of the corrupt human to the divine, of the unholy to the righteous holy, of the mortal and sinful to the immortal and holy, the grandest of all the results that can be ascribed to the divine power itself. The creation of the world has nothing so sublime and glorious as what is involved in the renewal of a single soul in righteousness after the image of the divine humanity as we see it in Christ.

13. *And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will do it—that the Father may be glorified in the Son.*

But one desire and one purpose animates the mind of Christ. It is that the Father may be glorified in Him. For the attainment of this end, He became Incarnate and came into the world. There can be nothing that He would not be willing to do in order to the attainment of this end.

Nothing that a friend and disciple of His can ask, can seem too much for Him to do, if it involves advantage to His cause and kingdom and looks towards the coming of the kingdom of God, and the doing His will on earth. All His power is pledged and enlisted here. He has identified Himself with this object, and there are no sacrifices that He is not prepared to make in its behalf. In fact, He came into the world for no other purpose than to accomplish this by the sacrifice of Himself to it. He came to give His life for it; and is there anything that a disciple of His can ask Him to do, that He will

not be glad to do, in order that each of His disciples may accomplish the most in his person towards the accomplishment of the great object?

If ye shall ask anything in my name; speaking and acting in My behalf, and with the promotion of My cause in view, this, I suppose, is what is meant by the name of Christ and asking in His name. It is in His behalf—in the behalf of His cause, and to the end that it may be promoted. Asking in His name means putting themselves in His place, espousing His interest, adopting it as their own, making it their own and devoting themselves to it with all their hearts.

There are reasons for this promise that strike deep, and go a great way. In order to understand something of what they are, and with intelligent sympathy enter into them, and thus feel their full force, and rely with due strength of confidence on His promise, we must try to gain a clear and distinct and impressive idea of what the cause of Christ is. How shall we in one word describe it and make the idea, in its life and power, flash upon our minds and thrill our hearts? For it is a thrilling idea, and carries more light and power to the mind of man, has greater power to arouse all his sympathies, and awaken and enlist and develop his faculties and his energies than all other ideas put together. There is a divine power in it, and there is nothing that can operate so effectually to make the soul divine and endow it with divine life and power. Entering into holy souls, it makes them wise men, heroes, martyrs and prophets. It is, in the light of this idea, made real and present to the mind, that the mind of man is renewed in knowledge as well as righteousness after the image of Him that created him. Beholding, as in a glass, the glory of this divine idea, we are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as though it were the very Spirit and life of the Lord Himself. Entering into and embracing it, it enters into us. The desire and the effort and the prayer to have it realized in others, has a transforming power upon ourselves, and never works so powerfully

on us as when we most forget ourselves and devote ourselves to the great work of enlightening and saving others.

The grand, informing, inspiring, transforming idea involved in the cause of Christ, is simply the idea and design, in pursuance of which the divine humanity became incarnate. The idea which prompted the Incarnation, to realize which the Eternal Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, was that through Him humanity might become divine. Only in this way could the end be accomplished. Only by this means could the glorious design be carried into execution, and fallen, sinful humanity not be left to perish, but find a remedy and an antidote and have eternal life. The man into whose heart this idea enters, and who enters into sympathy with it and adopts it as his own, has already become divine, and the more he contemplates it and lives and labors in the light and power of it, the more divine and holy he becomes; until he has no pulse, and breathes no breath, but in sympathy with it, and puts forth no effort except under its inspiration.

Now, the Father is glorified in the Son so far, and only so far as this idea is realized through His incarnation and through the instrumentalities, agencies and prayers of His people. Anything done under this inspiration, anything inspired by the love of this object and the desire to see it promoted, is done in the name of Christ. The Son has but one desire, and that is that His Father may be glorified through the carrying out of the design and object of the Incarnation. But He can, Himself, do nothing towards it except through the instrumentality, the desires and efforts of His friends and followers, in whom He dwells, and who are animated by His Spirit and inspired with His idea. Just as intense and all-absorbing as must be His desire to glorify His Father and to see His kingdom upon the earth, must be His desire, that the efforts and labors of His servants and friends may be crowned with the highest success, and their prayers receive the most entire, the fullest and most abundant answers.

14. If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it.

This verse, I think, has been sufficiently explained for the present.

ART. VII.—PRACTICAL HINTS ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

BY REV. I. E. GRAEFF.

GOVERNMENT in the Church is a necessity, just as in all other forms of social life. As a spiritual economy it must, perhaps, be less rigid in the enforcement of its enactments and rules, than is required by civil law; but the life and power of the kingdom of heaven is still no bald abstraction, standing over and above the administrative capacities and wants of society. In order to be of real historical benefit to mankind the Church must be an organization and carry with it the force of law, although the mysterious divine-human life-power, on which her outward structure rests, cannot be rigidly limited by any legal or official channels. Jerusalem, which is from above, is indeed free and not in bondage, as the Church was under the Mosaic economy; but this freedom stands in the order of a well-organized social life, and not in the disorder of a lawless caprice.

The manner in which Christ inaugurated this new economy is unique. The cardinal principles of strong government were never so firmly laid down, and yet we see no attempt on His part to enact or codify a full system of laws. He proceeded with plenary divine power in the case, and sent His apostles as the Father had sent Him, giving them authority to make all nations disciples and teach them whatsoever He commanded. And as a guarantee of their success He assured them of His continual presence and support throughout the ages, even to the end of

the world. Solemnly He committed the power of the keys first to Peter, and afterwards to all the apostles, with the awful declaration that whatsoever they would either bind or loose on earth, should be bound or loosed in heaven. If then the mediatorial office and glorificd personal power of Christ are a reality always in force, the power of government in the Church must also be of the most awfully real and historical significance. These two things cannot be separated in the order of grace—Christ is head over all things to the Church; in this way only is He the fulness of Him that filleth all in all to the fallen race of man.

That Christ ordained a government for His Church is therefore certain beyond a doubt; but what the particular form of that government should be, He evidently left to be settled in the course of events under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Political and ecclesiastical polity stand on the same level in this respect. Both are of divine right in their respective order, and subject to such modifications as the enlightened judgment of lawful authority may deem necessary and proper. The attempt to draw any specific ecclesiastical system from the New Testament, as exclusive of all others, has not only proven a failure but has brought much misery and sorrow to the people of God. We find there simply the cardinal principles, and the divine right and authority of government designated, and not the legal or formal details of the same. Neither Episcopacy, nor Presbyterianism, nor Congregationalism, nor any other form now in existence or ever attempted, has a New Testament warrant as the *jure divino* order over against all others. The elements of all these systems were no doubt at hand, and are justified by apostolic practice; but the notion that goes beyond such fundamental beginnings, and regards them as finished schemes of ecclesiastical law, comes in conflict with the practical experience of the Christian world and has to swim against the broad current of the Christian life. Happily the time has come when all questions of government can be calmly settled in the light of a rational experience, both in Church and State.

There was a time when the form of civil government was in controversy, and when the question of the divine right of kings led to fearful conflicts. All such troubles are, however, effectually ended, and society is firmly settled in the conviction that every commonwealth, or nation, must be allowed to adopt whatever system it may think proper. This freedom is being regarded as being perfectly in accord with the divine order of social life, and admirably adapted to the interests of the general good. Thus expediency is made to take the place of absolute right, and a wide door is opened for the development of national peculiarities. In the Church the formal issue is led to a similar conclusion. The various systems have had their day, on the basis of absolute right, and popular opinion is gradually reducing them to the level of relative right and expediency. There is no longer any possibility of successfully reviving the old issues from any quarter, whether the task is undertaken by Jesuitic ultramontane infallibilism, or by the more inconsistent highspun modern Protestant organizations. The era of liberal ideas is at hand, and governments, no matter what their specific form may be, will find it necessary to embody these and give them rational scope. The more readily this demand is complied with, the more firmly will authority be established and the happiness and peace of society be secured.

The papacy plants itself on the memorable words of our Lord—"Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church. And I give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." It does not claim that the scheme of government founded on this divine authority, was put on record and is found in full in the New Testament Scriptures. It had the sagacity from the start not to assume any such untenable position, but fell back on tradition as the source from which its grand ecclesiastical machinery was drawn. It was well understood all along and readily acknowledged that, in this

way only, could its awful claims be maintained; since the papal code of laws and the cardinal peculiarities of its organization are not found in the written word. If these were set forth by the Lord as the law of the Church for all time to come, they must be stored up in the apostolic treasure-houses of the Papal See. But modern history seems to demonstrate that this scheme of authority is entirely too narrow to meet the broad demands of human progress. The system has had its day, and played a colossal part in the onward course of the nations. European civilization is mainly due to its herculean strength, and to its unflinching energy in the enforcement of Christian ideas throughout the chaotic reign of mediæval barbarism. Judging it, therefore, in the light of history, the ripest scholarship of our age readily admits that an agency of such tremendous significance for the progress of the race, must have full right and power in the divine order of things. But the fallacy of papal logic lies in the fact, that it claims absolute supremacy in a *jure divino* sense. It is just at this point that the hierarchy joins issue with the consciousness of the secular and religious world, and places itself squarely across the pathway of modern ideas. Its now rigidly fixed infallibilism looks directly toward the enforcement of this claim, and the whole tenor of its policy is made subservient to this end. If we dare believe the signs of the times and take into account the experience of the past, however, we may fairly come to the conclusion that all such attempt to stop the course of history, or to turn it into such narrow and antiquated channel, will in the end turn out to be a grand blunder and will bring disgrace and disaster to the power that makes it. The day is gone by when ecclesiastical power may lord it, in this formal style, over the secular powers of the world, and when the thinking of the age will be controlled by such overbearing dictatorship. Certainty is desired and sought after in every sphere, but it is not allowed to come in the form of outward testimony or decree from organized authority simply; and the temper of the times will

fail as effectually to submit to the infallible supremacy of the papal hierarchy, as it refuses to restore to the Pope his much coveted temporal possessions. Rome has made a bold strike in her late Vatican decree, but it may cost her more in the course of events, than she, notwithstanding the strength and historical prestige of her organization, will be able to bear.

Inconsistent and unhistorical as the papal theory is found to be, when fully examined in the light of Christian experience; the opposite theory, which makes the New Testament a code of ecclesiastical polity in a fixed sense, can still less endure as a true historical solution of this question. The systems that have been drawn from the Bible in this sense are numerous, and largely contradictory in their organic structure. The struggle between these was long and hard, each trying to maintain itself as over against the rest, the only system founded by scriptural authority. But this notion was about as roughly handled by the course of events, as that of the papacy was, and will just as surely have to be dismissed, no matter of what order of government it may yet be entertained.

In days gone by Congregationalism was held up seriously, as the only legitimate form of Church government on scriptural grounds. Of course it is a little hard to see how this theory could ever come to be entertained, in the face of apostolic custom. But when we bring it down to the test of Church history, its exclusive pretensions must vanish like the mist at noonday under the burning rays of the sun. Other orders were at hand from the very age of the apostles themselves, and so soon had entire sway that the notion that they came in by corruption is simply absurd. If the voice of history in the case may be taken as the voice of Christ, Congregationalism is effectually disposed of as having exclusive scriptural or divine right. And if we view it on the ground of rational expediency and consider it as answering the wants of all ages, we will be forced to still more unfavorable conclusions. The system is charged

with being extremely weak in the enforcement of order and discipline even now in this age of popular culture and self-government, and, if this charge has any foundation in fact as it seems to have, what would its voluntary and advisory councils have amounted to as a civilizing power of the barbarian hordes of the middle ages? There is a vast difference in the manners of times, and if Puritan skill is hardly able to dispose of one annoying scandal in a satisfactory way, in the bosom of an established and cultivated order of Christian society, it would have made a sorry figure at dealing with the cupidity and violence of a barbarous age. The extravagances of freedom even now sober down the judgments of thinking men very emphatically with reference to the limits of popular power, and the caprices of the masses are being seriously dreaded. We need not join in any feeling of this kind, however, in order to come to a sense of the weakness of the system under consideration. Rather let this have fair play and stand on its own proper merits. It is a historical movement of great power, and certainly not unworthy of a careful study; and we may safely say that it also had a mission. In this country it has been quite a power, and it carries with it now a high degree of culture and Christian energy. On the ground of expediency we may allow it full scope and recognize it as an agency of much good in its own day and sphere; but that we can regard it as correct in theory, and especially as of exclusive divine right, is of course out of the question. The trial by jury may be turned into a farce in the proceedings of legal courts, but in all such cases the law provides a remedy and a judicial obligation to enforce it. Voluntary, advisory, and hence irresponsible, councils are a little too vague and unrestrained to be taken as safe arbiters of grave judicial questions. And if the papal hierarchy is likely to be broken on the rough corners of its self-declared infallibility, modern Congregationalism stands a fair chance of going under by the weight of its badly-balanced popular proclivities. Had not its practice been better than its

theory, it would have long since been swept away, as a baseless rope of sand.

The Presbyterial order rests on a more conservative theory, and is balanced better in its organic construction. There is little doubt, too, of its greater permanency as a distinct polity in the organization of the Church, than all the more extreme popular or democratic schemes. In this country, and also in Europe, it stands as an order of immense significance in the life of the Church, both as regards the past and the future. It has some of the elements of a sound and strong economy, capable of dealing with general as well as local issues in an authoritative way. Still it bears the marks of a specific movement in modern times, and would hardly dare claim, in its present character, a broad supremacy in all ages and climes. Its ideas of parity have all along been too rigidly level to allow it to make sufficient room for a perfectly normal and efficient policy of ecclesiastical supervision. Although in theory it is much better than the popular radicalism of congregational independency in its practical workings it is in danger continually of falling into the loose mannerism of that scheme. It has its checks and balances in government legally fixed, and its organic laws are framed on the principle of representative power; but still thus far its construction does not seem to come up fully to the ideal of a solid republican government. It vests all the powers of government in the same body, or the same order of bodies—has no separate legislative, judicial, and executive departments. Its legislative assemblies are not divided into upper and lower houses, and there is no veto power back of them to keep them in check. It recognizes no executive head always at hand for the enforcement of the laws. In some respects, therefore, it is perhaps as weak and as unsatisfactory as its near ecclesiastical neighbor, and may easily fall into the same habits. This is clearly seen in the manner in which it manages pastoral relations, and the practical work of its congregations. In theory these are under wholesome official control, and cannot be either

made or unmade without the consent of the proper judicatories; but, as matters now stand, they are virtually independent of such authoritative supervision, at least until they are completed by unchecked and undirected congregational action. Frequently the higher authority is avoided altogether by resorting to temporary supplies. Hence we may say that, for these and other reasons, Presbyterianism needs to be modified, if it means to come up fully to the standard of strong but liberal government. Like all other human devices, even in the kingdom of God, it cannot claim perfection. In the hands of an intelligent and spirited Christian constituency it is an agency of great good, and as time passes on and the demand for a more thoroughly balanced system of government will be forced upon it, it will, no doubt, divest itself of its present defects and rise to the dignity of a first-class power.

The most centralized governments are found with Churches having the Episcopal order. These may be considered as strong, in some respects, as compared with those of a more democratic complexion. Popular representation in these is either sparingly admitted, or entirely excluded. Legislative authority is vested mainly or wholly in the clergy, and hence they do not seem to be organically in accord with the genius of our civil institutions. On the contrary, they may be considered as being essentially aristocratic or monarchical. They have, however, the advantage of a direct superintendency of pastoral work and Church authority, and may boast in some respects of an efficiency in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, which churches of a more democratic mould do not possess. This is, no doubt, one of the reasons why Episcopacy is growing in popular favor in this country, and why, in sections where it was formerly stoutly repudiated it is now rising to prominent influence and power. Of all the bodies having this order the Methodist Episcopal is the most consolidated, and the most thoroughly organized. Its government has heretofore been wholly in the hands of the clergy, and these are absolutely

at the disposal of the bishops in connection with the presiding eldership. This certainly looks like autocratic power in full blast, not suited to the latitude of American republicanism: but strange to tell, this system has outrun others of a more popular cast in its firm grasp on the hearts of the people and has become a power in the land that commands universal respect. Mere executive power and efficiency has, of course, not brought about this result, but the secret of the success of this centralized prelatic Methodist hierarchy lies in the fact, that it knew how to bring the people into its measures and to make the laity its willing, intelligent, practical, co-operators in all the affairs of the Church.

Methodism has proven itself to be eminently democratic in policy, notwithstanding its clerico-monarchical organization, and it will no doubt continue to maintain itself as a great power in the issues of the American people. Protestant Episcopacy has been less popular, because it was less practical and less democratic. In the primitive era of American life it was entirely too stiff to suit the taste of the masses, and it has not yet wholly recovered from this defect. It is, however, approaching the people, and the people are measurably approaching it. Taking it all in all, it is clear that the Episcopal order has a future in history and may make itself broadly felt in the destiny of this great nation. As far as any of its exclusive pretensions are concerned, they need not give us serious concern—they are subject with all other organizations to a common law. As Protestant movements they must stand or fall as Protestant powers, and on the basis of divine right they will have to share their high prerogative with historical orders of a different make. If they rise to a sense of this broad fact they will become all the more powerful in the advancement of their specific aims, and hence they shall be made willing in the day of their power.

Particular forms of government in the Church are not of primary importance, as we may be allowed to judge in the

light of Christian experience. The success of the Church depends more upon the life and spirit of her people, than upon the distinctive form of her organization. New England Congregationalism may be much more efficient practically, than some organizations based on a stronger theory, just because it may happen to be more intelligent and more spirited. A good workman will work well with bad tools, while good tools are sadly handled by poor workmen. Still, if government is of any account at all and necessarily belongs to the Church, then it is only reasonable to aim at having the very best form that can be devised. Some of the Churches in this country would have succeeded much better, as we have ample cause to believe, if they had had the benefit of a more centralized polity. If the Reformed Church in the United States, for instance, from the days of Schlatter, had been ruled by an executive unity equal to that of Methodism, it would now stand a few degrees higher in numerical strength and social influence. Her machinery of government would have been well enough, had her people been properly prepared to make successful use of it, but as they had not learned the difficult art of self-government, they would have advanced much more rapidly under the beneficent sway of a more consolidated power. And there are others besides her, that might have been helped in the same way. *All these facts go to show that no system of government is practically altogether satisfactory under all circumstances, and that governments must be shaped and modified by the issues of the times.*

No system of Church government has yet been developed on American soil, corresponding fully to the organic structure of our republican government. The Church of the future may be led to become more thoroughly naturalized in this respect, and to combine the better elements of the existing systems in the constructing of an order that will be more complete than any one of its predecessors. Time and circumstances will bring about this change, as the Lord may desire. Strong, but liberal

government, is now in demand all the world over, and American Churches are involved in the central flow of this historical stream. The management of their own internal affairs, and the increasing encroachments of political power, will make the development of ecclesiastical strength a necessity which will most likely be met. They need both unity and strength that, in the spirit of a truly broad-minded Christian generosity, they may go forward in leading mankind to the final goal of peace. It is not easy to foreshadow the future at any time, nor do we pretend to know the certainty of coming events. This much we may be allowed to say, however, that, by the time another Centennial Jubilee of the nation comes round, a revolution in American Church life and organization will have been completed, of the grandeur of which the events of the past century give us but a dim glimpse. Our Churches are not now what they were a hundred years ago, but much less will they be a hundred years hence what they are now. These changes will come not so much by diplomatic management and forethought on the part of the Churches themselves, as by the higher powers of historical progress, and hence we may be all the more calm and composed in view of them.

We have too many Church organizations—too many distinct and separate ecclesiastical bodies. They cannot all continue to exist, and if they could it would not be very desirable that they should. We need not go to work, however, and violently break up any of them. Time will do that work in a quiet but effectual, and perfectly satisfactory way. The weaker will be absorbed by the stronger, and thus gradually powerful organizations will grow up. And those bodies that have an organic affinity in polity, faith, and customs will come closer together, and perhaps finally coalesce. In this process some of the older organizations will likely be swallowed up by those which sprung up much later, and thus realize what Christ said to His disciples: "The first shall be last and the last first." The question of ascendency will be settled, not so much by un-

holy ambition, as by the much stronger force of superior vigor and practical energy. It is possible for all to have a noble share in the process, and the question of supremacy ought to disturb them as little as it should have troubled the apostles. Let those who wish to be the highest in the kingdom be careful to serve their fellows most faithfully, as the Master did His disciples. The closer they will come to Him in true spiritual accord and life communion, the more apt they will be to find their proper level in the community of His brotherhood. Let Jerusalem pray for the coming of her King, and of her millennial glory.

Art. VIII.—THE PERICOPES, OR SELECTIONS OF GOSPELS AND EPISTLES FOR THE CHURCH YEAR.

BY E. E. HIGBEE.

No. 6.

The wonderful parable contained in the Gospel selection for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, (St. Matth. xxii. 1–14), reveals the long-suffering love of God as met by the selfishness of sin, and defeated in its element of mercy and made to be a visitation of judgment and wrath. The marriage festival of grace has been appointed. Those bidden are called by special messages. They refuse. Yet the call goes forth again with the announcement that the feast is fully prepared and all things ready. This is treated with indifference; and the worldly life asserts itself over against it as sufficient excuse for rejecting the summons.

Here the whole sinful animus of the Jew is clearly exposed, and comes under fearful judgment as the very result of such refusal and rejection. Divine love, however, still contineus

its appeals. The highways are visited, and all are invited and urged to come. The invitation in such broad form is accepted, and the wedding furnished with guests. But here again the very freedom and urgency of the love which calls unmasks the sinful heedlessness of him who feels that nothing is required to constitute him a fit guest of the royal wedding more than the fact of his coming. No wedding garment is procured or worn, and the speechless guest who would thus profane the free graciousness of divine love is cast out into outer darkness; and the whole lesson of the parable is then given in the summary, "For many are called, but few are chosen."

There is no forgiveness of sin possible without the reality of a new life in the will which clothes the whole man with a wedding garment of righteousness. Sin is itself an aberration of the will, a disruption of it from its true centre and source of obligation in God. How then can there be any forgiveness of sin, if there be no rectification of the life in the will? The very fact of repentance, as conditioning pardon, is quite unintelligible without this repentance carries along with it an actual sundering of self from the old order, and a full surrender and sacrifice of all therein involved; and this at once evidences that the will here must be in positive activity, making the offered grace real as entering into the soul and heart of the one called—otherwise mercy itself would be immoral and defeat the very purpose of salvation. This great scriptural truth has been very profoundly stated by Shakespeare in the memorable soliloquy or prayer of Hamlet's uncle:

> "What if this cursed hand
> Were thicker than itself with brother's blood?
> Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens,
> To wash it white as snow? Whereto serves mercy,
> But to confront the visage of offence?
> And what's in prayer, but this twofold force,—
> To be forestalled, ere we come to fall,
> Or pardoned, being down? Then I'll look up:

My fault is past. But, O, what form of prayer
Can serve my turn? Forgive me my foul murther!—
That cannot be; since I am still possess'd
Of those effects for which I did the murther,
My crown, my own ambition, and my queen.
May one be pardon'd, and retain the offence."

The Epistle selection (Eph. v. 15–21) enforces the same lesson. Here the whole Christian life is viewed as beset with evils and dangers, demanding the utmost circumspection and wisdom, the active culture of virtue in the obedience of love. The forgiveness of sin is not some merely objective mystery mythically made ours from above, but a process in which the divine love in us is continually overpowering evil, strengthening the soul in every conflict, and carrying it into a victory in which sin is conquered and cancelled. The collect emphasizes the same truth, gathering its prayerful petition from the sublime, opening of the twelfth chapter of Hebrews: "That laying aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us we may run with patience the race that is set before us."

In the Gospel selections for the next Sunday (St. John iv. 46–54) the kingdom of disease and death, which is the kingdom of sin, is invaded and overpowered by the word of the Lord: "Go thy way, thy son liveth." We have already had occasion to speak of the mystery of the Saviour's word which penetrates beyond the fleshly order into the realm of spirit, and challenges obedience there, so that the grave gives up its dead, and life and immortality are seen to flow from the Lord as from their fontal source. This is the revelation of that power which can cancel sin because it overthrows its dominion over us in the realm of spirit, rescuing us from the grasp of hell.

But in the Epistle selection especially (Eph. vi. 10–20) the whole kingdom of sin is portrayed with a masterly hand, and the strengthening of ourselves over against in the Lord and in the power of His might. There is a hierarchy of evil spirits, principalities, and powers, and rulers of darkness, and spiritual

wickedness in high places, and there cannot be any real forgiveness of sin until this hierarchy is overthrown, first, by the might of the Lord, as seen when He openly triumphed over it in the cross, and then in us by virtue of that victory becoming ours in Him and in the power of His might. We put on His armor, and withstand the wiles of the devil. The conflict is as real as the victory; and the fundamental victory here of the Lord, once for all, is the very foundation of atonement. The hosts of hell had to be met. The strong man had to be bound by one still stronger, before humanity could gain any proper release from sin. In the desert and on the cross was

> "—the tempter foiled
> In all his wiles, defeated, and repulsed,
> And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness."

This has been very much neglected by modern theologians in the interest of a certain forensic imputation of forgiveness and righteousness, which in our judgment, finds no valid foundation in the Divine word. But we do not wish to open a discussion here. It is enough for our purpose to indicate the thought, or faith, rather, which certainly conditioned the selection of the lessons which we are now examining.

The spiritual orders, or the ministrations of angels, both on the side of the good and of the evil, and the great work wrought by the Lord therein, as opening the way for the possibility of any real atonement reaching our spiritual being, has almost vanished from the writings of theologians. It seems to be regarded as a kind of border land, not to be approached in thought and far removed from our whole spiritual life here. But we all must know from the Scriptures, that the life of the Lord moved in the very midst of such reality from beginning to end while in the flesh. The angels surrounded His birth, the spirits of evil thronged His pathway, from the wilderness of fasting to the hour when the Prince of this world was judged, and angels watched by His opened sepulchre and attended

Him at His ascension; and He commissioned His Apostles to go and cast out devils in His name. Indeed, the forgiveness of sin, in a most fundamental sense, is the wrenching of our life by the might of the Lord from the power and grasp of evil spirits; a limitation also of their work on the one hand, and a furnishing on the other, to each saint, of every weapon needed to conquer their assaults and escape from their alluring wiles. God has thus become for us, in the Lord, as the collect beautifully expresses it, "A strong tower into which the righteous runneth and is safe."

In the Gospel selection for the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, (St. Matth. xviii. 21–35), the forgiveness of sin as between Christian and Christian becomes a theme. "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." The question proposed to the Saviour is, "How oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him?" There can be no such question arising in the mind of Christ, and there should be no such question started in our souls. The spirit of forgiveness, which is only one form of love, should reign there perennially, so as to be brought immediately into activity whenever the way is open for its reception. Love, the moment there is a susceptibility for it flows forth. It is never unforgiving, but only checked from its work by the hardened and selfish heart. The forgiving spirit is itself ever open for the forgiving love of God, and the unforgiving spirit ever closed, for love is itself the fulfilling of the law, giving room for the law itself to reign in the will.

The accompanying Epistle selection (Phil. i. 3–11) reveals the brotherhood of Christians in that forgiving charity which ever delights in a brother's advance in grace, longs for his greater progress, and prays that his life may be one of blameless sincerity, awaiting the day of Christ. The forgiveness of our sins shows itself at all times in a life of forgiving love, a life of charity, which at the same time is the very condition under which our own forgiveness becomes real. The full remission of sin will carry our life out of all suffering and strug-

gle into sabbatic rest; and, indeed, already a life of charity is a spiritual life, a heaven within the soul in full conjunction with the heaven of the angelic world. The collect is now the summing up of all this in the yearning petition that we may be lifted out of our infirmities and come to be with Christ in heaven.

In the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, the Gospel selection (St. Matth. xxii. 15–22) we have the harsh, selfish spirit of the Pharisees confronting Christ, not of course to gain access to His forgiving love, but to entangle Him in His talk, and convict Him of heterodoxy, and bring *Him* under judgment. Their wickedness is at once perceived, and their crafty plan defeated. This challenge only brings from the lips of the Saviour the sublime command, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." So far as our life bears the image of the earthy, so far are we in the bosom of worldly relations and their obligations; but in so far as we have the image of God, we must turn to Him in obedience and love. The forgiveness of sin is in reality a bringing of the spirit to recognize the image of God in which it was created. Sin obliterates this, continually fastening the mind on earthly things, hushing the voice of conscience, and clouding the spiritual vision of the soul. Only in so far as we are in God and He in us, can we be images or likenesses of Him; and sin, obstructing such conjunction, turns us back upon the world and yields to it what in reality belongs to God.

It is this thought which is emphasized in the Epistle selection (Phil. iii. 17–21). The Christian's real citizenship is in heaven. He is made to sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. He has come to an innumerable company of angels. Here in mere worldly relations he is but a pilgrim and a stranger, awaiting the full revelation of his life from on high, where it is hid with Christ in God. The remission of sin issues, and such is the order of the creed, in a full change of this body of vileness into that body of glory revealed in the Lord. "We know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is."

The Gospel selection for the fourth Sunday before Advent, (St. Matth. ix. 18–26), contains the miracles wrought by Jesus upon the ruler's daughter. The ruler's faith is such as to assure him that the Lord is fully master of the kingdom of disease and death. "My daughter is now dead; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live." A kindred faith, also, had the woman with an issue of blood, who said within herself, "If I may but touch His garment, I shall be whole." When Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, He said unto them, "Give place: for the maid is not dead but sleepeth." This, to them, unintelligible statement, is met with scornful laughter. They have no power to recognize any substantial life of Spirit. Only in conjunction with the activity of the physical can there be said to be, in their judgment, any conscious spiritual existence. The body is made to rule. A life of spirit lying behind it, an inner spiritual world into which the life has become introverted, as in sleep, is to them a laughable absurdity; and yet to open our eyes to see and realize this world was the very mission of the Lord. To change our carnal vision in such form that the truly spiritual may have place in our life, is itself a forgiveness of sin; for sin has immersed us in the flesh so far as actually to blind us to that spiritual intercourse which is an essential characteristic of man, as in the image of God. These scorners are removed, for unsusceptible spirits of such character can have no part in the vision of the Saviour's glorious might. The miracle is a parable, not for the profane, but for those who have some aptitude of sympathy at least to apprehend its significance.

When the people were put forth, Jesus went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid arose. Here with the calmness of full mastery the empire of darkness and death is invaded. That inner realm of spirit life stands clearly before the glance of the Lord, and in it His power is supreme. This is the might of the Lord through which remission of sin is possible. Without

this what could deliver us from the realm of darkness and the dead, or rescue us from the spirits that would hurry us into their gloomy habitations? It is this that the Epistle selection now emphasizes, (Col. i. 9–14). On the positive side we are to be made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. This is the spiritual realm where the Sun of Righteousness illumines every saint. To this the forgiveness of sin steadily looks forward. Sin clouds that light, turns us from that Sun, and hurries us forward from it into darkness, where the powers of darkness congregate. The remission of sin opens up in the spirit an intercourse and communion with the inheritance of the saints in light, until at last, fully delivered from the power of darkness, we are translated into the kingdom of the Lord in glory. This is redemption, even the forgiveness of sin.

The collect now brings into view the deep significance of the whole lesson, recognizing the great mystery that Jesus descended into the bosom of the grave, that He might destroy him that had the power of death, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their life-time subject to vanity.

This lesson forms the full and exceedingly appropriate transition from the forgiveness of sin to the resurrection and life everlasting of the Creed, or, in reference to Christ, to His coming again to judge the quick and dead. Before looking at the lessons pertaining to this new theme, we must make some general prefatory remarks; and with great hesitation also, for we cannot but confess that we have but a mere fragmentary apprehension as yet of the deep meaning of Scripture upon this point, and at present are in reality *unlearning* more than learning.

The second Advent of Christ is a theme of very great difficulty. The language of Scripture, without some key to unlock its hidden sense, is especially mysterious in relation to this subject, full of symbols, if such they may be called, indicating at once that we are in a sphere here quite transcending our

present visible and temporal order. The more inward and spiritual the reality is, the more does the Word of God throw the revelation of it into the sphere of parable and correspondences, requiring the inner spiritual eyes to be opened so as properly to grasp the meaning.

In our judgment, it is vain to suppose that the Lord, having glorified His human into the heavenly, will come again as in the flesh with outward, visible, and tangible phenomena, such as challenge sense. We shall see Him *as He is*, not as He was when bearing with us the image of the earthy. It is true, as in the Epistle selection for Ascension day, the two men in white apparel said to the Apostles, "Why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." But how did they see Him go into heaven? Certainly not with carnal eyes. Sense perception does not apprehend the white-robed angels, and the risen glorified presence of the Lord. Neither on the Mount of Transfiguration, nor on the Mount of the Ascension are we in the sense phenomenology of this world's life. The spiritual eyes are opened, and the intercourse is wrought out in quite another realm than in that of sense perception. The ascension is not after the order of the upward flight of a balloon, we speak it reverently; nor can the coming again in such form be of such a character as meets in the way of outward display the bodily senses of our earthly life. We do not mean by this, however, that it is merely notional. This is only the alternative of a mind which refuses to regard the spiritual in its own sphere as substantial and real. Who can for a moment conceive that the chariot which bore the Tishbite to heaven, or the chariots and armies which Elisha's servant saw, were visible to the carnal eye, as of material texture and reality. The eyes for communing with the spiritual were opened, and the substantial here was that of the spiritual realm and not of the earthy. So in the visions of St. John, the same mystery confronts us;

and there can be but little doubt that if we do not recognize this, we shall sadly pervert and distort the Divine Word. No doubt in some way correlate to these spiritual and substantial realities, perceived alone by the opened eyes of our spiritual being, is the fashion of sense-things; for the spiritual is the more interior and prior of the two, and that, indeed, out from which the sense-phenomena flow. *Thought*-substance in the mind is certainly more interior, and prior to vocalization with which it clothes itself; and the correspondence here is not imposed upon the mind by the body, but the reverse is true, we may say; or at least the two are made to marry together by the divine order of our created constitution.

The first and second advent of the Lord are related to each other much in the same way, we think, or rather are learning to think, as the tabernacle visibly erected in the wilderness, and the heavenly tabernacle after which it was patterned, and which was seen in vision on the mount. The one was in the sphere of sense, visible and temporal, although of course continually directing faith beyond itself to its inner content and significance. The other was in the sphere of the spiritual, real, of course, and not merely notional, substantial, not vague ghostliness, but yet wholly transcending merely carnal vision or apprehension. Now this spiritual world is to be opened to the saint as his own proper home, in which his Christian life shall find its proper consummation and utterance, and in which indeed at all times it is made to rest, although not yet apparent while he bears the image of the earthy, and sees and knows only in part and in ænigma. The body of the flesh is transformed, and the spirit is clothed with spiritual body which fully answers to the heavenly pattern after which, no doubt, the earthly tabernacle was set up in this wilderness. Flesh and blood inherit not the kingdom. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Of course in the communication of such a mystery in way of revelation in the sphere of our earthly life, this mystery must

clothe itself with that which is made to correspond with it in the sphere in which we are. Space and time enter thus into the revelation of the spiritual, but of course with a meaning and significance quite beyond what belongs to them in their own earthly sphere. To reach the mystery itself we must be able to penetrate the covering, pass within the veiling cloud, and with open eyes hold converse with the world of spirit. Although we may not be able to catch the full sense of this form of revelation, yet we can at least, with susceptible souls, pray for illumination, preserving the child-like faith that the whole revelation is itself an outflow from the spiritual and heavenly.

What is here said with special reference to the subject in hand may be said also of the Scriptures universally, as the Word of God. The source here is the spiritual and heavenly, and the very object of the Word is not to reveal the natural, but the divine in and through it. The natural, therefore, by some law, not arbitrary by any means, although perhaps difficult of apprehension, must be subordinate here, as much so as gesture, and countenance, and voice under the act of revealing thought and emotion are subordinate. Such use of the natural is not deceptive nor accidental, but has its ground in the real correspondence holding between the two worlds themselves; for after all in such conjunction they form but one grand system from beginning to end. When Christ is called the Sun of Righteousness, we do not understand a sun of massive fire, shining with light visible to the senses; nor ought we to understand it as simply a figure of speech by which a visible fact is made to help in illustrating a spiritual reality. On the contrary, the whole system of nature is so grounded in the substantial spiritual world and the divine, as to correspond in its sphere to a glorious reality after which it is itself patterned. But it is not necessary to discuss this further here. We only mention it, because in the lessons now to be examined it is impossible to grasp them aright unless we rise out of mere sense apprehension to see spiritual realities, transcending space and time, and yet clothed with these very forms in way of revelation.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

MANUAL OF UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY. BY THE REV. DR. JOHN ALZOG, PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG. Translated, with Additions, from the Ninth and last German edition. By F. J. Pabisch, Doctor of Theology, of Canon and of Civil Law, President of the Provincial Seminary of Mount St. Mary's of the West, Cincinnati, O., and Rev. Thos. S. Byrne, Professor at Mount St. Mary's Seminary. In three volumes. With three Chronological tables, and three Ecclesiastico-Geographical Maps. Vols. I. and II. Cincinnati, O. Robert Clarke & Co. 1874 and 1876.

WE have made some examination of this work, and it has produced a very favorable impression on our mind. According to its title it will be seen that it professes to be only a *Manual* of Church History, and is designed rather as a text-book than a full and elaborate treatment of the subject. The first volume, on the Primitive Church, contains 779 pages; and the second, on the Mediæval Period, 1096. The third volume, yet to appear, will likely be quite as large as the second, and perhaps larger. The arrangement is thus well adapted to a three years' course of study. One such volume contains in outline quite enough to engage the study of a student for a year, while at the same time it leaves room for filling out by the professor. We know of no leading church historian who has hit the proper medium so well for a manual text-book. Neander's ponderous volumes are too extensive for use in the class-room, though they richly repay reading. Hase is entirely too brief, and so also is Kurtz. Gieseler is too brief in the text, and chiefly valuable for his extensive notes. Dr. Schaff commenced to write a work like Neander's. He afterwards modified his plan, and aimed to condense so as to adapt his work for use as a text-book. But the result is that his subsequent volumes are not so elaborate and thorough as his Apostolic Church History, and yet too extensive for text-books. Still they are among the best, and he would do a good work if he would still go on and give us one large volume on the Middle Ages, and another on the Reformation.

Dr. Alzog is a German Historian, and his work shows the thoroughness and catholicity of German scholarship. He refers to Protestant theologians and historians with great respect and deference. Schleiermacher, Neander, Gieseler, and others are frequently referred to and quoted. There is very little that reveals any church bias, though of course the whole work is written from the Roman Catholic stand-point. The faults and weaknesses of the Roman Hierarchy are freely admitted. There is no effort to cover up anything that may appear unfavorable to the Roman Church.

The case of Honorius is fairly given, we think, though we differ from him in some of his inferences. We believe Honorius meant to assert that there was no conflict between the divine and human will in Christ, and when he assented to the expression one operation (ἐνέργεια θεανδρική) he did not fully understand the question under discussion, or was off his guard in reference to making nice distinctions. When the author says it was not a decision *ex cathedra*, he seems to carry back the idea of Papal infallibility as now held to an age when it was not defined or held as now. But then the difficulty is to see how the sixth, seventh, and eighth œcumenical councils should condemn him as a heretic. They evidently judged and condemned him *as pope*. And their decisions were ratified by popes. Whichever horn of the dilemma you take, it is fatal to the Ultramontane theory of papal infallibility.

He names Schaff among the Lutheran Church historians. He asserts that "the Blessed Virgin never again conceived in her sacred womb," and decides, without referring to the difficulties that have been raised, that the word "brethren" is to be taken in the sense of relatives. He says that Christ called the religious society, which he had already designated as the kingdom of God, a *Church* (ἐκκλησία), and that it is more than likely that Paul wrote his *epistle to the Hebrews* during his stay in Italy. The first statement is an error which may be excused. The others need verification, and should not be given dogmatically without proof, or without referring to the difficulties that have been raised in regard to them.

Some portions of the work are more than usually full and satisfactory. His history of missionary work in the first period in Gaul, England, Ireland, Germany, and among various Northern tribes is full, which is almost entirely left out in Schaff's history. So also the section in the second volume, on missionary extension, is highly interesting. His account of John Huss and the preparation generally for the Reformation is one-sided, but not offensively so. In short, we esteem the work very highly. The points on which Protestant historians differ are easily seen.

MEMOIR OF NORMAN MACLEOD, D. D., Minister of Barony Parish, Glasgow; one of her Majesty's Chaplains; Dean of the Chapel Royal; Dean of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle. By his Brother, the Rev. Donald Macleod, B. A., one of her Majesty's Chaplains, Editor of Good Words, &c. Two vols. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

This memoir of Dr. Macleod is published in a style worthy of its contents. The two solid volumes would be an ornament to any library. Although the author speaks modestly of the affectionate tribute which he has thus paid to the memory of a beloved brother, he has succeeded in presenting an admirable portraiture of one who

will long be remembered as one of the leaders in the Church in this age. His success is to be found to a great extent in making the biography objective. From beginning to end one feels that he is reading not the views and opinions of the writer, but the life itself of the great and good man, who, though dead, yet speaks on almost every page. The selections from his diary, letters, and other writings, are made with good judgment, and serve to bring out the inner life of the man during the different portions of his history. We have seen in one paper already the story of his visit, in the parish of Loudoun, to an old pauper woman who was looked upon as a great light among the Covenanters. When he entered the house he found her grasping her tin ear-trumpet (for she was very deaf), and seated formally in the midst of a group of neighbors and co-religionists summoned to meet him. Unlike his other parishioners, she did not at first acknowledge him as minister, but, beckoning him to sit down beside her, and putting the trumpet to her ear, said, "*Gang ower the fundamentals!*" and then and there he had to bawl his theology till the old dame was satisfied, after which he received a hearty welcome as a true ambassador of Christ.

Dr. Macleod was full of rich humor. The illustrations in the work, with but one or two exceptions, are from etchings of his own, and some of them are very rich. The chapter on the "Disruption Controversy" of 1843, gives a clear idea of the subject in dispute and the state of the parties. His cartoon, "A Crack Aboot the Kirk for Kintra Folk," published at the end of the first volume, is a fine specimen of Scotch polemics in their own dialect.

His poem of nine stanzas beginning,

> "O, if ye're at Dumbarton Fair,
> Gang to the Castle when ye're there,
> And see a sight baith rich and rare,
> The nose o' Captain Frazer,"

was written "when he was enduring such violent pain that the night was spent in his study, and he had occasionally to bend over the back of a chair for relief." His verses on Patrick Macphudd, The waggin' o' our dog's tail, and the Curling Song, this latter beginning,

> "A' nicht it was freezin', a' nicht I was sneezin',
> "Tak' care," quo' the wife, "Gudeman, o' yer cough."
> A fig for the sneezin', hurrah for the freezin',
> For the day we're to play the Bonspiel on the loch!
> Then get up, my braw leddy, the breakfast mak' ready,
> For the sun on the snaw drift's beginnin' to blink,
> Give me bannock, or brochan, I'm aff to the lochan,
> To mak' the stanes flee to the 'T' o' the rink.
> Then hurrah for the curling frae Girvan to Stirling!
> Hurrah for the lads o' the besom and stane!

Ready noo! Soop it up! Clap a guard! Steady noo!
Oh curling abune a' the games, stands alane—

are specimens of his humorous Scotch poetry.

"The books relating to the careers of Dr. Norman Macleod and of Thomas Babington Macaulay, are unquestionably of the most interesting character; they appeal, by links of association almost countless, to the strongest sympathies and the actual and recent experience of the present generation, and they each commemorate men whom their country may well be proud of. As far as rapidity of sale to the public is a test of popularity, the divine is considerably in advance of the historian and the politician. The seventh thousand of Dr. Macleod's memoir is now being printed, without the demand being satisfied, proving, what has been often asserted, that a successful clergyman wins the esteem and enjoys the confidence of a wider circle of admirers than one of any other class of public men."—*London correspondence of The Book Buyer, April* 3, 1876.

We regard this as one of the Biographies that will afford rich instruction, and inspire the reader with new inspiration to battle with the great problems of life. Dr. Macleod did not regard cheerfulness and humor as inconsistent with the most earnest and solemn views of life.

PRINCIPIA, OR BASIS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. Being a Survey of the subject from the Moral and Theological, yet Liberal and Progressive Stand-point. By R. J. Wright. Second edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

From the cursory examination we have made of this work we do not feel prepared to express a judgment as to all its positions. The author proposes a high ideal for social science. He comes to the treatment of his subject from a Christian stand-point, which is not the case with all, not even the leading writers on social science. He would have all sciences, indeed, tributary to it.

There is danger of becoming lost in the elaborate and complicated machinery of the science in his book, so as not to be able to take it in as a whole. We know that society itself is very complicated, but in every science there should be a simple skeleton of leading thoughts to guide the student. This we fail to find here. The table of contents consists of *nineteen* pages. The divisions and subdivisions become a perfect wilderness.

The author has a peculiar theory in regard to the number *six* as containing the elements of society. They are 1. The Individual; 2. Family; 3. Social Circle; 4. Precinct; 5. Nation; 6. Mankind. There is a good deal of fancy in the idea that somehow this number six is a magic number. In the symbolism of numbers in Scripture it has no place, except a bad one. Three, the number of the trinity;

four, the world; seven, the union of God and man; ten, twelve, &c., all are there used, but *six*, so far as we remember, only in Revelation, 666 being the number of Anti-christ.

The author lays a great deal of stress on the Precinct, which he would have organized as a little government complete in itself, and then multiplied so as to constitute the whole order of society or government. He believes in the *Commune*, but not that of the French kind.

The volume consists of between five and six hundred pages, and is intended as only the first of a series of volumes on the great theme. When the work is completed we shall be better able to form an opinion of it, according to Washington's motto—the end proves the deed. It has received very general notice in the press. No doubt it would be read with interest by a certain class of minds.

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH. By Mandell Creighton, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. With Maps and Tables. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

This is the *sixth* volume of a series entitled Epochs of Modern History. Those already published are, 1. The Era of the Protestant Revolution; 2. The Crusades; 3. The Thirty Years' War; 4. The Houses of Lancaster and York; 5. The French Revolution and First Empire. They are published in 16mo., cloth, uniform. Price, $1.00 a volume.

The writer gives in the preface a well selected list of works that may be consulted in the study of English history. We know of no work of equal size that presents so much valuable information in regard to the Elizabethan age of English history. It presents a bird's-eye view of the conflict between Romanism and Protestantism in that age. It contains also Genealogical Tables illustrating Mary's reign, Mary of Scotland's claim to the English throne, showing the parentage of Charles V., and succession to the throne of France. Also maps of Europe in the age of Elizabeth, Dominion of Philip II., The Netherlands, English and Spanish discoveries in the New World, and the mouth of the Tagus.

This volume is fully up to those which preceded it. It is not a mere compilation, but an able and lucid grouping of the facts of that most interesting period. There are promised yet to come, The Beginning of the Middle Ages, The Norman Kings and the Feudal System, The Early Plantagenets, Edward III., The Puritan Revolution, The Fall of the Stewarts, The Age of Anne, Frederick the Great, and the Seven Years' War. By studying the epochs and the leading characters connected with them, the very best idea of history is gained. The volumes are published in neat style, and are low in price. They will form one of the very best libraries for families.

PLATO'S BEST THOUGHTS. Compiled from Prof. Jowett's Translation of the Dialogues of Plato. By Rev. C. H. A. Bulkley, A. M., Professor in Faith Training College, Boston, Mass. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company. 1876.

This is a volume of 475 pages, in style somewhat similar to the Dialogues of Plato, by Prof. Jowett. Of course those who have time will prefer to read and study Plato entire, but for those who cannot do that, this volume furnishes the best selections, arranged under different heads in alphabetical order. Indeed for any one it will be a great convenience to have this book for reference. It must have cost the author a great deal of labor. Of the study of Plato we need not speak. Ralph Waldo Emerson says of him: "In Plato, you explore modern Europe in its causes and seed,—all that in thought which the history of Europe embodies or has yet to embody. The well informed man finds himself anticipated,—Plato is up with him too. Nothing has escaped him. Every new crop in the fertile harvest of reform, every fresh suggestion of modern humanity is there. If the student wish to see both sides, and justice done to the man of the world, pitiless exposure of pedants, and the supremacy of truth and the religious sentiment, he shall be contented also." A man who reads the Bible, Plato, and Shakespeare, will not remain in ignorance.

EPOCHS OF ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by Rev. G. W. Cox, M. A., and Charles Sankey, M. A. Vol. I. The Greeks and the Persians. By the Rev. G. W. Cox, M. A. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

This is the first of a series or library uniform with the Epochs of Modern History, and promises to be quite as interesting and useful. We know of one congregation (and it should be an example to others), Dr. Zieber's at Hanover, that has procured the library of Modern History. We have not yet examined the present volume, but its table of contents is sufficient to indicate the ground it covers. Chap. 1. Origin and Growth of Greek Civilization; 2. Settlements and Government of the Greeks; 3. The Persian Empire under Cyrus, Kambyses, and Dareios; 4. History of Athens in the times of Solon, Peisistratos, and Kleisthenes; 5. The Ionic Revolt; 6. The Invasion of Datis and Artaphernes; 7. The Invasion and Flight of Xerxes; 8. The Battles of Plataia and Mykale, and the formation of the Athenian Confederacy.

FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA. Centennial Newspaper Exhibition, 1876. Compiled by Geo. P. Rowell & Co., New York.

An interesting Catalogue of all the Periodicals published in the United States, numbering 8,129, with a description of the leading ones.

IS "ETERNAL" PUNISHMENT ENDLESS? Answered by a Re-statement of the Original Scriptural Doctrine. By an Orthodox Minister of the Gospel. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, and Company, 381 Washington Street. 1876.

The answer is that the Scriptures do not teach that Eternal punishment is endless, but whether there will be a final restoration, or the wicked will be annihilated, the writer does not assert. He even allows that the punishment *may* be endless, but contends that the Scriptures leave that point unrevealed. It is mainly an exegetical argument, and conducted with ability and earnestness. It presents the whole subject in a somewhat new aspect, and is worthy of attention.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. By Edward T. Horn, Pastor of Christ Church, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 117 North Sixth Street. 1876.

A handsome little volume of 90 pages, published in the interest of Churchly Christianity in the Lutheran Church, but of interest also beyond that denomination. In the introduction the writer explains the origin of the Church-year as growing out of the progress of the Christian life, and influenced by Jewish and heathen customs. Then follows the second part,—The Christian year as a whole; and different conceptions of it in the Greek, Roman, Anglican, and Lutheran Church. Part third presents the advantages which may be found in this peculiar division of time.

The author does not intend an elaborate treatment of the subject, such as is found in larger works, but rather to furnish a manual containing information on the general features of the Church-year. We think he has succeeded very well. He has consulted the best authorities, and his statements may be received as reliable. The work deserves a wide circulation among the members of the Church for whom it has been specially prepared.

THE FALL OF THE STEWARTS AND WESTERN EUROPE, FROM 1678 TO 1697. By Rev. E. Hale, M. A., Assistant-Master at Eaton. With Maps and Plans. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

Another volume of the library "Epochs of History." It forms an easy introduction, the author says, to the study of the period. Those who wish to pursue the subject farther are directed to Macaulay's History of England, to Hallam's "Constitutional History," chapters 12–15, Burnett's "History of his Own Times," Evelyn's Memoirs, and Ranke's "History of the Seventeenth Century," vols. 3–6, (lately translated). But this little volume of only 248 pages, gathers up a wonderful amount of information connected with the revolution of 1688 in England. It gives, at the same time, a bird's-eye view of the general situation in Europe so far as matters were related to this revolution.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1876.

ART. I.—THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.

"Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore, take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand." Eph. vi. 10–13.

In this startling conclusion the Apostle gathers into one, as it were, the doctrinal and ethical parts of his great evangelical epistle going before. Christianity is a theory of salvation made known by divine revelation. It is then, as proceeding from this, a rule of life, by which the theory is to become effectual for its end. The heavenly vocation is unto righteousness. This demands, however, more than outward conjunction simply of one with the other. Theory and practice in the case, truth and life, are here so involved each in the other, that there is no room to conceive of their standing apart. The moralities of Christianity mean nothing in disjunction from its spiritualities. They are necessarily one in origin and power. The entire economy of salvation, including in it all the possibilities of the Christian life, can hold throughout only in constant living union and communication with the supernatural world. It is not enough to be told of that world, or to acknowledge its existence theoretically. The powers of it are in fact touching us all the time. Our need of redemption has its main force there; and there it is mainly that the actual work of redemption has

been accomplished for us by our Lord Jesus Christ. The chief perils of the Christian life for every one of us are still there; and there, then, of course, also our help must be sought and found, if these perils are to be overcome. No simply human resolution or strength can place us in right relation to such a warfare as this. Our wrestling is not with flesh and blood, but with the powers of evil in full infernal form. Hence the exhortation, Be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might. Nothing less than the life of heaven in us, can ever make us equal to such contest with the life of hell.

Flesh and blood, we see at once, stand here for the powers and forces of the present world in its simply natural view. Our connection with this is immediately through the body, but it takes in largely also the life of the mind or soul, constituting thus altogether what St. Paul calls the "present evil world," from which we are delivered by the redemption of Christ. With this, of course, we are required to do battle continually in our Christian calling. Nature, and the forces of evil holding in the moral world as merely natural and fallen, must be wrestled with and overcome, in ourselves and in the world around us. All religion resolves itself in this way into self-renunciation and conquering of the world. In what sense, then, is it to be understood, when the Apostle tells us that the Christian contest is *not* with the powers of the natural world, characterized as flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers belonging to another order of existence, namely, the spiritual world in contradistinction from the natural?

The opposition is relative only, not absolute. Flesh and blood, self, the world and the things of the world around us here in the body, are indeed part of the hostile force we are called to encounter in our way to heaven; they are not the whole of this force, however, nor are they the main part of it, by any means. That belongs always to a more inward and far deeper realm of being, where the powers of the spiritual world are

found to go immeasurably beyond all the powers of nature, and to be, at the same time, in truth, the continual source and spring of all that is in these last, whether for good or for evil. The Christian conflict thus, even where it regards things simply of the present life, looks through what is thus mundane, constantly to things which are unseen and eternal; and in this way it becomes in very fact, throughout, a wrestling not with flesh and blood, but with the universal powers of evil brought to bear upon us from the other world.

So much we are taught in the form of our Christian baptism itself, by which we are engaged to "renounce the devil with all his ways and works, the world with its vain pomp and glory, and the flesh with all its sinful desires." In one view, these may be regarded as separate enemies; but we know, at the same time, that they form together but one and the same grand power of evil, no one part of which can be effectually withstood asunder from the diabolical life that animates and actuates the whole. To wrestle with the world or with the flesh really, is to wrestle at the same time really with the full power of hell. If the struggle reach not to this, it may issue in stoic morality or respectable prudence, but it can never come to true self-mastery or victory over the world in the Christian sense. The field for any such conquest lies wholly beyond the realm of mere flesh and blood. The conquest, if gained at all, must be won from the hosts of hell; and then, of course, by the aid only of corresponding heavenly hosts and heavenly armor; which is, in truth, just what our baptism means. This is the victory, the only victory, that overcometh the world, even our faith, making us one with the Lord. "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God," and therefore in His glorified Humanity a Divine fund of life and salvation for all men that draw near to God in His name!

A glance at the terms in which St. Paul describes the universe of evil with which we are called to contend in the spiri-

tual world, is sufficient to fill us with a sense of its dread reality. To think of resolving his language into Oriental hyperbole or rhetorical exaggeration, must be considered simply absurd. Plainly, his thought struggles with the greatness of its object, and labors to find speech for its proper expression. It is interesting, in this view, to fix attention on the original text. Not against flesh and blood have we to wrestle, but against principalities and powers—organized polities of multitudinous evil in eminent presence and form, having their life and activity wholly in the spiritual world as distinguished from the natural. Not against simply terrestrial and material foes, but against the rulers (*κοσμοκράτορας*) of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness, or literally the spiritualities of wickedness, *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*, in heavenly or high places; that is, in extra-mundane or unearthly state, from which they are regarded as exercising a bad cosmocracy over the darkness of the human world in its present fallen condition, reaching with more or less mysterious effect into the constitution of nature itself. A thought that meets us elsewhere, when Satan is brought into view as the god of this world, the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; or when he is spoken of by our Lord Himself as the prince of this world who was to be cast out through the glorification of His humanity, when He sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

All this means clearly that the battle of our salvation is to be fought out literally, and not in a metaphorical sense merely, with the powers of darkness in the other world, and that the theatre of it lies mainly and essentially in that world, and not in the world of time and sense with which we are here surrounded in the body. The case is so presented, moreover, as to show that these powers of darkness are not abstractions, impersonal forms of evil and falsehood, but concrete personal agents, living embodiments of intelligence and will, positively bent on our de-

struction, and waiting always for opportunity to involve us in their own ruin. Still more, they are not single and separate agencies only, as is often imagined, besetting the paths of men with occasional more or less transient assault; they are embattled hosts; they are principalities and powers; they press upon us continually as an organized encampment, placing us in constant deadly peril from all sides. Indeed the plain doctrine of the Bible, in the passage here immediately before us and elsewhere, is nothing less than this, that the redemption of every human being is something to be accomplished only in the face of the combined strength of the universal empire of darkness in the other world. That empire is one; and to be conquered in any part, it must be conquered as a whole. Its relation to the Christian life on earth, is like that of the ocean to an embankment holding it back from territory which it would otherwise overflow on the opposite side; in which case, as we know, the resistance to be effectual at any point, must be such as to withstand in truth the pressure and stress of the universal sea thus held in check. So all the powers of hell, the forces of darkness and sin accumulated into one vast diabolical system, are engaged always in common cause against every child of Adam struggling to show himself a child of God. And who among men is sufficient of himself for such a contest as this? Who must not feel here the absolute hopelessness of all human strength, not backed and upheld in like real way by the powers of the spiritual world in heavenly form—the only conceivable counterpoise, as all may at once see, to such an array of these powers in infernal form?

The conception of any such comprehension of our life here in the general spiritual order of the universe can be no better than foolishness, we know, for the reigning materialistic thinking of the present time. But it is in truth the only rational view of the world's existence. Philosophy, no less than religion, postulates the idea that the entire creation of God is one

thought, in the power of which all things are held together as a single system from alpha to omega, from origin to end; and all modern science is serving continually more and more to confirm this view, by showing that all things everywhere look to all things, and that everything everywhere is and can be what it is only through its relations to other things universally. So it is in the world of nature; so it is in the spiritual world; and so it must be also in the union of these two worlds one with the other. It is to be considered a settled maxim now, a mere truism indeed for all true thinkers, that there is no such thing as insulated existence anywhere—such an *inconnexum* must at once perish, sink into non-entity. It is no weakness of mind, therefore, to think of the spiritual world as a vast nexus of affection and thought (like the waves of the sea endlessly various and yet multitudinously one), viewed either as heaven or as hell. Without doing so, indeed, no man can believe really in any such world at all. It will be for him simply an abstraction, a notion, a phantom. And so again it is no weakness of mind, in acknowledging the existence of the spiritual world (thus concretely apprehended), to think of our present human life, even here in the body, as holding in real contact and communication, organic inward correlation we may say, with the universal life of that world (angelic and diabolic), in such sort that our entire destiny for weal or woe shall be found to hang upon it, as it is made to do in the teaching of God's Word here under consideration. It is no weakness of mind we say, to think of the subject before us in this way. The weakness lies altogether on the other side, with those who refuse the thought of any such organic connection, between the life of men here in the body and the life of spirits in the other world.

The full significance of what Christianity is represented to be, in the Apostle's description of it, as a battle with the universal power of hell, comes into view only when we consider how room has been made for it first of all, through the work of

redemption accomplished for us by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. He is called the "Captain of our salvation" as going before us in the Christian life, the "author and finisher of our faith," (or rather of *the* faith, that is, of Christianity itself); not in the sense of mere outward leadership, most certainly, but clearly under the view of His being in Himself, comprehensively, the whole power and possibility of the Christian life, as it might be prosecuted by others afterwards, following at vast distance in His steps. Now, in this archetypal character, Christ as the Author of our salvation, comes into view everywhere in His own Word, as waging war personally, in the first place, with the powers of hell, and triumphing over them once for all in the most real way, in order to bring in the power of righteousness and victory for His militant Church, to the end of time. Different theories of the atonement have prevailed in different ages; it has been thought of as a price paid to Satan, and then again as a price paid to God; but, however we may try to explain it otherwise, we come to the true ground of it unquestionably only in the necessity of this great life-battle by which alone it was possible for our Lord to throw open to men the way of salvation; and then it includes in its meaning, of course, all the conditions that were required to make His life equal to such mighty purpose. These conditions lay in the mystery of the incarnation itself, by which His humanity was carried forward progressively, through inexpressible hellish temptations and conflicts, to its full glorification at last by His passion on the cross.

Other ages of the Christian Church have made more of this dramatic view of the work of redemption, than is commonly made of it now. With many, at the present time, it is felt to be little better than crass superstition, to conceive of it at all in this way. In the view of such persons, the warfare of Christ with the infernal world, is made to restrict itself almost entirely to Gethsemane and Calvary; and is then so thought of,

if it be seriously thought of at all, as to be sundered in reality from the other world altogether, becoming in this way at most, a sort of moral transaction merely between the obedience of the Son and the justice of the Father, for the benefit of men, on the plane of their simply terrestrial life. It would be easy to show the damaging influence of this departure from the old faith on the theology and life of the Church generally; but that is no part of our present task; we touch the point only, by the way, for the purpose of adding emphasis to what we now go on to say of the intense realism with which the Bible clothes the idea of redemption everywhere, as a battle fought and won in the most actual way against the universal strength of hell.

The Old Testament is full of this grand Messianic thought. It is the key that serves to interpret the inmost sense of the Prophets. Their one subject throughout is Christ, represented in His relations to the Universe, and to His Church, all turning on the thought of redemption as a battle fought out triumphantly, first of all, with hellish forces in the invisible spiritual world, and then as condition and cause reaching over continually into the whole progress of the same contest between light and darkness, heaven and hell, in this world.

So it is also with the Psalms. It has been common to divide these into two classes, one having prophetical regard to the Messiah, and the other not; and much learning has been employed to assign to different Psalms, in this view, their proper exegesis. But there is no room really for any such distinction. If the Psalms belong to the Word of God at all, they are all Messianic. They are so, not merely in the way of any secondary accommodation, but in their primary essential intention and sense.

And who may not see that if it be thus with the Prophets and Psalms, it must be so also with the other parts of Holy Scripture? All its laws, institutions, and histories, even in what may seem their most external and accidental character, must be

regarded as looking primarily to Christ and His kingdom. That is their original inward sense, and all else they may appear to mean, is but the outward drapery of this—something which is there, not for its own sake, but for the sake of what is under it, and within it, in such mysterious way. So much, the case of itself supposes and demands. We cannot honestly believe the Bible to be the Word of God—the veritable embodiment of the Divine itself—if we think of it less honorably than this. Doth God care for oxen? Can His self-revelation, coming down through the heavens as infinite spirit and life, for us men and for our salvation, terminate anywhere on mere mundane accidents, on mere human secularities, not to say human frivolities, follies and profanities, for their own sake? No; any such revelation must be Divine in every point and tittle, *all* glorious within, however seemingly marred for the moment in outward visage and form; or else it cannot be at all God's *Word*. For any truly thoughtful mind, there can be no escape from this alternative.

So regarded, the Old Testament becomes at once Messianic in full, from beginning to end. It is not merely a collection of sacred laws, records, histories, lyrics, and prophecies, looking remotely and vaguely to Christianity, and allowing more or less fanciful application to Christian fact and doctrine (in the way of much that we meet with as evangelical exposition of the Scriptures); not this merely, we say, indeed not this at all primarily. But in broad distinction from this, it is what our Lord declared and showed it to be, after His resurrection; when, as we are told, "beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded" unto the two disciples going to Emmaus, "in all the Scriptures, the things concerning Himself;" and when again, to His disciples in full meeting, we hear Him saying, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the

Psalms, concerning Me." To which it is added, immediately: "Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day."

Who is not made to feel that the opening of the understanding here spoken of, means something infinitely beyond all the light that can ever come into the mind of man from the Word, through the mere letter of it studied with any imaginable amount of so-called biblical and theological learning?

It was the life of the risen Lord Himself, shining into the written Word, and through this into the mind of the disciples, which, by inward correspondence served to open their understanding to the proper knowledge of both. And, as it was then, so it is still. We learn what the written Word is, only by light from the incarnate Word; but, then, again we learn what the light of the incarnate Word is, only as this shines into us through the written Word. A circle, it is true; which alone, however, brings us to the true ground of the Christian faith.

The testimony of Jesus, then, is in very truth the spirit of prophecy, the animating life of all sacred Scripture. This, without any exception or qualification. The testimony of Jesus is Himself, first, the absolute truth of God manifested in His person and life for the salvation of the world; and then, in the next place, the going forth of His power and glory in the heavens, His mighty acts of redemption, His angelic kingdom, His Church on earth, and every believer regenerated into His likeness and image. It is all one testimony or witness, repeating through the ages one and the same truth, Christ the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God and its end. This is what the Word of God has for its actuating spirit in all its parts. It regards immediately and supremely everywhere Christ and His kingdom. He, then, and no other, is the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Lord of heaven and earth,

the mighty God of Jacob, the Redeemer of Israel, who showed wonders in the land of Egypt, and led His people like a flock through the wilderness. And thus it is, that all this outward history, as is indeed generally admitted in a dim way, becomes at once graphically representative of Christ, and His work, and His kingdom, as they come into view ultimately through the gospel in their true spiritual character and form. Representative at all points and in all details, so that what comes last must be regarded as the real informing sense and spirit of what comes first in the case, from the beginning and throughout.

How the depth and wealth of the Scriptures are made to grow upon us, as soon as we come into the perception of this great thought, and find strength to apply it to its proper use. Omitting now all other applications, see what it involves for the point with which we are at present more immediately concerned; namely, the biblical view of Christ's work of redemption, as being mainly and inmostly a combat, in the most real way, with the universal strength of hell in the other world. Many passages in the Prophets and Psalms, along with direct declarations of the New Testament, have always been felt to have this meaning; but it comes out still more fully in the Old Testament history, where the true spiritual sense of it comes to be perceived in the way we have now seen. The Lord comes before us there as a man of war, the God of battles, Jehovah of hosts or armies. His people are delivered by mighty hand and outstretched arm, from the midst of Egypt and through the Red Sea. "Wars of the Lord," is the title given to a sacred book before the time of Moses; and in the same sense we have wars of the Lord again in the journey through the wilderness and in the land of Canaan, under Moses, under Joshua, under the Judges. What are we to understand by all this, and a great deal more of like outward significance, if it be not intended to set forth the coming of our Saviour Christ into the world under the corresponding character of battle and victory accomplished

in the depths of hell; the contest issuing first in His own glorification, and through that then in the power of eternal salvation for His people. "Now that He ascended," says St. Paul, "what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things." This is spoken of immediately before as His "leading captivity captive," and so having power to bestow celestial gifts on men.

Thus "it became Him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the *archegos* or leader of their salvation perfect through suffer-ngs." In Him, we see the full nature of the Christian life; while, however, we see at the same time how it is made possible also for His followers. They, too, must confront the universal strength of hell, a task demanding infinite resistance, such as only the Lord of life and glory could bring to it. How then can they follow such a leader? How shall they be found conformable to this glorious archetype? How may they wrestle and conquer here as Christ has done? Not certainly by the power of their own might. That can be but as a leaf before the wind, in such an evil day as this. Only can they do so, we answer, as they are made strong in the Lord Himself, and in the power of *His* might. Only, in truth, as *His* conquering of the powers of hell, is made to pass itself forward into them not as an example merely, but as the "force of an endless life," so as to become *their* conquering also, enabling them to stand and withstand in the evil day as He has done before them. In this view, the battle of redemption belongs wholly to the Lord. He is the one sole Redeemer, who has wrought out salvation for the human world once for all, by the painful task of His own human glorification. "He saw that there was no man," it is said, "and wondered that there was no intercessor: therefore His arm brought salvation unto Him; and His righteousness it sus-

tained Him. For He put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon His head; and He put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak." (Isa. lix. 16, 17.)

It might seem here, indeed, at first view, that the conquering of hell by the Lord in this whole and sole way, as a work once for all full and complete, would have the effect of exonerating His followers from all participation in such combat; so that the benefit of it should accrue to them thenceonward by outward reckoning only, without the need of any such inward living continuation of the actual hell-battle in themselves as that now mentioned. But salvation in that way would be magical, and not real. The Bible teaches an altogether different lesson. *We* wrestle, says the Apostle, we ourselves, against principalities and powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world, and the spiritualities of evil beyond this world. In this most real struggle we need of course more than ourselves, we need the help of Him who has gone before us as the one sole "Captain of the host of the Lord" to bring us into the Land of Promise. But we need this help in inward not outward way. It must be Christ related to us, as the vine is to its branches. Outside of Him we can do nothing; in Him we can do all things. That is what St. Paul means, when he says: "Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might." That is what he means, when looking at the unearthliness of the Christian fight, he adds: "*Wherefore*—because you are called to grapple thus with the empire of darkness in its full extent—take unto you the full panoply of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand."

The subject which we have been thus far discussing is not of theoretical interest merely, but of the most intense practical account. It is a small matter here to have the truth in our mind, if it be not also in our life. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." How then are we to carry into

effect the heavenly exhortation, To be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might? What we have to say farther, in answer to this question, may be presented briefly under three general heads or topics.

I. We must make it our care to *know and believe the actual existence of the spiritual world.* That amounts to much more than is commonly imagined. True, indeed, it is in one view something unnatural, *not* to have such faith; for the spiritual is at all times and everywhere close upon the natural; it is the region of ends and causes from which continually go forth as effects all things belonging to the world of nature. And more still, our own human life, even here in the body, holds all the time interiorly, whether we know it or not, in the spiritual world, just as really as it holds exteriorly through the body in the natural world. We ought, therefore, to have the two orders of existence so joined together in our minds always, that the natural should be for us a perpetual and universal parable of the spiritual (as it is in fact), through which this last would look us continuously in the face, as we read the soul of a man in his outward countenance. This would be our normal state. But our present existing state is fallen and abnormal; and one great evidence of its being so is found just here, that the sense of the natural has become with us so predominant as to overwhelm in great degree the sense of the spiritual; so that it is with the greatest difficulty only the spiritual can come with us to any proper recognition whatever. It may be acknowledged easily enough in word and notion; that is common, especially in what are called Christian lands. But the inward realization of it as something substantial, and not imaginary, is neither common nor easy. True belief in the reality of the spiritual world, as the state of men is at present, can come only of much culture and effort. Our natural habit in the case is unbelief.

This unbelief reveals itself in two seemingly opposite forms: first, as Sadducean infidelity, the open denial of any life for

men other than that which they now have here in the body; secondly, as what we may call abstract spiritualism, or the resolution of the whole idea of spirit into the mere negation of corporeity or matter, whereby it is left in the cold, as it were, outside the universe of all warm positive existence, so as to become in truth mere visionary emptiness and nothing. The two modes of unbelief are related to each other, in polar opposition, like Ebionism and Gnosticism, between which our Lord has been made to endure crucifixion through all ages from the beginning down to the present time; each extreme playing forever into the service of the other, and both coming together always in the end as one and the same mystery of iniquity, fighting against the mystery of godliness—the revelation of eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Gnostic heresy here—abstract spiritualism, or the resolution of spirit into the notion of matter attenuated into sheer nihility—is that on which we need especially to fix our attention. It meets us from all sides, in all guises and shapes. Our modern science and philosophy, for the most part, have no sense of spiritual existence beyond this. It is hard indeed for mere science to avoid falling into such error; there is that danger for it in its very constitution. And hence it is, that even the study of divine truth itself in this way, theological science as we call it, is just as liable to lose itself in the Gnostic notionalism here described as any other science. Perhaps indeed more so; according to that word, "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." And it is easy to see then, how from school and pulpit, sanctuary and synod, the general mind of the Church may come to be impregnated with the virus of the same spiritualistic disease, so that amid all the forms of apparently right Christian thinking and worship there shall be found among professed Christians as little actual sense of another life (substantial and not notional) as in the world at large outside of the Church.

Much, very much of our religious sentiment and opinion, by courtesy called faith, it is only too sadly plain, is just of this character. It is at best simply mythologic fancy, like that of the Pagan world, playing not with Greek or Roman or Scandinavian legends, but with the legend of Christianity, held in the form of its own particular tradition.

Spiritualistic necromancy, in all its phases and forms, is a striking exemplification of this substitution of the spiritual in false view for the real spiritual, which goes then to destroy this as Gnosticism sought (and still seeks) to destroy the true Christ. What is known so widely as *Spiritualism* at the present day, comes properly under this head. It has great significance as a protest against the Sadducean spirit of the age, and as a voice in the waste of our human existence, showing its irrepressible need of communion with the unseen world. But no such necromancy ever has been, or ever can be, a real answer to this need. It lies under the Promethean curse of all magic, being an attempt to coerce the heavenly into the service of the earthly and natural from below; whereas the everlasting order of things is just the other way, the spiritual first and then the natural, the heavenly from itself and of its own accord, everywhere and always, kissing the earthly, and warming it into the image of its own life. It is a misnomer to dignify such necromancy with the title of spiritualism. It should be called spiritism or spiritualisticism.

Over against this whole array of materialistic infidelity, now, we owe it to ourselves to make sure at least of our own personal hold on the realness of things unseen and eternal; so that the spiritual world shall not be for us a shadowy utopia simply, but a positive substantiality, coming close home to our daily interest and thought. Such habit of mind cannot be in us with the facility of mere natural growth. It requires heavenly planting, and much inward attention and culture. It would carry us too far to go here into the details of this culture.

Meditation, prayer, the right use of God's disciplinary providence, intimate converse with the Word of God, where the powers of the spiritual world are always at hand as indwelling "spirit and life"—these, and other cognate applications, furnish the training by which the great end here proposed is to be prosecuted, and by which also it may be surely reached. Above all, the steady gaze of the soul toward the Lord of life and glory Himself, in and through whom alone all the substantialities of the world to come, as well as all the promises of God, come to their everlasting "Yea and amen!" So only can we come into the fellowship of St. Peter's grand assurance: "We have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the Father, honor and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when WE WERE WITH HIM IN THE HOLY MOUNT."

II. In close connection with the topic now presented, we need to consider well what is in fact the *reigning spirit of our own time*, with regard to the "world to come whereof we speak." We are all, more or less, the children of the age, (as we are as of the people also,) to which by birth and education we belong; and hence it is, that in any question involving for us either theory or life, it becomes for us a very first desideratum always to be rightly aware of the mind around us in relation to it; that, if this be wrong, especially, we may be all the more engaged to maintain our ground against it, as one of the strongest "wiles of the devil."

Any full analysis of the spirit of the present age toward Christianity is seen at once to be again something quite beyond the range of our present discussion. The period is one of boundless promise in the way of what seems to be outward secular progression for our human life; while it is plain, at the same time,

however, that this progression is itself approaching a terrifically solemn crisis, by precipitating us on vast moral and social problems, which in itself it clearly has no power to solve. In this view, as related to the spiritual world, the general animus or mind of the age is sufficiently plain. It must be pronounced supremely sensuous, earthly, and unspiritual.

In terms freely borrowed from another, we may say, "that so far as the records of past history instruct us, there never has been a period in which *naturalism* prevailed to the same extent as at present; meaning by this word a looking to and thinking about and caring for and recognition of things of this world, rather than of the other; nature rather than spirit; secular interests of all kinds rather than those of religion. We may go back to ages so remote that we know little of them, but their monuments remain and tell us what a vast proportion of the labor of different races was expended in the service of religion; and we may infer what a hold it had upon the thought and care of rulers and peoples. So coming down through the ages. In the Christian centuries we find the strongest men—and very strong were some of them, especially in what we call the dark ages—devoting their most earnest thought to religion. The magnificent cathedrals of the middle ages tell the same story. We say nothing of the actual worth of these activities and works; but speak only of the bent of mind they show toward religion and the other world. And how now in comparison does it stand with our own age? Let the railroad, the steam-engine, the telegraph, answer. We see a more earnest and successful devotion of human effort to science and arts, in their application to this life, than was ever before known. It may safely be said, that within the last hundred years there have been more inventions, promotive of human activity and effort in the direction of the enjoyments of this life, and a greater utilization of all the forces of nature to that end, than all the previous centuries taken together have contributed. In a word,

never was there known a period approaching this in the earnest devotion of thought to every thing which is of the earth, earthly, and in the decay and feebleness of interest in that which concerns the spirit of man and his eternal life. Naturalism at this day dominates the thought of Christendom as it never did before."

And naturalism, as here described, is necessarily infidelity. There is a disposition with many, we know, to ignore and repudiate such implication as applied to the acknowledged earthliness of the Christian world at this time. They will have it that the merely mundane interests of the time are in the way somehow of advancing and building up the general cause of Christianity; and that the Church, in its several sects, and as a whole, is more successfully than ever before, in the face of all false science, literature, and philosophy, moving onward as the embodiment of heavenly powers, toward the overthrow of all unbelief, and the reduction of the nations to the obedience of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. We can only say, alas for the transparent delusion! There may be in the religious outlook of the age, indeed, a promise of the second advent as near at hand. But not in the age, as carrying in its womb, in this way, the positive birth of any such millennium. If there at all, it can only be as answering to that fearful word of our Lord himself, When the Son of Man cometh, *shall He find faith on the earth?* If the dying out of faith be the sure precursor of this glorious *parousia*, then may those who sigh for it lift up the head and rejoice, for their redemption draweth nigh. By that sign, the Lord is of a truth at hand.

Skepticism—not so much open and blatant, as in the form rather of general nerveless insensibility to all the realities of the world to come—has indeed settled like a mildew on our intellectual, moral and nominally Christian life in all directions. It flows around us as an evil spiritual malaria, on every side. Whether we think of it or not, we are all exposed continually to the poison, with which it has infected the air. If this be so,

how we need to know it, that we may stand properly guarded against such great danger, and be led to cast ourselves all the more resolutely on Him from whom only can come, in the Christian conflict, our help and our salvation. Here exactly comes in with full force the Apostolic exhortation: "Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked (the unbelieving naturalists previously described), fall from your own steadfastness. But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Him be glory both now and forever. Amen."

III. Having armed ourselves then, with firm belief in the spiritual world, being rightly awake to the unspiritual temper of the now living generation of men in the present world, and holding in mind that the great stress of the Christian battle is for all of us, in the way we have seen, against hellish principalities and powers, pressing upon us from the realm of the unseen, let us take home to ourselves the full conviction finally that the only hope for us in this conflict, does in very deed depend on our *being in the Lord, and the power of His might*, in the strictest sense of the Apostle's injunction.

What that strict sense means has been already shown. As holding against the universal world of evil, and not in any case against any separate fraction of it singly, the battle of our salvation is necessarily, first of all, one work belonging to our Lord Jesus Christ alone, in whom only is infinite and everlasting strength. Our Redeemer is, and can be, no other than the God of the whole earth, the Holy One of Israel, Jehovah of hosts. And yet He cannot save us by any mere outward act, by the simple fiat of His will, by phantasmagoric drama, or by imputing to us the credit of a righteousness not in itself ours in fact. Hence it is, that we must ourselves meet the universal power of evil in the spiritual world as Christ Himself has done; but with this great difference, that the way is open for us, through

His glorification, to stand on the vantage level of His victory (which is not a dead past fact, but a perennial power of life and order in the spiritual universe), so as to work out our salvation not at all from ourselves, but really and truly from what must be considered the reaching into us continually of His human life, perfected for us once for all, as the root and principle of the whole new creation.

We know full well, of course, how this must strike the abstract spiritualistic thinking of the age—which we have just seen to be materialistic naturalism in disguise; we have had experience of its temper, time and again. But we know with no less certainty, that what we assert is the simple verity of God's Word; as it is the last sense also of all sound philosophy, the only principle indeed on which it is possible to construct any sane philosophy of the world at all. It is the plain sense of our Saviour's words, when He says, referring directly to the glorification of His humanity just at hand: "Yet a little while, and the world seeth Me no more; but ye see Me; because I live, ye shall live also. At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you." And in the light of this declaration, it is the plain sense also of St. Paul's exhortation, "Be strong *in the Lord and in the power of his might.*" But why stand here on particular texts? The entire sense of the Holy Scriptures, is on this point one and the same. From beginning to end, it turns everywhere on one grand issue, namely, the controversy between God and man in regard to the possibility of any true intellectual or moral life for men as in and of themselves. It comes out first in the story of Eden, the subtle insinuation of the serpent, "Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil," and the consequent expulsion from Paradise. It meets us again in the whole Jewish history and ritual; breathes upon us from the psalms; runs with thundering or wailing tone through all the prophets; in one word, forms the one grand key for the right understanding both of the Old Testament, and of the New. It is the key of

keys, in fact, for the interpretation of God's Word, better than all tomes of criticism or commentary without it. Man nothing of himself; God all in all; with the power and possibility, however, of His so being in men, that they shall have in them in that way a higher, better life than their existence can ever be conceived to be in any other view. All comes to this: "Thus saith the Lord: Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land, and not inhabited." This is not mere figure of speech, but parable; and sets forth graphically what the life of the soul is universally, when cut off from its only true fountain of life in God. Just as on the other hand, the man whose life flows inwardly from this fountain, has his correspondence (not likeness simply) in "a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, which shall not see when heat cometh," but her leaf shall be green and her fruit sure. (Jer. xvii. 6-8).

Religion has been well denominated the *life of God in the soul of man.* It is not life put into a man by God's miraculous outward gift, so as to be then man's separate possession or property; nor is it simply an impression or effect divinely wrought upon his soul. It is God's very life itself entering into the soul of man, and finding place for itself there as in a fit habitation or temple. In a lower view, as we know, God is in all things; for in Him, it is said, we live, move, and have our being, and in Him all things exist and consist. He is in them as their life, whatever that may be, according to the form and measure of what they can receive in such way. But it is only in man first that he finds form and measure, answerable to the going forth of his life in its full spiritual freedom. There his creation has risen to the height of mind or soul, made in the image of God, and having in it a capacity to receive His life

into itself in a spiritual and not merely natural way. There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration or continual inbreathing of the Almighty giveth Him understanding. This is God's life *in the soul.* It is not there as in the dark forces of nature, but in the way of intelligence and freedom. What God thus occupies and actuates in man is nothing less than the factors of the soul itself, the will and its affections, the understanding and its perceptions. The idea of religion as the life of God in the *soul* of man, comes to all this, and cannot stop short of it without self-nullification.

But this is not all. The life of God, thus in the soul, which is the love of God—for God is love, that, we are told, is His very being—cannot be there as a movement simply from the divine side to the human. There must be corresponding movement also from the human side to the divine. All love demands reciprocation; *must* have it indeed to reach in full its own end. So religion, as God's life in the soul, is at the same time the soul's life in God. In other words it is the whole selfhood of the man turned toward God, in answer to the challenge of the Divine life flowing into him in the way we have seen. But how can the human side here sustain any real reciprocity or communion with the divine side, since there is between them, as finite and infinite, no co-ordination, no ratio of comparison? To this question (and it is a very great question, sadly overlooked for the most part by our religion and theology) there can be but one rational, as there is but one biblical answer. That, in the soul of man, with which the life of God joins itself in all true religion, is and can be nothing less than the life of God itself already there, as the presence of the infinite and eternal (only for this reason, indeed, called *eternal life*), made to belong by free appropriation to men as if it were their own, while at the same time they know, as far as their faith prevails, that it is not their own in fact; and are ready thus to join with all the holy angels in the universal song of the new creation: "Not unto us, O Lord,

not unto us, but unto Thy Name give glory, for Thy mercy, and for Thy truth's sake."

Thus it is that we have the life of God in us mediately only through the glorified humanity of Christ, and not as Christ Himself has it immediately as His own. He hath life in Himself, as the Father hath life in Himself—absolute, essential, original life; and, therefore, He is absolutely one with the Father, and in Himself the ever-living and the only true God. To think of life as belonging to men in any such independent view, is to deify man as the serpent did with his infernal mockery in the Garden of Eden—not religion, at all, but its most diabolical opposite. This is the generic difference which our Lord draws everywhere between Himself and His disciples, and on which He lays such special stress in His last words as reported by St. John. His union with the Father, the foundation of their conjunction also with the Father; not however, in any like direct way, but only *through* the medium of His self-sanctification, making it possible for them also to be sanctified through the truth, that is, through His own life thus raised into the full glory of heaven. Because I live, He says, ye shall live also—your life proceeding from mine. "I in my Father;" and then, not ye in the Father, nor the Father in you; but "ye in me, and I in you," and so both together in the Father; but Christ absolutely ("the way, the truth, the life"), His disciples only by derivation of His life into them through their faith. So He prays: "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us;" still, however, only in the order just stated—"I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that Thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as Thou hast loved me."

This is what our Saviour means when He says, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread he shall live forever." This is what He means when

He says: "Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." This whole passage, John xv. 1–11, is eminently classic for our subject; as it is of vital significance also for putting us on the right course toward a true realization in ourselves of the great mystery of godliness of which it treats.

When the question rises, How are we to be made in this way partakers of the living Christ, so that our religion shall be in very deed—not a name only, nor a doctrinal or ritualistic fetich merely, nor a fond sentiment simply of our own fancy—but what Henry Scougal calls the Life of God in the Soul of Man, what St. Paul calls Christ in us the hope of glory, what our Lord describes as the vital oneness of Himself and His people, "They in Him and He in them;" when this question rises before us, we say, with its proper practical solemnity, it will be found to have its proper answer only where our Lord places it in these valedictory chapters of St. John's Gospel. "If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in His love. If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." All turns in the case on our standing in the Divine order, as it reaches us from the Father through the Son. That meets us in the Written Word of God, which in the way we have before seen, is nothing less in its interior life than the presence of the Lord of life and glory Himself in the world. This is what He means by "my commandments—my words—my sayings," on the keeping of which is here made to hinge so strangely, the manifestation of Himself to His disciples, and His consequent abode in them as the presence at the same time of the Father.

We cannot now follow out the subject with any sort of adequate discussion. We will simply say, therefore, that what our Lord says here of His words or commandments, is just what the Scriptures everywhere attribute to themselves in the same respect and view. They claim to be spirit and life, to have in them supernatural and heavenly power, to be able to make men wise unto everlasting life, to be the Word of God which liveth and abideth forever—not the memory or report simply of such word spoken in time past, but the always present energy of it reaching through the ages. The Scriptures—God's law, testimonies, commandments, statutes, judgments, His word in form of history, ritual, psalmody and prophecy—are all this through what they are as the "testimony of Jesus;" and, therefore, it is that they are in truth, what the ark of God's covenant represented of old, the conjunction of heaven and earth, and in this way a real place of meeting or convention between men and God. To know this, to own it, to acknowledge inwardly the presence of Christ in His Word, as the same Jehovah from whom the Law came on Mount Sinai; and then to fear the Lord as thus revealed in His Word, to bow before His authority, and to walk in all His ways; or in shorter phrase, to "fear God and keep His commandments," because they *are His* commandments and not for any lower reason; this is the whole duty of man, and of itself the bringing of man into union with God. The full verification of which is reached at last, only in and by the Word made glorious through the glorification of the Lord Himself; as when, in the passage before us, He makes the keeping of His commandments the one simple condition of all that is comprehended in the idea of the mystical union between Himself and His people.

What we have to do then, especially in the war we are called to wage with the powers of hell, is to see that this conjunction with Christ be in us really and truly, through a proper continual use of the Word of God for this purpose. In that way

only, can we be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. The strength will then be at once ours, and at the same time not ours. The armor too which we use will be our own, and yet immeasurably more than our own. It will be the panoply of God brought down, in a certain sense, to our finite measure; but having in every part and portion of it still the evidence of its higher origin, the quality of its derivation, we may say, from the infinite truth and righteousness of Him, who has gone before us in this conflict and so made it possible for us to follow in His steps. Let the words of the Apostle, then, sink deep into our hearts in this their spiritual force: "Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one: and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; praying always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints."

J. Williamson Nevin.

Art. II.—JOHN PHILIP BÖHM.

The original of the following papers is found in the records of the (Collegiate) Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the city of New York. The volume containing them is not a part of the regular Minutes of the Consistory, but a special book in which were entered all unusual or particularly important transactions. The papers were translated a few years ago by the Rev. T. W. Chambers, one of the pastors of the Collegiate Church, and from this translation are now printed. The series contains:

I. The Letter of the Commissioners to the Classis of Amsterdam.
II. The Letter of the New York Ministers to the Same.
III. First Letter of the Classis to the German Congregations.
IV. Letter of the Classis to the N. Y. Ministers.
V. Letter of the Classis to the Pennsylvanians.
VI. Letter of the Classis to Do. Böhm.
VII. Recapitulation and Proceedings at New York.
VIII. Reconciliation between Do. Böhm and Do. Weiss.

New York, Nov. 20, 1729.

The Commissioners from the High Dutch Reformed Christian Congregations at Falkner's Schwamp, Schip Back and Wit Marshe, in Pennsylvanie, with their Domine, Johan Philips Böhm, were admitted to a hearing in the Consistory here; there were also present, their correspondent, the Rev. Do. Vincentius Antonides of Long Island, and Do. Gualterius Du Bois and Henricus Boel, ministers here.

When after calling upon the Name of the Lord, the case of the Congregation was brought forward, both in respect to the letters thereupon to the Rev. Classis of Amsterdam and the replies of their Eminences, and as to what was further done here in the matter. Whereupon, it was unanimously resolved that the whole affair, with the resolution of the Consistory concerning it and the execution of the same, should, in order to guard so rare and remarkable a proceeding against reproach, be fully set down in the Church's *Acte Book*. This is hereby done in the Low Dutch language, as follows:

[I. LETTER OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE CLASSIS.]

July, 1728.

TO THE REVEREND CLASSIS OF AMSTERDAM:

We, the undersigned, Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Christian Congregations at Falkner's Schwamp, Schip Back and Wit Marche, lying in the Province of Pennsylvanie, in America, under the Crown of Great Britain, find ourselves, in the name of our Congregations, constrained and obliged in the last degree to have recourse to your Reverend Body, to lay before you the hardship and perplexity of ourselves and our Congregations, and to entreat you to give us your Christian aid in the way of an Ecclesiastical Proceeding for our peace and the upbuilding of the Reformed Religion in this far-off province of the world.

This is the situation. Finding ourselves in great perplexity, the Congregations commissioned us to consult upon our matters with some Low Dutch Reformed ministers, who, we heard, were to be found in the neighboring Provinces. It would have been more convenient for us to resort to Dr. Frelinghuisen in New Jersey, since he is forty miles nearer to us than New York. But, having already to contend with some errorists dwelling among us, who maintain among other things, that one can judge from the outside of a man whether he is a Christian or not,

and various other matters which we judge to be not in accordance with the Reformed Church; and hearing from several persons on our journey that Dr. Frelinghuisen maintains the same, at least his disciples openly asserted it with free condemnation of their neighbors, and other things not conformed to God's Word and to the order of the Low Dutch Reformed Church; and being further informed (as is openly acknowledged) that Dr. Frelinghuisen has allowed and still allows in the Church of Raretans the services of an English dissenting minister, who also intrudes into such Low Dutch congregations and assemblies as, by means of simple folks, he can gain admission to, and is, with Dr. Frelinghuisen, strongly attached to Pietistic and Labbadist sentiments, against which we also among ourselves have to contend; we, therefore, discouraged from resorting to Dr. Frelinghuisen, resolved not to shun the trouble of going farther and repairing to New York, to consult the famous Low Dutch ministers there, and Do. Vincentius Antonides of Long Island.

When we spoke to them, they counselled us to betake ourselves to the Rev. Classis of Amsterdam for Christian aid, and to lay open our perplexed condition in all sincerity and in fitting detail, and to submit to the ecclesiastical decision to which they should come.

This advice our Congregations thankfully received, and we therefore take the liberty to appear by this, our letter, before your Reverend Body, and set forth our distress.

In this widely-extended region, Pensylvanie, where the first settlers bearing the names of Christians were *Quakers*, and whither men of all sorts of sentiments have come, about eighteen years ago there came from time to time, here and there, widely separated from one another, some of the Reformed, from different parts of Germany and other places, as also some few from the neighboring Provinces of New York and New Jersey, &c. These, having in time grown to a number, in order not to fall

into the errors of those among whom they dwelt, stirred up and encouraged each other to hold religious meetings on the Lord's Day, &c., according to the doctrine and order of the Reformed Church, so far as it was known to us.

At least as early as the year 1720, there came over to us Johan Philips Böhm, who, according to his testimonials, had faithfully exercised the office of Schoolmaster and Foresinger in Worms, a city of Germany, for about seven years in succession, and was compelled by the persecutions of the Papists to flee the country on account of the Reformed religion. Shortly after his arrival, some of the neighbors established a religious meeting, in which the said Johan Philips Böhm, as Reader, (*voorlezer*), maintained the ministry of the Word, to the best of his ability and to the great satisfaction of the people, for five years, without receiving any compensation.

Afterwards, (since we were very desirous of enjoying the seals of the Covenant, which we could not in this far-off region attain according to the order of the Reformed Church, in lack of which some had resorted to the Dissenters) he was at various times urgently entreated by all the Reformed residing here or hereabouts, to take upon himself the office of minister; which he steadfastly refused, yet meanwhile constantly persevered in maintaining to general edification the exercises of religious worship as Reader.

Still the Reformed in this widely extended region, having increased to the number of fifty males, strongly urged upon him, since they were a poor people living far from all Reformed congregations, in the fear of the Lord, to assume the office of a minister among them, although he was not authorized thereto by any Reformed Classis—which authorization we did not then know to be so absolutely required as we now understand. But he, recognizing the importance of this service, entreated them to excuse him, alleging also that he had to support his family by the labor of his hands. Nevertheless, they all continued

from time to time to urge him, and also of themselves offered and promised their support by voluntary contributions according to their ability, however small that might be, protesting that he could not justify before God his refusal of so necessary a work, since this unanimous request was considered by them to be as lawful a call as was ever made upon any one, they thinking that this was enough since they were separated from all Classes.

Thus, we must confess, Reverend Classis, we at last prevailed upon Johan Philips Böhm to become a minister among us in this widely extended region, without any other salary than was voluntarily given him, and to conduct his service according to the doctrine and order of the Reformed Church. Hereupon that all might be done in an orderly manner, a scheme of church order to be maintained among us was drawn up by Johan Philips Böhm with the Consistories, which was read before the whole congregation and subscribed by all individually. Thus has service been faithfully and zealously maintained to edification, for the space of three years, in all three of the congregations, by Johan Philips Böhm as minister.

Still, to our heart's sorrow, there begins to be made some opposition to the ministry of Do. Böhm, because he has not received regular ordination. Our congregations further considered the matter, and we, the undersigned, members of the Consistory, have, with all the members of our congregations, appointed two of the fittest persons among us, as Commissioners, to go upon this important matter to the Reformed churches in the neighboring (yet how far distant!) Provinces, and take the advice of intelligent ministers for our direction,—as to what should or could be done to maintain the lawfulness of Mr. Johan Philips Böhm in his ministry among us.

The weighty reasons of our desire and longing for this object, we hereby respectfully present to your Reverend Body.

Johan Philips Böhm has so borne himself in the discharge of his godly office, not only in the doctrine of the Reformed

Church but also in his life, that we have not the smallest complaint to make against him, but rather are bound to love and honor him in our hearts.

This is the first instance in which all offence and scandal is daily more and more removed from us and the pure doctrine of the Reformed Religion, according to the Hollandish Church order, from day to day further diffused and confirmed among us, according to our ability in this wild American region.

Our three still small and poor congregations of Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marche, of which the greatest is composed of only twenty-four males, the second of about twenty, and the least of not more than fourteen, are spread out more than sixty English miles from each other and full one hundred and seventy distant from New York.

As the so-called Quakers compose the greatest part of the civil magistrates among us, your Reverend Body must not form any other conception of us than that we, moreover, live among all sorts of errorists, as Independents, Puritans, Anabaptists, Newborn, Saturday folks; yes, even among the most dreadful heretics, Socinians, Pietists, &c., among whom frightful errors prevail; yes, base blasphemies against our great God and Saviour and a special uprising against His dignity; even saying that they have deity itself essentially in themselves, that they cannot sin, that what they condemn or approve is God's condemnation or approval; believing that there is no other heaven or hell than what is here on earth; even denying divine Providence, maintaining that nothing needs God's blessing, but that all products of animals or of the ground or of the human race, proceed from nature, without any care on the part of God, so also that prayer is of no use. Indeed, we know of no impious sentiment which has not its defenders among one class or another among whom we are scattered.

Good as the land is in which we live, even so sad and unfortunate, you will easily see, is our condition in respect to spiri-

tual things. So that the plain people lie in the greatest danger of infection, and this, the more, because the most of them are inexperienced and poor folks, living far apart from each other. For which reason we feel ourselves the more bound without delay to set up a pure religious worship, and to maintain it by all the means agreeable to God's word, in order that neither we, nor our children, nor so many simple souls, in whom there was still a longing for the true doctrine of the Holy Gospel, should be lost forever in this soul-destroying whirlpool of apostacy, but that they should work out each other's salvation with fear and trembling.

May your Reverend Body please to observe that as the most modest appearing sects among whom we live, seek to captivate the simple-minded under a Pharisaic cloak of hypocrisy, so they are very earnest in their enticements, since they appear inclined to support the poor if these will only go over to them; and they pretend that they cannot enjoy the ministry of the Word elsewhere, and yet meanwhile they cease not to revile all Protestant ministers who have a fixed salary, as though they labored only for money.

The most of those among us being ignorant and needy, and daily subject to solicitation from others, it was absolutely impossible for us to provide a minister with a fixed salary; and this the more, because at the time when Mr. Böhm undertook the service we were entirely without the means. If, then, we would not abandon the innocent lambs, the poor people, to the constant attacks of ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, there appeared to be no other resource than that the aforesaid Böhm, who was noted among us as a man of more than common knowledge in the sound doctrine of truth, of praiseworthy life and of exemplary zeal in resisting error and guarding the ignorant against it,—there appeared, we say, no other resource than that the said Böhm should be most urgently requested to assume the minister's office, out of pure love, without any fixed salary;

yet under promise that we should see what voluntary contributions, which, however, could not but be small, we could collect for him from any who had means. Thus have we done hitherto, in order to escape the slandering sects, yet chiefly because we could help ourselves in no other way.

Meanwhile, when we heard and understood from the ministers mentioned that according to the order of the Reformed Church, no one at all could be recognized for a lawful minister except after a previous examination and approval by a Classis belonging to the Reformed Church; and that we, although it was in our extreme necessity and ignorance of the proper manner of lawfully appointing a minister in the Reformed Church, had greatly erred in appointing J. P. Böhm for our minister; we had great sorrow of heart over our wrong action, so much so that we, according to the advice of the said ministers, who said that they could do nothing further therein, now come with all submission to present our case to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, with the humble prayer and most earnest request in Christ's name, that in view of all the foregoing, our great mis-step may be overlooked and that the Classis would be pleased to aid us in what may serve for redress and settlement, in this important matter and in our perplexed condition.

The Reverend Classis will also, we pray, take into kind consideration the consequences, if they should declare invalid all that has occurred among us in this matter,—the ministry of Dr. Böhm as called by us to be the Teacher of the three said congregations, and his administration of the Seals of the Covenant in general, and especially of Holy Baptism,—more than two hundred children having been baptized by him, besides various others who, through his zeal, have come over to us from the sects who despise baptism. How great a division would it create in our congregations, and how would it open the mouths of errorists to deride us! Indeed, it is certainly to be feared that the exercise of the Reformed Religion among so many foes

would be sadly injured, and that what has hitherto been done to edification amid so many difficulties in our weakness, would be done away, and our congregations be overthrown in their very beginning, and many ignorant persons induced to fall away lamentably into various destructive errors.

But notwithstanding all this, which, however, we pray the Reverend Classis to take to heart, still Mr. Böhm with us declares, by the accompanying letter, that he is ready and prepared to submit fully to your classical action, and if the Classis deem it necessary, to leave his ministerial office, (which he did not in the least seek of himself, but the burden was pressed upon him by all), and return to his secular avocation and confine himself to the service of Reader. In this he seeks only to free his conscience,—the more because the love of the people toward him has daily increased from the beginning of his service till now, and the congregations themselves have also grown from day to day. Or possibly Mr. Böhm may be, if God should spare him yet a while to us, a means, that we, upon his death, shall be in a condition to call a minister from Holland. For we fear that if he shall desist from his ministry, we shall fall into a much worse state than we were in before, being so few, and poor, and scattered Reformed believers in this far-off region of the world.

Still we remit all to the wisdom and the pious, wholesome decree of the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, which with due submission, we earnestly entreat may be sent to us by the first opportunity.

In the meantime, since we have mentioned in this letter the Church order set up by us, we feel bound to forward a copy of the same, in order that the Reverend Classis may see more clearly our ecclesiastical management. The following are our formerly adopted and now improved *Church Ordinances*, in submission to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam:

1. That all the members of Consistory now in service in all

three villages, shall be recognized and remain in their offices for their appointed term. Then all the members of the congregation shall, with the minister and the rest of the consistory, choose new members of consistory. But, at the same time, all the members of the congregation shall transfer, each to his own consistory, all power and right henceforth to choose the consistory from year to year by a majority vote; since through the increase and spreading abroad of the congregations, it is not practicable for all the members to meet just for this purpose.

The persons chosen shall be propounded for three Sundays, each in his congregation, to see if any one makes any lawful objection; and if not, they shall be ordained on the third announcement.

If it should happen, (as we hope it will not), that one or more of the consistorial persons should walk disorderly or create strife and division in the congregations, he or they shall be timely warned by the rest to give over such courses; and if they will not comply, they shall be put out of their offices; and others shall be chosen in their place out of such as have last been in service, and be regularly ordained and then serve. And so in case any one dies in office.

2. When any Elder or Deacon goes out of office, he shall be exempt for two years and then may again be chosen; or even earlier, if it is deemed necessary by the Consistory for the time being.

3. The Elders, Deacons, and all the members of the three villages acknowledge and desire to retain for their minister, Mr. Johan Philips Böhm, who hitherto has rendered service among them well and faithfully, according to the doctrine of the Reformed Church.

4. The Minister, Elders and Deacons, and the whole congregation shall determine the time when, on the Lord's day and other days, and the places where divine service shall be held.

5. The rite of Baptism shall always be administered, without a fee, at the close of worship. Besides the Elders, there shall be witnesses at the baptism, and this edifying custom shall not lightly be altered. The witnesses must be sound in doctrine and blameless in life.

6. The Holy Supper shall be administered twice a year in each place where public worship is maintained. No one shall be admitted thereto, unless upon confession before the Consistory, and evidence of an upright life, or upon proper testimonials from other Reformed Congregations, according to the Church order of the Synod of Dort, An. 1618 and 1619. All the members shall constantly, as they are able, attend worship and appear at the preparatory sermon; and they who neglect this shall be spoken to by the Consistory as they shall judge necessary. The old shall diligently instruct the young in the Reformed religion, and thereunto shall carefully provide for their hearing God's word in the preaching and in catechising; so that the youth also may come to the Lord's table. All the members of the three congregations shall have the right to commune in any one of them, no lawful hindrance existing, so long as they have the same minister.

7. The bread and wine for the Lord's Supper shall always be provided by the Deacons, who shall also collect and disburse the alms, and make faithful account of the same. The members of Consistory, whether Elders or Deacons, to whom the Church chest and property are entrusted, shall annually make account of their administration before the congregation, and for this purpose shall keep a true record of receipts and expenditures. And the account, when approved, shall be signed by the minister in the name of all as satisfactory.

8. In order to meet the necessities of the Church, the Deacons shall always collect the alms at the end of service.

9. If any member, male or female, fall into lewdness or other sins, such shall be under censure of the Consistory until they promise and give evidence of amendment.

10. The office and duty of the Minister shall be to preach the pure doctrine of the Reformed Church according to God's word, and to administer the Seals of the Covenant at the proper time and place, to adhere strictly to the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church, to explain in order the Heidelberg Catechism, and to catechise, and with the Elders to exercise discipline. He shall not, without necessity, omit to hold service at the prescribed time and place, at Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback, and Wit Marche.

11. A Consistory shall be held at least every half year, and the Minister shall record all ecclesiastical proceedings in a book.

12. And if he should be inclined to go away, whether because called elsewhere or for other lawful reasons, he shall as soon as practicable give the congregations notice, so that they may not be left in distress, but may seasonably provide another suitable man. The Minister, also, shall in all other things bear himself as becomes a true servant of Christ, under Him the Great Shepherd of the sheep.

13. The Minister, Elders and Deacons shall maintain a careful oversight of the congregation, and shall appear at the appointed time and place to hold consistory, nor omit the same without ample cause. They shall, to the best of their ability, faithfully execute the foregoing orders, each according to his office. Whoever knows of any offence committed by one of the Consistory or by any other member, shall feel bound in conscience to make it known, not through malice or hatred, but to remove scandal. The accused person shall not demand the name of his accuser, nor obstinately deny his proved faults, nor wickedly continue therein; such as do so shall be disowned as members of the congregation till they promise and show amendment of life.

And if any one allege anything against the doctrine or life of the Minister, or of any member of Consistory, or against any

other member, they shall abstain from everything injurious or slanderous, and not avenge themselves, but refer the matter to the Consistory, who shall be bound to use all diligence to remove such scandal.

14. And as we hope that the Reverend Classis will in the speediest manner favor and help our Christian purpose in our sad condition, so we bind ourselves in the future to lay the new calls of a minister or ministers before your reverend body and await your decision; and further, to conduct ourselves with our present Minister according to such further orders as you shall deem useful for our congregation, according to the Hollandish Reformed Church order. And the newly chosen members of Consistory, from year to year shall, before entering upon office, with your approval, subscribe all this for the better performance of our promises, for ourselves and our successors. And in order that every one, according to his office and station, may strictly conform to the Hollandish Reformed Church order, the proposed orders with the amendments you may suggest, shall annually be read before the congregation at each new election or ordination of Consistory.

Herewith is also a written Confession of Faith, prepared and signed by Do. Johan Philips Böhm himself.

Nothing now remains for us but heartfelt desires to God that this our undertaking in His fear may appear as such to you; and repeated prayers through God's mercies for your wished-for help; and earnest longings for a good result which we shall always gratefully recognize as proceeding from the kind care of a gracious God over us, for the up-building and maintenance of the Church against so many errors and scandals round about us.

Whereto, as well as for the good of God's house in general, may the gracious Heavenly Father in the Lord Jesus, through the Holy Ghost, abundantly bless your beloved persons, families, and holy service, according to the cordial wish and prayer,

Pensylvanie, July, 1728.

Reverend Fathers and Brethren in Christ, of your humble petitioning servants, brethren, yes, children in the Lord, the Consistories of the three Reformed Congregations of Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback, and Wit Marche.

In the name of all,

(Signed each in his own hand.)

William de Wees,	Sebastian Reifsnyder,
Isaac Dilbeck,	Ludwich Kuauws,
George Philip Totterer,	Laurens Bingeman,
Frederik Antes,	Joh. Revenstok,
Joh. Meyer,	Georg Klauer,
Jac. Meyer,	Leonhard Sperr,
Gabriel Schuiler,	John Stephan Ulrich,
Joh. Berkenbeil,	John Le Fevre.

[II. LETTER OF THE NEW YORK MINISTERS TO THE CLASSIS.]

New York, August 15, 1728.

Reverend, Godly, and Most Learned Sirs,
The Reverend Classis of Amsterdam.

Highly Esteemed Father and Brethren in Christ Jesus:

When Mr. Johan Philips Böhm and William de Wees came to us on the sixteenth of May, 1728, as Commissioners of the Reformed Christian Consistory of Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marche and laid their case before us, we, on mature consideration, found it of such a nature and importance that we advised them to present the whole matter in all its circumstances to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, and cheerfully submit to your official determination, because we could not think or hope that otherwise the Reverend Classis would consider the case; and you would come to no other conclusion than what you should deem most for the honor of God and the welfare of their congregations. Whereupon, they, within a few

days past, sent to us the enclosed papers with the request that we would forward the same to your reverend body, and add a letter of our own in testimony of the foregoing: which we hereby do with cordial good wishes.

Eminent, Godly, and Very Learned Sirs,

Your Humble Servants and Associates in the Lord.

(Signed.) G. D. Bois,
V. Antonides.
Henricus Boel.

III. FIRST LETTER OF THE CLASSIS TO THE GERMAN CONGREGATIONS.

December 1, 1728.

Very Worthy and Much Beloved Brethren in the Lord:

On the reading of your letter sent to us through New York our Classis felt a painful sympathy with your sad and lament able condition, and justified the lawful complaints you have made to us. Be assured the Classis take your cause to heart, and will, according to their ability, endeavor to devise and take in hand whatever may best serve for the attainment of your wish and the improvement of your condition.

The matter in which you request our judgment and aid appears to the Classis so important, that they will take it intcareful consideration so as with better reason to send you their conclusion by the next opportunity.

Meanwhile, worthy brethren, you have need of patience courage and prudence. Still do not grow weary under the trial. Quit yourselves like men and be strong. Use such means as you have. Forsake not your meetings together, although you must hold them among malignant opposers. Be steadfast and immovable in the work of the Lord; your labor shall not be in vain in the Lord. Be always zealous in a good cause, by which God's honor and the interests of Jesus' kingdom can be promoted. Counsel much with God's word. Let

your desires with supplications mount up before His throne. Cast all your care upon Him and rest in His wisdom, power, grace and truth, as of One who can, will, and must come to the help of all who trust in Him. The good work He has already begun among you, He is able also to complete, for He does not let go the work of His hands, and has often shown that He plants and guards His Church in spite of all opposition. Be of good courage, brethren, let not your hands hang down. Wait for the Lord. Be strong that He also may strengthen you.

May He who can do more than abundantly above what we think, hear you in this time of distress! May He enlighten your darkness! May He endue you with wisdom, courage and fidelity, to continue with steadfast purpose in this good work, and cause you to experience in His own good time the desired fruit of your efforts! May He grant you the wish of your hearts and fulfil all your counsel!

This is all that we have to say for the present. Expect more detailed advice by the next opportunity. We remain, with brotherly greetings,

Very Reverend and Much-loved Brethren,

Your Servants and Sympathizing Brothers in Christ,

(Signed.) Corn. Houthoff, Ch. of Amsterdam,
and Dep. ad res exteras,
p. t. Praeses.

John Bakker, Ch. of Amsterdam,
and Dep. ad res exteras,
p. t. Scriba.

To the Worthy Godly and Esteemed Brethren, N., N., N., N., members of the Consistories of the Reformed Congregations in Pensylvanie, especially at Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marche.

[IV. LETTER OF THE CLASSIS TO THE NEW YORK MINISTERS.]

June 20, 1729.

Reverend Brethren,

Beloved and Esteemed Associates:

While we take the liberty to request your services in sending the enclosed to Pensylvanie, we cannot and will not conceal from you the Resolution which the Classis has adopted concerning the condition of the congregations in Pensylvanie, upon the complaint received. As follows:

1. The Classis judges itself to be able to handle this case without reference to the Christian Synod.

2. The Classis finds in the transactions of the Pensylvaniens the necessary elements of a lawful call, although all the formalities are not found there.

3. On this ground the Classis judges that all the transactions of the said Böhm, his teachings, even his administrations of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and the members received, must be deemed lawful.

4. Still in order to supply what has hitherto been lacking, the said Böhm must be ordained to the ministry according to ecclesiastical usage.

5. This ordination should be effected with all speed by one of the ministers at New York, who is also qualified, *nomine Classis*, to do the same in their name.

6. Yet this ordination shall not go on until the said Böhm has declared to the ministers of New York that he accepts the Heidelberg Catechism and all the Doctrinal Standards as the strict rule of his ministry, and will submit to the Church Order of the Synod of Dortrecht.

7. Further, the Ecclesiastical Regulations sent to us by the Pensylvanie Brethren are found useful and edifying, and the Classis has no difficulty in allowing the use of the same in the government of the Church.

8. Although the Reverend Classis under these circumstances

approves the call of Do. Böhm, still they expect that the same shall not occur again, and therefore accepts the proposition of the brethren of Pensylvanie, that when in course of time a new minister is required, the Classis should send to them one that is competent and authorized.

We take the freedom, Reverend Sirs, to request you to put the last hand to the call of Do. Böhm, to the end that his Reverence may be, according to the contents of the foregoing articles, ordained to the work of the ministry. We well know that there are ministers nearer to Pensylvanie than you are, but since we learn from the letter of the Pensylvaniens that they will not correspond with these gentlemen, but have considered everything with you, we have the more liberty to intrust you with this commission. We do not doubt that you will approve the necessity of the ordination and the maintenance of Church order, etc.

We leave you to perform this as may be most convenient, whether for one of you to go to Pensylvanie, or to summon Do. Böhm to a point between both places where one of you will meet him, or to require him to come to New York, or otherwise. We request that you will, when you send the inclosed to the brethren in Pensylvanie, inform them where the proposed ordination, *Nomine Classis*, is to take place; and we shall expect in due time to hear that our request has been complied with.

Wherewith after wishing the Lord's most gracious blessings upon your persons, families and holy ministrations, with all esteem we remain, reverend sirs and beloved associates, your servants, etc.

The Classis of Amsterdam, in the name of all, J. Bakker, dep. ad res exteras, p. t. scriba.

Amsterdam, June 20, 1729.

To the Reverend, Godly and Learned Messrs., the Ministers of the Low Dutch Congregation of Jesus Christ at New York.

[V. LETTER OF THE CLASSIS TO THE PENNSYLVANIANS.]

Reverend and Beloved Brethren:—In fulfillment of our promise in the letter sent to you December first, 1728, which we hope you have received, we hereby communicate to you the Resolution which the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, after mature deliberation, adopted, concerning the condition of the Church government under you, and the dealings therein which have already been had, which in substance is contained in the following:

[Here are given the eight Articles contained in the foregoing letter. The writers then proceed.]

Thus you may see that the Classis is of opinion that since the Pensylvanie Brethren desired with such unusual earnestness to have Do. Böhm for their minister, this call from the midst of the congregation must be esteemed to be valid, and consequently, all that he has hitherto done as minister is considered as lawful; since in the planting of the Church in a region so distant, the usual means of ordination were not at hand.

Yet the Classis expects that care will be taken by the brethren that Do. Böhm is ordained, according to the method proposed, by one of the ministers at New York, who are requested and authorized by our Classis to do this; to the end that the ministrations among you be rendered according to the Established Church order, and so the congregation of the Lord be built up and edified.

We cheerfully engage to support you with counsel and aid on every occasion, especially when another minister may be required among you.

For the rest, dear brethren, we bow our knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ that you may be filled with all wisdom and spiritual understanding, and strengthened with all might; that Jesus may dwell in your hearts by faith, and that ye may be rooted and built up in His love. May He

bless the labors of your minister with the desired fruits! May He crown the congregation with life, light and spirit! May His all-sufficient grace honor, establish, enlarge and perfect the same, and make it a praise in the earth!

Finally, brethren, be joyful, be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

So wish, reverend and beloved brethren, your friendly and well-wishing brethren, the Classis of Amsterdam, and in the name of all. J. Bakker,

Dep. Cl. ad res exteras. P. T. Scriba.

To the Reverend, Godly and Beloved Brethren of the Reformed Congregations in Pensylvanie.

[VI. LETTER OF THE CLASSIS TO THE DO. BÖHM.]

June 20, 1729.

Reverend and Highly Esteemed Brother:—Since the reverend brethren in Pensylvanie, anxious for a lawful ministry, have chosen you for the ministry of the gospel, and therein have encountered much opposition from others, on account of which they brought their complaints to the Classis of Amsterdam with a request for counsel, help and guidance, the said Classis has carefully considered the same, and the following is the result:

(N. B. Here follow the eight articles as above, and then the letter proceeds as follows:)

From this Resolution of the Classis, you can see that the call to the work of the ministry, made by the brethren in Pensylvanie, upon you, is judged lawful, because the congregation desired you and the ministry of the Word was so necessary. Wherefore you have done well to fulfill herein their earnest desire. Still the Classis expects that you will perform what concerns you in the foregoing articles, as well in reference to the adoption of the Standards of Doctrine as in regard to your ordination by one of the ministers of New York; each of

which is important for you and the congregation, and is strictly required, in order to escape blame from those who are without.

Well then, dear brother, you have undertaken the work of the ministry among the brethren, in the name of the Lord who will have all things in the congregation done orderly. Fulfill, then, in this, our expectation, that your boldness may wax greater; and this shall also be for our security. You will, therefore, consider with the brethren what will be most suitable, and also comply with the desire of the New York ministers, even if they shall see fit to summon you to New York to receive the requisite ordination.

Further, reverend brother, from our hearts we wish for all desirable blessings upon your person and work. The Father of lights, enlighten you by His Spirit, the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him, that you also may enlighten others! The God of strength gird you with all might that, like a hero round about Solomon's bed, you may be armed and expert against a cry in the night! The God of all grace endue you with every holy ornament, and make you an example of the flock, in life and faith, in love and in purity.

In a word, the Lord make your ministry excellent and fruitful, and deign in His own time to make you shine in His kingdom as a teacher who has turned many to righteousness.

Reverend and highly esteemed brother.

Your friendly and highly esteeming brothers, the Classis of Amsterdam, and in the name of all, J. BAKKER.

Dep. Cl. ad res exteras. P. T. Scriba.

To the Reverend, Godly and Learned, Mr. N. Böhm, Minister of the Holy Gospel in Pensylvanie.

Amsterdam, June 20, 1729.

P. S. We request also that you will please to maintain correspondence with the Classis of Amsterdam.

VII. RECAPITULATION AND PROCEEDINGS AT NEW YORK.

November 18, 20, 23 and 25, 1729.

The Reverend Consistories of the three High Dutch Reformed Congregations at Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marche in Pensylvanie, having taken advice from the Reverend Gualterius Du Bois and Henricus Boel, of New York, and Vincentius Antonides, of Long Island, wrote upon the matter of their call upon Johan Philips Böhm to be a minister, to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, to obtain their ecclesiastical aid against the reproach made against that call, for this purpose laying open the whole of their distressed condition, etc., in July, 1728.

Thereupon the Reverend Classis at first replied, under date of December 1, 1728, that they felt a sympathy with their sad condition, accepted their complaints in order to help them with counsel at the first opportunity, and exhorted them to use such means of grace as were at hand.

After which on the 20th of June, 1729, the Reverend Classis wrote again to Do. Böhm and his Consistories, and to the ministers hereto in correspondence with them. The brethren from Pensylvanie, being invited, came with full powers from the three Consistories, to finish all in a proper manner, and opened and read the letters, containing in substance:

That the Reverend Classis, after mature deliberation, decided that the call must be esteemed, on account of the uncommon desire of the brethren in Pensylvanie for Do. Böhm, to have originated from the midst of the congregation itself, and, therefore, all the work done by him as minister may be regarded as lawful, on account of the lack of the customary means of ordination in a new planting of the Church in such a distant region; and that, since the ministry of the Word, etc., was so needful, Do. Böhm had done well to comply with the urgent wishes of the brethren. That the Reverend Classis de-

creed that the ordination should be effected in the most convenient manner possible by one of the ministers in correspondence with them. And so the Reverend Classis authorized them in their name to confer the ordination and lay the last hand upon the call of Do. Böhm, with freedom to do the same at New York or elsewhere.

It is a farther Resolution of the Reverend Classis that Do. Böhm before the ordination proceeds as aforesaid, shall declare to the ministers in correspondence, that he accepts the Heidelberg Catechism and all the Standards of Doctrine as the strict rule of his teaching, and that he submits to the Church Order of the Synod of Dordrecht, and shall promise to strive, by God's grace, to fulfill the work of the ministry. Whereupon the Reverend Classis with all the heart wishes the blessing of God upon his blessing and work—requesting also that he would maintain correspondence with the Reverend Classis.

Moreover, the Reverend Classis resolved that the brethren of the Consistories of the aforesaid congregations should bind themselves each in his official capacity, with their successors from time to time to act according to the foregoing articles, together with the congregations and Do. Böhm; that the Reverend Classis finds the Church Orders useful and edifying, and has no difficulty in allowing the use of them in the government of the Church. That although in these circumstances the Reverend Classis approves the call on Do. Böhm, yet they expect that the like will not occur again, for which reason they accept the proposition of the brethren in Pensylvanie, hereafter when a new minister may be needed, to send to them for one that is competent and authorized. That the brethren in Pensylvanie must see that Do. Böhm is according to the provision made, ordained by one of the ministers corresponding at New York, who is requested and empowered so to act. And they are submissively to accept the kind offer of

the Reverend Classis to render counsel and help in all circumstances, even when a new minister is required.

It was also unanimously resolved, and agreed according to the Church Orders, that the ruling elders and deacons of the three congregations should, after making known the letters of the Reverend Classis and the effecting of Do. Böhm's ordination, on the first occasion, each in his congregation, as well as whoever else was so inclined, kindly request and urge a new voluntary subscription according to people's means, for the payment of Do. Böhm's salary yearly, at such times as the Consistory shall approve. The ruling elders and deacons shall also from time to time, as may be convenient use their utmost exertions to obtain from the subscribers what each has promised for the support of Do. Böhm, and to pay to him his exact salary at the appointed time.

Also on this point according to the Church Orders, sent by the Brethren from Pensylvanie to the Reverend Classis, and by that body approved, and now enlarged as above, the newly chosen members of consistory shall from year to year before the entrance upon their offices, subscribe all this, for the better performance of their engagement to adhere strictly to the Heidelberg Catechism, the Standards of Doctrine and the Synod of Dordrecht. And in order that every one, in his office or station may execute so far as possible the foregoing Articles, the church orders as revised by the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, shall be publicly read before the congregations, every year, when a new Consistory is chosen or ordained.

In the view then of all the foregoing, we, the undersigned Elders commissioned by the Ruling Consistories of the three aforesaid Reformed High Dutch congregations at Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marche, together with Do. Bohm, hereby declare: That the commission dated in Pensylvanie, November 4th, 1729, authorizes us in the name of all, to confirm by our subscription, all that the Reverend Classis of

Amsterdam orders, for the ordination and support of Do. Böhm in the holy ministry among us, for the benefit of the three congregations, and whatever farther herein is done and settled with us, according to the Church order, by the corresponding ministers or ministerium at New York, to keep the same forever in full force among our congregations. We, therefore upon this commission declare, that we have carefully considered all the foregoing, article by article, according to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, and with the advice of the corresponding ministers or ministerium of New York, and that we approve and adopt it all, for ourselves and our successors, to obey it submissively, each in his office respectively, and by God's grace to maintain it inviolably.

In testimony of all this, we hereby subscribe it with our own hands, as Commissioners at New York, November 18th, 1729.

(Separately signed.)

Frietrich Antes, *Commissioner of Falkner's Schwamp.*
Gabriel ⊙ Scheiler's mark, *Commissioner of Schipback.*
William de Wees, *Commissioner of Weit Marsch.*

So also, in testimony of all this, I, Do. Johan Philips Böhm, sacredly declare that what therein concerns me, I will with God's help, perform to the best of my ability, thereto subscribing at New York, November 18th, 1729.

JOHAN PHILIPS BÖHM.

Be it hereby known to all, That the foregoing matter, declared by the Reverend Classis itself to be very important, and committed by them to the consulting ministers, Do. Do. du Bois, Antonides and Boel, to be carried out; our letter to the Reverend Classis and their reply to us, and the foregoing Act of the Brethren in Pensylvanie, with all the details, were, in the presence of the Brethren from Pensylvanie, and of Do. Böhm, distinctly presented, after calling on the Name of the

Lord, to the Reverend Consistory of the Low Dutch Reformed Congregation, in their meeting at New York, on the twentieth of November, 1729.

And that, thereupon, the Consistory unanimously Resolved, that the aforesaid ministers had herein acted with strict regularity, as correspondents, according to the Church Ordinances; and, that since the Reverend Classis had been pleased to entrust them with such an *authority* for ordaining Do. Böhm on the said conditions, they were bound obediently to use the same.

Therefore, notwithstanding that they, with the entire Consistory, by a fixed Resolution, stipulate that nothing of the kind shall ever in future be undertaken or accomplished without an express order of Classis; still upon this authority conferred, the matter should be formally carried out in the presence of this congregation by them, in the face of any opposition.

Be it known then, that this ordination was thus effected by Do. Henricus Boel, and the consecration by the laying on of the hands of Do. Gualterius du Bois, under the oversight of the forenamed Consistory, publicly in the Reformed Low Dutch Church at New York, Sunday afternoon, November 23d, 1729. And thereupon the forenamed Consistory gave order to pass an *Acte* thereto, in testimony of the truth, to be confirmed, as is proper, by the Church seal—as is hereby done at New York, November 25th, 1729, by me

In the name and authority of the Reverend Consistory.

HENRICUS BOEL.

p. t. Praeses.

{L. S.}

N. B —The substance of the foregoing Acte with Do. Böhm and his [friends] on the eighteenth of November, and of what was done in the Consistory on the twentieth do., was for confirmation of the same, publicly read from the pulpit to the congregation by Do. Boel, beginning thus:

Beloved in the Lord,

In order that the Solemn Service, unusual here, which we are about to perform, wholly apart from any seeking of our own, at the command of the Classis of Amsterdam, and under the oversight of the Reverend Consistory of this congregation, may, under the blessing of the Lord, be to edification, and not be misunderstood. It is known to you, &c. &c.

[VIII. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN DO. BÖHM AND DO. WEISS.]

Afterwards the Reverend Consistory thought proper to subjoin here the Terms of Reconciliation between Do. Weiss and Do. Böhm. They run as follows:

After that Do. Johan Philips Böhm, had under the persistent pressure of the three Reformed High Dutch Congregations at Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marshen, in the year 1725, assumed the office of their minister without ordination according to the usage of the Churches, there arose in 1727, a grievance concerning this, and some in the congregation of Schipback were induced to abstain from Do. Böhm's ministry, and to accept for their accustomed minister, Mr. Georg Michiel Weiss, who had come over from Germany, and was recognized by them as a regularly ordained clergyman, as he was placed over the Reformed High Dutch Congregation in the city of Philadelphia and at Germantown.

Since this some estrangement has arisen between Do. Johan Philip Böhm, and Do. Georg M. Weiss; and meanwhile the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam has approved the whole ministerial work of Do. Böhm, before his ordination on account of the great zeal of the congregations for him, and has seen fit to authorize the Reverend Messrs. Gualterius Du Bois and Henri-

cus Boel of New York, and Vincentius Antonides, of Long Island, the customary correspondents of the Reverend Body, to complete in their name the ordination of Do. Böhm, according to ecclesiastical usage, against all reproach, and this was done with the full knowledge and consent of the Reverend Consistory of the Low Dutch Reformed Congregation at New York and under their inspection, openly before the congregation on the 23d of November, 1729, in the presence also of Do. Weiss, who had then come to New York.

Therefore, we, G. M. W. and J. P. B., and the commissioners of the aforesaid three congregations of Do. Böhm, upon the peace-loving good counsel of the three Reverend ministers, correspondents, have unitedly and heartily come to this firm conclusion, and bind ourselves to recognize it as we hereby do:

That the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam has rightly decided in this case, and the Reverend ministers correspondent, have done well according to their bounden duty, in executing the orders of the Reverend Classis, and laying the last hand ecclesiastically upon the ordination of Do. Böhm.

That we together, out of Christian love for the peace and quiet of the churches, mutually testify with a brotherly giving of hands, that we from the heart forgive each other whatever offence has been given, and promise to forget and never more bring it again into dispute.

That Do. Weiss recognizes Do. Böhm for the lawful, ordained, regular minister of the three aforesaid congregations: that Do. Weiss will stay away from Schipback, and will declare to the congregations that he leaves that and the other two congregations entirely to Do. Böhm, as their lawful minister that he may pursue his work in peace among the three:

That henceforth there shall be a brotherly friendship between Do. Böhm with the congregations, and Do. Weiss. That they will both act as servants of the Lord toward each other—Do. Weiss for the honor of Do. Böhm's ministry, and Do. Böhm for

the honor of Do. Weiss's ministry at Philadelphia and Germantown.

That whatever other Reformed Congregations, besides the three of Do. Böhm and the two of Do. Weiss, shall desire Do. Böhm, or Do. Weiss or both by turns, for their minister, both shall therein mutually render brotherly aid.

That Do. Weiss, declares his heartfelt desire to become subordinate to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam, and requests the ministers' correspondent to write to the Reverend Classis to that effect, and testifies that he is ready and willing to comply with their Church orders when sent over to him. And that Do. Weiss, also binds himself to endeavor to bring his congregation in Philadelphia and Germantown, into like subordination. And further, that Do. Weiss and Do. Böhm bind themselves, if other congregations should desire either for minister, not to consent, unless they, by their consistory or consistories, subordinate themselves to the Reverend Classis in order, that both ministers, and consistories and congregations may contain conformity therein, as is becoming churches.

That also the Reverend Classis, shall be humbly asked if any aid in money can be obtained from Holland as a voluntary contribution for the so needy congregations in Pensylvanie; and whatever monies have already been collected in behalf of the congregation of Do. Weiss in Philadelphia and Germantown, the Reverend Classis will if possible kindly please to forward to them

Furthermore, Do. Böhm with the commissioners of the three aforesaid congregations, and Do. Weiss, requested that they might have and maintain by all occurring opportunities correspondence with the three ministers, Du Bois, Antonides and Boel, so as to conduct themselves to the best advantage of the churches. To which the three ministers gave their ready consent, with God's help, in hope of His gracious blessing.

Finally, that of all this, proper notice shall be given by Do. Böhm, and his (friends) and Do. Weiss and his, to their respective congregations, in order to forestall any hinderance to the contrary.

Thus agreed in the city of New York, Nov. 24th, 1729.

(And signed by each severally.)

FRIETRICH ANTES,
GABRIEL ⊙ SCHULER's mark.
WILLEM DEWEES.

GEORG MICHAEL WEISS,
Minister at Philadelphia and Germantown.

JOHAN PHILIPS BÖHM,
Minister of the three Congregations,
Falkner's Schwamp, Schipback and Wit Marsche.

We the undersigned being so requested by both ministers and the commissioners, avow that the foregoing was thus determined in our presence as witnesses.

[SIGNATURES WANTING.]

Art. III.—THE HOLY GHOST.

BY REV. A. G. PEASE.

PART II.

THE MISSION AND THE OFFICE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

15. If ye love me, keep my commandments.

16. And I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you forever.

The promise to pray the Father to send them another Paraclete, even the Spirit of truth, who should be no merely temporary solace or assistance to them, but a permanent and abiding strength and consolation to meet all their wants in all the exigencies of their work and of their life, is coupled with a condition, which is, that they should love Him and show their love by keeping His commandments. It is not to an inactive, passive, sentimental love that the promise is made. For such a love would have no need. Or if it would, it is not the kind of need that the Holy Ghost is sent to supply. To suppose any such thing is entirely to misapprehend His office. The fulfillment of this commandment of love requires effort, and implies the hearty putting forth of effort to do the will and carry out the designs of the divine love in the work of redemption. Now this work, to which their love of their Master calls them, will be found to involve tasks altogether beyond their strength, tasks to which, undertaken in their own strength, they would themselves be wholly unequal, and the only effect of their most earnest and faithful efforts would be to be overwhelmed with utter defeat, despondency and despair. Supposing them to be enlightened as to the true object and design of the Incarnation, and the real nature of the work left by Him on His departure for them to do for Him and in His place—supposing the idea of making humanity divine through the Incarnation of the divine humanity, to have fairly dawned upon them and begun to take possession of them, and supposing them to gird up the loins of their minds and with their whole hearts to throw themselves

into the work, and to address themselves to the hearts and consciences of their fellow-men as they meet them and have opportunity—supposing them to undertake, with hearts all on fire with love and zeal, to spread the glorious tidings of life from he death of sin, of the renewal of the corrupt and sin-poisoned and death-struck and perishing souls of men through the faith in the Incarnate Son of man. Supposing them, we repeat, engaged in this work, as they will be if they love Him, if they are grateful to Him for His love, and wish to make all possible return for it, and thus keep His commandments, and all without any aids or influences of the other Paraclete, which is the Spirit of truth, what will the result be? Nothing but utter disappointment, confusion and dismay. Not a soul listening to their message, or if they do listen, yet utterly failing to be impressed, much less savingly affected by it. Failure, failure, the most dismal and disheartening failure everywhere, success nowhere. Not a soul enlightened, convinced, or even hopefully affected. At this rate it will take these twelve Apostles a good while to convert the world. Now then, right here, in the midst of this disheartening experience, of utter impotency and feeling, of the impossibility of their ever accomplishing anything, comes in this promise of the Holy Ghost. Before, they had had trust dawn upon their consciences and hearts, and the great and solemn duty to be performed in their own strength. Now, having made the discovery of their utter weakness, and that in their own strength they can do literally nothing towards the accomplishment of the great ends of redemption, now comes the promise of the power. The duty is still theirs, the burden is not taken off, but the yoke is made easy and the burden light. And now the Spirit having been given, great and astounding and most blessed effects follow from very slight instrumentalities. It will seem to them as though very little had been done, yet behold what marvellous and glorious effects—men deeply affected, made conscious about their souls, and everywhere inquiring of men and brethren what must we

do to be saved. The message seems to have outrun the messengers, as though the very birds of the air had carried it. Great, popular movements, multitudes inquiring and finding peace where very little is known of means used or evangelical efforts made. Rumor, with her hundred tongues, has spread the tidings. They are no sooner heard than they are believed; they are no sooner believed than the strange fire is kindled in the heart; the power is felt, and whoever feels it becomes at once a witness of it. The minds of men are filled with the celestial influence. Humanity, rendered keenly susceptible to the slightest impulse of the Spirit, is quick to respond in tones of quickened sensibility and vitality. The very atmosphere which men breathe has been made electric with divine influence, and it requires only a chance spark falling almost anywhere to kindle a mighty conflagration.

Such, after the day of Pentecost, became the fact; from that day and onward, during the lifetime of the Apostles, the work continued with almost unabated power. Within one hundred years from the death of the Apostles, by means, of which history contains no record, the gospel had been spread throughout the Roman Empire. All as the result of the fulfillment of the promise of the Comforter, in answer to the prayer of Jesus to His Father, and in answer of their prayer to Him.

Not until a need of the blessing had been felt, not until from their fainting and sinking hearts the inarticulate prayer for help had gone up, was the blessing bestowed. So is it ever. It is the invariable law of the kingdom of grace, as well as of that of nature. It is ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find. He that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. But no receiving where there has been no antecedent asking, no foregoing and preparatory sense of need.

So much for the antecedent and foregoing condition, without which no prayer for the Comforter on the part of Jesus, no gift on the part of the Father. The Father knew the exigency

and the necessity. He did not need to be informed of it by His Son. He needed no request from Him to touch and incline His heart, and yet without the application from Him, no Holy Spirit comes, or ever would have come, though the whole grand design had failed in consequence. But as soon as there is the need, it is felt by Jesus, and as soon as it is felt by His disciples it becomes a prayer to Him from them, and so at once, as soon as the burden begins to rest down upon them and they begin to cry out under it, their burden becomes His burden and their cry His cry, and thus He becomes the Paraclete, the Intercessor between them and His Father. The descent of the Holy Spirit, as everything else which His Church receives towards her life, her success, her triumphs, comes through the Intercession of Jesus. I will pray the Father. I will make your cause my own when you make my cause your own, and thus, in regard to the cause of the world's redemption, identify yourselves with me. I will intercede with the Father for you. In regard to all your need in this work, you may be certain of my intercessions, and you need not be afraid of their failing; and if they do not fail, your prayers cannot. Only make my cause your own. Let it fill your hearts and your minds and your hands, and nothing that you can ask for can be denied you. Ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you, because your asking becomes mine when your desires and interests are identical with mine, and what rests with most weight upon your hearts, is just what is matter of supreme interest, desire and concern to me.

O so sweet! I will pray the Father. The relations between them so sweet and confidential. The matter one in which their interest is so deep. The interest of each alike, and at the same time individual and personal. The Son interested in His own way, and the Father in His; a common interest, and yet each regarding it from His own point of view, and having his peculiar relation to it and part to perform and responsibility to sustain in regard to it, I will pray the

Father, and He will send you another Paraclete to take My place, to complete My work. The intercession is now to be completed. The foundation has been laid. The remedy for the disease of man has been provided. It only remains now that it should be rendered effectual and the application made of the remedy to the disease. For without this last element the first might as well not have been provided, the Son of Man not become Incarnate. Plainly enough there are two parts to this remedy, just as there are to any prescription for a disease. Unless it be made a part of the prescription that the patient be persuaded to take it. No matter how sovereign it may be in ts adaptations to the case, or how certain to effect a cure if, taken according to directions, with all its sovereign virtues, with all its infallible power over disease, it is an inert, powerless, useless thing, as worthless and inoperative as so much water or so much sawdust, or as the most skilless, haphazard composition of a child, if it be not taken. Security on this point, therefore, is required. It must be provided with certainty and beyond possibility of failure, that it shall be brought home to the knowledge of the patient and everything done to secure his interest in it and induce him to take it. For as much regarding the cure depends upon this last point as upon the first, and it is equally urgent, and vital, and pressing. Skill in the physician, and inherent power in the medicine, are of no more consequence than the other part of the condition. The cure is conditional; none possible without a sovereign remedy. Neither, provided with everything in the way of remedy that is requisite for an infallible and perfect cure, is there any such thing as a cure possible without another condition.

Obedience to the directions in regard to taking it is a necessary condition; as necessary as the sovereign and the healing power in the prescription. But the latter, necessary as it is, is nevertheless no part of the remedy. It must go with it, but it is *another*, a counterpart thing. So the Paraclete whom the

Father will send though as necessary as the first is not the same, but another, and the thing that He is sent to do though it is necessary to go with the first in order to make it effectual is *another* and not the *same* thing that is done by His predecessor. The two offices though they conspire to the same effect and accomplish the same end as much as though they were one are yet not *one*, and cannot both inhere in and be discharged by the same person. This points clearly to the personal distinction between the Son and the Spirit, and the individual characteristics and peculiarities belonging to each, though in nature one and the same. Each has an office peculiar to Himself, a work to do that cannot be performed by the other, for in the Godhead there is no interchange or mingling of offices. The office inheres in *the nature*. It is not therefore in the economy of that perfect and Supreme Nature as it is among men and even as it is in the most perfect of human organizations that one organ can perform the function of another. In human governments one and the same man may discharge the duties of half a dozen offices. But it is not so in heaven, neither is it so in nature.

The body cannot dispense with the ear, and the touch, and the taste, and take the eye and send it round now to do the hearing, then for a while to act as the sense of feeling and then again to do the smelling and tasting. Neither can it mix them in the discharge of the various bodily functions, and unite the eye and the ear in the same work of hearing or of seeing, making both see and both hear. It cannot do that, although doubtless each in its own office confining himself wholly to that, and not being a busy body and meddling at all with other men's matters, is an aid to the other in the care and perfection with which it performs its particular and exclusive function. Doubtless hearing is helped by sight and sight by hearing.

By bringing the evidence of both organs to bear upon the same object, and combining their testimony, and estimating the testimony of one of the senses by comparing it with the other,

the brain is assisted in coming to a more accurate and infallible judgment in respect to the object than it would be able to form if left to gather its data from a single sense alone. We judge of distance, for example, not by the eye only but by the ear also; but if we had, not hearing a sound, opened our eyes to measure the distance between us and the object making it, we should not have learned by experience to judge of distance by sound. By hearing the same sound from different distances which are measured by the eye, we learn by the modifications of sound to judge of distance.

We should not be able from the first hearing of thunder to judge whether the source were near or remote; but from repeated hearing at different distances the brain becomes infallible on that point.

But to return from this digression, which after all is hardly such, for it is vital to the main topic, the conspiring and contributing of two offices to the performance of the same work, and the fact that the two organs unite in the performance of a common function, which could not have been performed by one of them alone. One organ cannot assume the office of another. The first Paraclete cannot perform the work of the second, nor *vice versa*.

The two offices of the two Paracletes are necessary. One cannot perform the work of the other. Their natures are different; that of the one fitting Him for His part of the work, that of the other for His. The Spirit of truth and the divine humanity, though both within the Godhead and equally divine therefore, are yet not equal in their divinity, [the Spirit of truth, representing and being the divinity as it is of the truth, and the Son of man the same divinity as it is in humanity.] This makes the oneness, and at the same time the distinctness and difference in their natures. This would make them differ as the truth differs from humanity. It is the divine humanity alone that can act as the remedy for the disease of human nature, and as the means of renewing a corrupted humanity and making it holy

and divine. In the nature of the case the only remedy for the diseased humanity, is its baptism in the humanity which is divine—its vivification by the engrafting it anew into the original stock from which by sin it had been broken off. Only through a fresh infusion of life from its original source can it be renewed in righteousness after the image of that divine humanity which created it. The regeneration can come from no source but that of the original generation. But that does not prevent the necessity of other influences, and agencies, and operations. In order to regenerate the heart of man, the regenerating principle must gain entrance into it. For this it is dependent upon coöperative and counterpart agencies conspiring to the same end, but having in themselves no power or adaptation to accomplish it.

What is requisite and what happens, and resides not in the divine humanity in its own proper nature, is a power to open the eyes of the totally blinded by sin, to predispose and enable the ear, so long deaf to the music of truth and virtue, to hear,—to prepare the soil for the reception of the seed. This certainly resides not in the seed, though without it no growth and no crop is possible. There is a subjective work necessary to be performed, a work that lies not within the province of the divine humanity as such.

The subject himself has got something to do, as an entirely passive subject or as a mere *patient*. As a mere patient, persisting in his attitude of mere passivity or capacity to be acted upon, he can never be cured, though by his own action he can never cure himself, yet it is equally true that without action of his own, and that timely and appropriate, he can never be cured by any action or agency of any other or of anything else upon himself. Now this action of the subject, which is necessary to His cure, is certainly not that of the divine humanity—it is not divine in any sense. For it is his own, and he is not, neither is there any thing within him that is divine or clothed with any divine virtue or energy. But a divine agency

is necessary to be exerted upon him in order to induce him to act appropriately and effectively with reference to his own cure.

The case is clearly stated; the work in its compartment and counterparts is clearly set before us in the words of Christ Himself. God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. Faith, the receptive state and act, is as necessary on the part of the sinner, as the provision of the sovereign remedy on the part of the physician. No cure without faith. The sinner refusing to believe, refusing to receive and trust in and apply the remedy, is just as surely lost; just as surely perishes as though no remedy had been provided, or as though it had been good-for-nothing, an imposture, and a deceit. Now the work of the Spirit of truth—the other Paraclete—is in this light made clearly manifest—it is to bring it about that the patient shall believe, shall accept and welcome the remedy, and hasten to apply it with joy, and glad and grateful hope and expectation of a cure in his heart. To effect this is the special work of the Spirit of Truth. Without the remedy provided in the Incarnation, no hope, or help, or possibility of cure for the sin-sick soul. But He must believe. Without faith no cure any more than without the incarnation, and without the Holy Spirit —the influences of the Spirit of truth on the heart of the sinner, preparing, predisposing, and enabling him to believe, *no faith*, and without faith no salvation. Therefore, without the Spirit of truth no salvation any more than without the Incarnation of the Redeemer. It may be difficult for us to see how the two offices are necessarily distinct; how the one cannot run into the other and the two thus become one; yet, nevertheless, so it is. They are as distinct in their work as in their nature; as distinct in the part they respectively perform in the work of redemption as in the places they hold in the unity of the Godhead. The Godhead is not complete without both of them, so neither is the work of redemption, without the work of each. It may be said,

perhaps, that the agency of the Spirit is necessary in order to bring the subject fairly within the sphere of the strictly redeeming or renewing agency. A work equivalent to a new creation; a strictly divine work must be performed upon the instrumental faculties of the human soul. There must be a real renewal there before the soul can be properly receptive of the strictly redemptive, renewing and transforming agency. A part, a preliminary and preparatory part of the work, must be performed upon the instrumental faculties or constitutional susceptibilities, before the heart, the seat of life can be reached by that which is indeed the life—and by which alone life can be produced within. Truth in the form of life is one thing, and truth in the form of thought, and perception, and intellectual vitalities is another thing; so there must be something like true intellectual vitality produced in the soul. There must be the eye capable of the reception of spiritual truth; there must be knowledge and perception of truth enough to awaken the feeling of need and the sense of guilt, or the cry for redemption can never go up from the soul. Then the knowledge, the news of a remedy is welcome; the soul springs forward to meet it and avail itself of it. But we must pause. The subject is profound beyond the reach of our faculties, and we are made the more sensible of this the more we exercise them upon it. Besides we have not done with it when this verse is disposed of to the best of our ability, but it occurs again and again in the sequel, to which we leave it.

17. Even the Spirit of Truth whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him, but ye know Him, for He dwelleth with you and shall be in you.

This it seems to me sounds like a very full disclosure of the inner truth on this subject. It seems as though it was intended to open the avenues, through which our minds can regain access to the heart of this great mystery of redemption, so far as it is accessible to us at all.

The contrast here is between the world and the disciples.

Although these latter are in a condition of darkness, and in so far representatives of the natural vision, and although with all the light that has fallen upon them, they have but very inadequate perceptions of the things of the Spirit of God,—although, we repeat, their power of spiritual discernment is feeble, yet they possess the faculty and are not wholly destitute of moral and intellectual receptivity regarding the Spirit, and in this respect Christ contrasts their condition with that of the world, which He says is wholly incapable of receiving the Spirit, and wholly insusceptible of being savingly wrought upon byHim.

Now plainly it is in a special sense that the term world is here intended to be taken. Certainly not in the ordinary and general sense, as indicating that humanity for the salvation of which the divine humanity became incarnate and was sent into the world. God would not have so loved such a world as that, as to send His only-begotten Son into it that it might be redeemed through Him. The world which Christ came to save is certainly not one answering to the description which Christ here gives. He came to save a world that was capable of receiving the Spirit of Truth. For a world not capable of that would be wholly reprobate and beyond the reach of divine remedies. There are within the magazine of the divine power and skill no remedies potent enough to reach a soul that is so far gone as to be incapable of being the subject of the influence of this Spirit of truth. The reprobate world is therefore what He meant.

That portion of those to whom the messages of divine mercy are sent, which is so utterly dead in trespasses and sins, so completely corrupted and enslaved by the lusts of the flesh, as not to have left within it any spark or germ of the humanity which distinguishes a man from a beast and makes him a man.

He, the other Paraclete, He describes as that Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive.

When the humanity is all gone out of a man and genuine human instincts, desires and longings stir his breast no longer,

and when the world has entered in and taken its place, the world may be said to act for him. His acts are the acts of the spirit of the world, which is the only spirit now acting or even existing within him. The world is not merely dominant within him, but it is himself—there is nothing in him, so far as he is not a mere brute, but that. The spirit of the world is all there is in him to distinguish him from a brute. That is the description of the world—one of the condition of this man in whom humanity is so dead, and the spirit of the world so living, so quick, and so powerful, that he is the proper representative of the world spirit, which takes possession of a man through the corrupting power of the lusts of the flesh; the true spirit of humanity has all been eaten out of him, and there is nothing left but a disgusting and malignant shell of animalism. He says further of it, that it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him, (*but ye know Him, for He dwelleth with you and shall be in you.* The reprobate man of the world has no organ by which it can see Him or any means whatever of knowing Him.

Now evidently the organ and the means of moral and spiritual knowledge to which Jesus refers, as being wanting in the breast of such a man, is the CONSCIENCE. The more we reflect upon it, the more impressed we are with the feeling that it is the conscience to which He refers. The language also, it seems to me, points unmistakably to the work of the conscience in the breast of man, and also and especially to the fact which is matter of present concern here, that the business of the Spirit of truth is with the conscience. With this He deals, in this He dwells, and through this He accomplishes His works. The work which the Spirit does in a man, as preparatory to his reception of Christ, is done in and through his conscience. Through it He awakens him. Rather He awakens him by awakening his conscience, by making that active and powerful within him, compelling it to speak to him with a voice which he must hear and which he cannot hear without feeling an inward disturbance of his carnal peace and security. In the light of this conscience, as

awakened by the Spirit, he cannot but have some glimpses into the reality of his spiritual condition, character, and wants before God. And under this light he cannot but have more or less alarm, and fear, and remorse awakened within him. In these feelings, in this inward disturbance, in these insights into his real condition, character and wants, as a man, and a sinner consists substantially the preparatory work of the Spirit.

By the very significant and impressive language He dwelleth with you and shall be in you, it seems to me evident that he means to speak of the conscience as it is habitually in the mind of the renewed and spiritual man. He not only has such a faculty, there is not only such a thing as a conscience actual and operative within him and making him the proper subject of spiritual influences, but it is in normal and vigorous action, it is not only there as an extant and recognizable organ of the soul ready to be acted upon and to be called into action, but its habitual condition is one of perpetual activity. The vitalizing, and invigorating and restoring presence of the Spirit abides permanently in it, and is the immanent source and support of its vitality and its power. It is not only there but it performs its function, it does its work. It keeps the moral susceptibilities and faculties of the soul in a state of constant, and vigorous and healthy activity. This is the office of the Spirit, an office which, in the renewed man, is fully performed. But in the man in whom the conscience is dead, in whom the organ does not exist, He certainly cannot dwell, He cannot discharge the duty of His office of Paraclete.

In the reprobate sinner the difficulty in the conscience is organic, and it amounts to the actual death of the organ. Just as a man who is totally blind from organic disease of the eye is incurable, and he can no more be made to see than though the eye were not one of the members of his bodily organization.

In the ordinary sinner the disease and the difficulty in the conscience is merely functional. It is susceptible of entire re-

covery by the use of the proper means—and that proper means—the natural and the infallible remedy is the indwelling and influence of the Spirit of truth.

By the conscience is meant the power of moral and spiritual self-consciousness. It is the power of self-instruction and self-knowledge within the man. The light in which he becomes conscious of his moral and responsible relations to God and his fellow-men, to law, to truth, and to duty. It reveals to him his responsible standing with reference to the law of the Spirit and that righteousness which is the life of the Spirit, the principles of spiritual life and of the immortality of the soul.

It is peaceful and approving in so far as in the light of it he finds his responsible free will in harmony with the law of righteousness: but accusing, and condemning and tormenting in so far as he finds himself at variance with the law of the Spirit and under the law of sin and death. In proportion as he finds himself spiritually-minded he has peace, and no terrors of wrath, or of fear or of self-condemnation enter to disturb the holy, divine and self-approving calm of his spirit. But in so far as he finds in the light of conscience that he is carnally-minded and in bondage to the law of sin and death his breast is the abode of terror, of distress and anguish, and fearful apprehensions and forebodings of wrath and of the revelation of the righteous judgments of God. Without doubt as the Holy Spirit has a special field and function of its own within the Godhead so has it a special field in the nature of man, parts and organs of his nature which are assigned to its special care and belonging to its special province according to His own inherent nature and office in the Godhead. In the nature and constitution of man that field is the conscience. Within it and by means of it He works as Paraclete. His special part in the working of the soul's redemption lies in this field; with this it has specially to do; to awaken it when it is dormant, to invigorate it when it is languid, and make it the sensorium of

the soul, and quick and sensitive to respond to every notice which it receives of the condition of the soul, the spiritual thermometer, which records with instant quickness and with infallible accuracy marks and records the variations in the temperature of the moral nature and the indications of the degrees of moral health and soundness in the spiritual sensibilities.

It is sovereign within its own field, as the divine humanity within His, and within its own province nothing can be proof against it except death. It cannot create a conscience where the faculty has wholly died out; but everything short of that it can do. It can create spiritual sensibilities where to human view conscience has been long dead, and kindle into a glowing and enduring flame sparks amid the soul's dead ashes which only His breath could have quickened and saved from utter extinction.

This reprobate conscience which the Redeemer here makes distinct reference to under the name of the world, which was utterly incapable of receiving the Spirit of Truth and therefore beyond the reach of redemption, was no hypothetical case brought in merely to point an antithesis and give the force of contrast. It was not merely supposable as a matter of theory, or possible to happen as a matter of fact, but it was actual, and existed in concrete and most terrible reality at the very moment when He was speaking, and gave to His own view the most terrific emphasis to the language and the situation. It was that preternatural development of human depravity in the Judaism of that day that had brought matters thus far, that had thirsted for His blood and that would enjoy the Satanic delight of imbuing its hands with it before the shadows of another night should have again shrouded the earth. They were not to expect that though another Comforter should come with transforming light and power into their hearts, and create a new heavens and a new earth and make all things new for them, it would have any effect upon the Scribes and Pharisees, the ruling and dominant element of the nation, and that under the name of religion and

in the garb of sanctity, and under the pretence of the public peace and safety was ruling the mind of the nation with despotic and iron-handed sway. It is not, therefore, necessary to go far to find the original and the reality of that reprobate mind that is so vividly flashed upon us in this single allusion in this farewell address.

Paul has with a few master-strokes of his inspired pencil given us their portrait, portrayed the character as it revealed itself not merely in the Heaven-daring act of injustice, cruelty, and hypocrisy which crucified the Son of God the following day, but as the early Church was made acquainted with it in the terrible persecutions by which it undertook to strangle the new faith in its cradle. He says to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14, "For ye brethren became followers of the Churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus; for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen even as they have of the Jews, who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always; for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost." [That extremest manifestation and infliction of the divine anger against sin, a mind utterly reprobate, a conscience seared as with a hot iron, proof against the utmost power of the Holy Spirit to quicken the conscience or awaken the least spark of religious or moral sensibility in the moral nature.]

It should not be overlooked in our survey of these verses, so pregnant with manifold meanings, that it is impossible even to allude to them all within any allowable compass, that He makes the abode of the Spirit when once with His divinely enlightening, and transforming power, He has come to them a permanent thing. Sends Him not merely to meet the exigencies of the emergent occasion, and to afford occasional and temporary aid and assistance as circumstances might require. I shall send Him, He says, to abide with *you forever*. It is God's abiding gift to

His Church, never to be withdrawn, inasmuch as the need of it is enduring, and its power to live, to grow and triumph through all the ages and in all its exigencies alike.

Its presence and its aid is henceforth to be not occasional and functional, but constant, abiding, and organic. It is to enter into the very life of the conscience, not for its occasional enlightening, quickening and invigoration, to help it on occasions and in special straits, and then when the emergency is past to be withdrawn and abide no longer with them. Nothing can be further from the intent and import and scope of the promise. It takes within its scope the entire life of the Church. It becomes not so much the life of the Church's conscience henceforth, but the conscience itself of the Church. So that in strictness of meaning and of speech the Holy Ghost *is* the conscience of the Church, and she has no other. All that is natural in the faculty is merged in the supernatural; all that is merely human and creaturely in the divine and creative. As the divine humanity of Jesus becomes henceforth the type of the life of her entire humanity, making her as to her humanity throughout divine, so the Spirit of truth in His special province of the conscience and the intellectual perceptions, becomes the life of its life. And thus virtually it is itself, in its own individual power, and right, and operation, and indwelling, the reality of the conscience. It is that in virtue of which we view our duties and relations, our needs and our natures, from a strictly divine point of view. He is thus enabled to be our absolute guide in regard to all truth and lead us into all the truth, especially into all that which relates to the office and work of Christ in our redemption. He becomes that master light, in which we see His face. For a strictly finite point of view, surely cannot be adequate with reference to this—the revelation to our hearts of the full face and entire nature of our Lord in all its features, and all in their due proportion, so that the face shall be perfectly symmetrical, and express to us the unclouded, and the minute and ravishing beauty of the Lord. How through the light of

any merely human faculties, through the truth as reflected from any merely human and finite point of view, are our consciences to become a glass with its surface so absolutely smooth and even and free from mist, or stain, or obstruction, that looking into them we shall have a perfect view of the glory of the Lord—so that beholding Him without glass, the glory, the perfect beauty, the exact lineaments of the divine original and pattern of our human nature, shall be changed into the same image, from glory to glory?

The importance of this view cannot be exaggerated. If the only means by which our natures are to be transformed from the image of the earthly to that of the divine and heavenly, is the view of the glory of the Lord Jesus—His real nature and character as the divine in the human and human in the divine—as reflected upon our minds in the mirror of our own conscience, then what can be so necessary as absolute truth, divine light, and divine and living power in the conscience? What that is less perfect, as an expression and revelation of the truth than the Spirit of truth Himself, can form a mirror sufficiently perfect to reflect such an image—and to reflect it in all its features and due proportions of light and shade to form a perfect, a soul-ravishing, and soul-transforming picture of that divine humanity into the perfect image of which it is the design of God, in the Incarnation, to transform our souls.

If the whole shape, texture, proportion, color and tone of our renewed humanity is to be taken from that living picture standing ever in clear outline in the light of the conscience, how absolutely essential it is that there should be no flaws, inequalities or obscurities in that glass, but that it should be divinely enlightened and purified, that no other than the Holy Ghost Himself should be the light of its light, the life of its life, Otherwise most assuredly the effort must entirely fail, or if there be any it must be a distorted and a deformed humanity in us, for the copy cannot excel its original, the image cannot be more perfect than its model. But the grand consideration is,

the grand difficulty lies in this that a deformed, distorted picture, a glory that is not the true glory, a character that is not the true character of our humanity must wholly fail in its power to charm and enrapture and transform our souls. The image presented must not only be beautiful, but it must be the beauty of our true humanity or it fails in its power to attract and win and charm and transform. Nothing but the original of our true humanity as it is in the person of Christ Jesus the God-man can have any such renewing and transforming power upon our souls.

Let it be anything else, and how beautiful soever it matters not, it is not the true beauty for us. It may have a charm, but it must be a superficial, a temporary one. It cannot abide, it cannot satisfy, it cannot work incessantly and internally, and grow more and more beautiful and charming in our eyes, and be the more transforming in its effects upon us, unless it be in very deed our true humanity in its divine and eternal original. This alone has power to penetrate the soul to its depths, to stir it to its bottom with unutterable desires after conformity to it.

And none but the Spirit of truth itself has the power to reflect and present this image and make it vivid to our spiritual senses and a divine and living, and ever present, and ever active and operative power upon our souls. In His hands it ceases to be an abstraction, a metaphysical speculation, a logical formula, too often a paradox, an absurdity and a verbal nonentity to our understandings, and surnamed a mystery. In His hands, I say, the image of the Incarnate Son of man is no longer this, but it becomes the most real of all realities, the most substantial and veritable of all verities, the most vital and most congenial, the most soul-subduing and transforming of all forces. It becomes thenceforth the one abiding, controlling force. Its work never ceases, but its destiny and its nature is to go on conquering and to conquer until the whole man and the whole world is subdued and all its powers and faculties of the new creature in Christ but become the faculties and

tributaries, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. It seems to me that this is a somewhat adequate view of the office and work of the second paraclete, the Holy Ghost, and quite in the spirit of the divine representation from which we have drawn it.

Art. IV.—THE SAVING INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY REV. F. FOX.

The blessings which Religion enjoys under our Republican form of Government are so numerous and glorious, that it behooves us as a loyal people and true patriots to prove ourselves worthy of the great Trust committed to our care, and in future maintain intact the glorious freedom enjoyed by these United States of America! This Religion has in return exerted the most blessed influences upon the public; and it is *these* we desire briefly to review.

There are and have been other Republics in the world than that of these United States. The Republic of France, lately established, is about as populous as the American, but too young to determine its future destiny. The former experiments of this nation at a Republican form of Government, have failed, because France was proud, it was hopelessly materialistic—it substituted license for law, and wickedness for godliness, prostitution for religion, and the Devil for the Holy and Almighty God of heaven! It fell; and so low it sank in moral degradation, that its vaunted freedom resolved in bloody anarchy. Cursed is the nation that forgets God! The Swiss Republic is

older than the American, but compared with the broad expanse of the latter, like an ocean island, or a bird's nest perched upon some inaccessible mountain peak or ensconced securely in some untrodden rock-ravine, sheltered against fire and tempest by nature's battlements. As in the days of Austria's tyranny, Switzerland's snow-capped Alps and threatening mountain passes proved mighty helps to freedom, so has the geographical position of this small land, in the midst of modern monarchy and greed for conquest of neighboring powers, maintained its government and identity as a people.

But we think there are signs appearing on the political sky of Switzerland, that portend not good for that country. Switzerland is apostatizing from the living God. Prussia has her secret civil engineers everywhere, espying out the land; and the Swiss Republic may yet, at no remote day, be absorbed by the great Empire of Germany! The Dutch Republic and the Spanish lived and died and are no more. The ancient Republics of Greece and Rome, though illustrious and mighty, were short-lived and died in ignominy. And before this array of births and deaths of Republican forms of Government in the world, may we not ask: wherefore this instability of freedom of the former, and whence the glory and permanency of our American Republic? The answer lies in the Psalmist's teachings, when he says: The wicked shall be turned into hell and all the nations that forget God. Ps. ix. 17. And: Blessed is the man that maketh the Lord his trust. Ps. xl. 4. Yea, is it not the *Truth of God*, in which this Republic was established, at the first, freedom from civil and religious tyranny, the right of self-rule and honest and hearty worship of Almighty God, in Jesus Christ, the Lord, that has also preserved this nation hitherto?—these hundred years?—and that at this Centennial Year, it looms up, before the nations of the world, as the glory of all the earth!

There are other Republics on this American Continent, and

there are other large portions of inhabitable land in the world, but to none other, in so short a space of time, than these United States, have flocked by the hundred thousands, from all lands and nations, both good and bad, rich and more the poor, to seek and find an asylum from oppression at home, and a field of labor for the diligent hand, and bread enough for the hungry mouth, and above all else, the *right* to worship God according to the dictates of each one's own conscience! All the riches of Mexico, with its boasted freedom, form no attractive power to the other nations of the earth. Its mongrel population of the adventurous Spaniard and warrior Indian, or even the servile Negro intermixed with both, form this envious nation, until lately inhospitable to other nationalities, and bound in chains of religious bigotry, is semi-civilized; and in material prosperity only beginning the march of progress. And not until the *Truth, as it is in Jesus Christ, the Lord*, has made Mexico free also, as are these United States, may we claim for her the Republican, as the divinely ordained form of Government, an honor to her sister Republic, sharing with her the more than imperial title: "Land of the free and home of the brave!" "The truth shall make you free." John viii. 32.

These words of the blessed Saviour have been gloriously fulfilled in the history of this American nation, during the last hundred years; or to the saving influence of Christianity, or God, is due the glory of our Republic. Praise the Lord!

Owing to the independent relation of Church and State in America, Christianity has had a fair opportunity to prove itself the religion of freedom from sin, and every kind of tyranny and oppression, and the great regenerator and elevator of the world. What it has required other lands and nations, a thousand years to attain has here been accomplished more largely and successfully in a hundred. As is the American nation pre-eminently Christian, so is their country emphatically the model theatre of Christian activity. Of course, America is not Paradise, but

neither is any other country—there is no more Paradise on earth anywhere. Owing to our nation's youth and necessary material activity, and influx of heterogeneous elements from abroad, by immigration, much remains yet to be accomplished, morally, spiritually, intellectually, ere we shall have reached the full measure of development as a nation of freemen! We are thankful to God for the good accomplished thus far, and the blessed freedom enjoyed by us, and all who in this broad land seek refuge from home oppression, and comfort for body and soul. Much of this good we attribute to the hallowed influence of the Christian Religion.

Of the eleven million communicant Christians in the United States, not to mention the still greater number of baptized, and many believing young persons and children attending Sabbath-School, making all due allowance, in the enumeration of this army of the Lord, by immigration from foreign lands, yet of these millions, how many are the immediate product of the enlightening, regenerating and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, as operative in His blessed work of salvation, in the means of grace, in the American Church! And it is not among the poor, in the humble walks of life only, as the illiterate, but by Presidents, senators and statesmen, philosophers, poets and scholars—artisans, merchants, soldiers and farmers, the religion of Jesus is owned, honored and professed as the power of salvation unto many. Was there ever a greater, more general, more thorough, more liberal and more glorious missionary work accomplished, in so short a space of time, in the history of Christianity, than in the history of America, for America, during the past hundred years? We think none! Let the infidel sneer at this statement and assertion; facts are stubborn things; to these we appeal; to the statistics of the Christian Church in America,—its small beginning at the time of the Revolution—its gradual and steady growth, its present host of illustrious professors with their exemplary intelligence,

zeal and liberality, a marvel in history and a glory to God on high! When the last Evangelical Alliance met in New York City, composed of most learned and godly representatives from all Protestant Christendom of Europe and other lands, they admired our material progress in the building of large cities, extended commerce, inexhaustible natural resources, our ingenious mechanical skill and restless enterprise; and American character as foremost in every sphere of activity, but above all—*American Christianity!* Books and religious periodicals teem with laudations of the mighty and glorious work of salvation accomplished by the Church of the living God, in this land!

And what does infidelity testify in public harangues, through its blasphemous press—in its street gossip and saloon brawls, than that there is too much religion in America, "too many priests," too many rich and noble, too many mighty and wise, professed followers of the despised "Nazarene!" There is too much religion in America for the godless and wicked. Oh may there never be less and still more in the future.

Thus, while the higher classes in America, honor alike with the humbler our holy religion, it is a distinguishing characteristic of the American Church, that to the poor *the Gospel* is preached, and *well, earnestly, successfully!* In heathen lands, knowledge and religion are the special property of the upper classes. In monarchical countries the aristocracy principally preach the word and govern the Church. America's glory, as in the State, so in the Church, as in the days of Apostles, not unfrequently is: that fullers, shoemakers, tanners, tailors, carpenters, farmers, laborers, preach the everlasting Gospel to the multitudes, to raise the fallen, to cheer the blind, to heal the spiritually sick, and resurrect from the death of soul sinners bad by nature and worse by practice! The influence exerted for holiness by the laity of the American Church is invaluable. The unpractical foreign religionist hearing for the first time the Methodist local preacher, on the Sabbath-day, teaching our

holy religion, and exhorting a congregation of hundreds of fellow-townsmen to holiness, seems to him incredible. He remembers from his reading of Christian biography, how now and then a person of humble birth, and station in life, was elevated to a position of influence; how the poor miner's son—Martin Luther—became the great Reformer, and Young Stilling—the tailor boy—the famous physician and Christian scholar—but that so many Christian farmers and mechanics, should pretend to be teachers and preachers of the world of God, is a marvel! But herein is American Christianity superior; as it is free, it is bold, aggressive, earnest, zealous! And here is illustrated the saying: "*One* is your Master, and *ye* are brethren." "And he hath made *us kings* and priests unto God, and His Father." The American Christian, as he is a freeman, is he a king; as He is a believer in the Lord Jesus, is he a priest!

As the religious character of the Christian poor, has thus been elevated to a comparative equality with the rich, also the material and temporal condition of this class has largely been meliorated. The Christian charity, which this nation dispenses and has exhibited during the last century, is truly astonishing in the establishment of poor-houses, orphan-asylums, widows' homes, churches, colleges, and all manner of relief, religious, educational and protective associations, too numerous to name, not only for bodily comfort and mental culture, but likewise for spiritual peace, and the soul's salvation! And what the Church as an organization omits, or is unable to accomplish in this respect, the numerous secret benevolent orders in the land, founded on the Master's great command: "Love thy neighbor as thyself," complement and supply, by a parallel system of generous, praiseworthy, beneficence. If it were not for the occasional frauds among the poor, shaking human confidence and hardening human sympathy, no man in America would need to want for daily bread. So ample are the provisions for the bodily comfort of the unfortunate, naked

and hungry. If anywhere, it is here, where the true intent of God's word is understood and practiced: James i. 27. Pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father is this: To visit the fatherless, and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." We do not say to our poor: Go and be fed, be ye clothed. We take pleasure in doing both with our own hands and means, systematically, constantly, generously, freely, from pure love to our fellow-men, as our brethren according to the flesh, and joint-heirs of heaven by the glorious faith in Jesus Christ! To see and painfully feel the difference in this respect, between most foreign nations and ours, you must go abroad and there witness the starving, wretched caravan of paupers in other lands, piteously crying for food and raiment, for shelter, for home comforts and the enlightening benefits of civilization, but in numerous cases receiving neither. Truly America is the poor man's paradise. Let him not forget this; and as once stood the angel of the Lord, with flaming sword in hand at the gates of Paradise, to prevent fallen man, and wicked Satan from a return to its hallowed bowers, to pollute them, so let him ever be found armed with the love of liberty and devotion to America, to preserve them intact an asylum, and home for generations yet unborn in this and other lands.

Another saving influence of Christianity appears still more strikingly in the *American Christian family life.* I freely assert, there is no Christian country in which there are so many praying families, who as parents, children and servants have erected in their humble or lofty home, an altar of prayer, a shrine of pious devotion, where daily God's word is read for instruction in the way of life—confession of sin made—almighty God asked for pardon and peace; and where praise and thanksgiving are offered to our heavenly Father! And yet some would doubt whether this is a Christian nation. If every heathen has his shrine of idolatrous devotion in lowly hovels,

ought not every Christian family, at least, have arranged a mercy-seat within its communion?

Again, in America, woman has found her true position in all the relations of life. In heathenism, woman was never, and is not now, co-ordinate to man, but ever and always inferior; now the slave of mere lust and again the beast of burden. And let me tell you, it is not only in heathen lands, where this female inferiority theory abounds; some boastful civilized lords of creation, having luckily nothing else to rule, but rule their wives with the severity of a task-master. The law-book of the proud and learned Hindoos, teaches, "that the wife is dependent on her father, her husband, her sons, her nearest male relations, and must never govern herself. And if the life of the husband be depraved and he live in illicit love with other women, she must never remonstrate, but honor that adulterer as her God!" Among the Chinese, the birth of a girl is a family calamity, and not a few of them are killed at birth. Among Mohammedans, the husband may have four wives and as many more concubines as he is able to support, none daring to remonstrate, and all the bonded slaves of lust in harems and dark, stupid, concealment. We hope the provinces now in battle array against Turkey, will carve well that slothful bird of proud pretensions, and consume bone and all, and not only secure their own Christian freedom, but unlock the prison door of woman's long captivity under Islam's rule, and restore to her, her God-given heirship of free, honored, useful helpmeet to man! Christianity alone, not even Judaism, much less heathenism or infidelity, has restored woman to her normal position and relation in the world. Is it therefore a wonder, so many true, hearty, zealous disciples of the Lord Jesus, are found among the female sex in every Christian country? By woman salvation has come into the world—to her was preached the glad tidings of peace alike with man—she was Jesus' friend and comforter, when the stronger sex fainted.

She was last under the cross and first at the grave of the blessed and risen Lord! and hence the Apostle teaches: "In Christ there is neither husband nor wife;" and "the woman is the glory of a man." Henceforth is the wife of the Christian man, his joy and glory, the faithful mother of children, the precious gem and invaluable diamond of his precious household treasure; her Christian daughters, the servants in the house of the Lord, and the sisters of mercy in every time of need. At this spectacle, even a prominent ancient heathen exclaimed: "Oh, what wives these Christians have." And the intelligent foreigner, now traveling through these United States, visiting and enjoying the superior comforts of American Christian homes, is surprised at the many virtues that characterize our Christian wives and mothers, their general intelligence, their cleanliness in their own persons, the sprightliness of their children, their orderly households, their piety and their diligence as a class. There is no rule without exception. But compared with foreign countries, the American woman and Christian mother, is undoubtedly a model in many ways. I attribute this superiority to the elevating influences of Christianity, as the truly enlightening and purifying power in the world. "Cleanliness is next to godliness," and "godliness is profitable unto all things."

In a well-organized American family, also the children occupy a superior position, as the hope of the future Church and State. The servant, though a mere laborer, feels that he is yet a freeman, and must be honored for his manhood's, his works', his citizenship's sake, as an American, according to Bible teachings: "In Christ there is neither bond nor free." There was a time, and not long ago, when one portion of humanity in this land, held the other in servile bondage and misery, but that evil has been corrected and bitterly atoned for by a mountain of gold and hecatombs of human lives. And at this Centennial Jubilee, let us reverently and gratefully remember

the slain patriots, who fell a sacrifice to freedom, and sleep in death on this Union's "thousand battle-fields!" The slave also is free! In Europe, not unfrequently, the servant though not a slave, is maltreated besides his nominal remuneration for hard work and wearisome toil. In America, both Law and Gospel, boldly rebuke and severely punish every insult and abuse of the honest laborer. In evidence of all this we point to the thousands of foreigners who came to this land, not only to find bread and a home, but to enjoy that respect from their fellow-men, which their many virtues as honest, laboring men and women did not receive in their native homes. Poor laboring man of America, never forget to honor the land that has ever honored you! And American capitalists and masters, remember God's word which says: Col. iv. 1, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven."

The wholesome Christian influence exerted upon the general government in these United States, from the first, is remarkable. And though there is no provision made in the national constitution, recognizing any religion or God, we are told that this omission was not the result of enmity to any faith or worship, but rather out of profound respect for the great dignity of the Lord Jesus Christ and His holy religion, as too excellent to be thus, in a very imperfect manner, allied to an instrument of human device, and for temporal happiness, yet is the genius of this government Christian. To this the Christian prayers offered in the National Congress, in the various State Legislatures, and our military academies testify. Chaplains are appointed and sustained for the army and navy by the national government. Our Sabbath-day is legally secured and generally worthily observed; and all the infidel blasts against the Centennial Commissioners, did not shake that noble body of *good* American citizens from its *lawful, patriotic, Christian* resolution: "The American Centennial World's Exhibition shall be

closed on the Lord's day." National fast and thanksgiving days are fixed by law and regularly announced by Presidents and Governors. The Christian and Christian-like regard by our law-makers and executives of the same, for the Christian conscience and Christianity's holy rights, the moral tone of the public press, and readiness to aid the cause of true religion and benevolence by dignified accounts and notices of the Gospel cause in the Land, testify to the same position. Any *respectable* American journal is ashamed to traduce and wickedly malign the holy religion of Jesus as the nation's law! and slander the Lord's honored, self-denying servants, as "ignorizing," "debasing," "priests" and "cheats." That dirty work is largely performed by the imported would-be superior lights escaping from the miasmic bogs and marshes of a semi-heathen civilization of parts of Europe, where Christianity is the professed religion of the State, but the State is not Christian as much as is America without such hypocritical professions!

Look again! The Christian principle of a common brotherhood of mankind is exemplified in these United States, as nowhere else: All nationalities, colors and tongues have here found a free home, honor and protection, in person, property, and the common pursuits of life. The foreigner has even been invited and welcomed to share this freedom and general prosperity of this land. But not only as a father cares for the material welfare of his offspring, did this nation provide for the stranger; above all have the enlightening influences of our holy religion been exerted upon him, and *savingly*, to many! The German Turner who thought it an easy matter, when coming to America, to pervert his countrymen en masse, from the faith of their fathers, finds himself confronted, on every hand, with the professors of Luther's, Melanchthon's and Zwingli's faith and righteousness in the million German Christians in America! and thousands of imposing, costly, spacious and *crowded* houses of German Christian worshipers in these United States! Little

band of thirteen thousand German Turners in all America, with immorality for its principles, folly for its practice, and carnalization of the world for its aim—conglomeration of living revolutionists, escaped convicts, hypocritical communists, saloon kings, apostate Jews and literary mountebanks, will that revolutionize American Christianity? Infidel Turner, let your grandsire, the monkey, henceforth do the turning and the frog your boasted singing, they are your models and your peers. America has no need of you! It is base ingratitude, is is treason to seek to infidelize this nation, that was founded in Christian faith, and has prospered in righteousness these hundred years, and thus ensure and hasten the ruin of this Republic and endanger her civil freedom, when generously, graciously, she opens her gates wide and offers an asylum and refuge for all who may need or seek to clothe their nakedness and shame with the sacred folds of her star-striped banner of liberty and happiness to man, and honor and glory to God!

Shall I speak of the influence which Christianity has exertep upon the intellectual culture of this nation? Its numerous and well-endowed institutions of learning, secular and religious, founded and maintained by Christian liberality, and mostly superintended by sound Christian educators—even by ministers of the Gospel! Many of the teachers of these institutions, male and female, are earnest Christians. They are scholars, and compare favorably with the teaching force of Europe, and as a class, surpass it in good morality and sound, intelligent, undoubted orthodoxy. To illustrate: When a boy, I had two teachers, in Europe, appointed by the State, who were both intemperate. Where is there a drunkard allowed as a teacher of Public Schools in all America? A notorious drunkard, the notorious Strauss, who wrote that most dangerous of books: "The Life of Jesus," was a a professor of theology in Switzerland, and the State supporting him, continued thus, until the Christian farmers of Zurich dismissed that blasphemer at the

point of the pitch-fork! Who of German and American scholars does not know of the ruinous teachings of German rationalists in that country's universities, sustained by the civil government and ignorantly upheld by the people for a time. Nothing of the kind ever takes place in American Christianity or schools of learning. "As Spiritualism evaporates in free love, so does infidelity seek refuge in the saloon and theatre."

And as are the faculties of institutions, so are the students, moral, religious; though not unfrequently young in years, yet gentlemen in behaviour! In not a few of our Colleges, God's word is daily read, a hymn sung, and prayer offered, by a member of the faculty, in a consecrated hall, and God in Christ, worshiped by all the members of the institution, on the Sabbath-day. Intemperance and blasphemy are especially forbidden as dishonorable and disgraceful to an *American citizen!*

Time does not permit to speak of the influence Christianity has exerted upon the productions of these minds thus *normally* cultured. Their works of art, their literature and science, their oratory and poetry! Their name is legion, and their labors glorious, exhibiting America not only as a nation of freemen, but also a land of scholars, of good men, and the home of the blessed religion of Jesus, in the heads and hearts of millions! Not the growth of centuries, but the fruit of one hundred years, all told, not reaping simply the harvest of others' seed-time, but cultivating the virgin soil, first producing the seed, sowing, cultivating and harvesting, by toil and hardship, and all begun in a wilderness, an hundred years ago! This has America accomplished with the help of God. The Truth, as it is in the Son of God, has made her free, mighty, great, happy and glorious!

This same Truth is able to preserve our civil freedom and Christian religion to us. Let us accept of this Truth in our hearts, cherish it in our lives, profess it with our lips, exhibit it in our daily walk and conversation, and communicate it unto others, until the world shall be filled with its power as is heaven with its glory! The Truth shall make you free!

Art. V.—MIDDLESPRING CHURCH.

A Poem delivered at the Church's Celebration of our National Centennial, June 16, 1876.

BY PROF. WILLIAM M. NEVIN.

To thy blest shades once more do we return,
Sweet Middlespring, but not as erst* to mourn.
No walls condemn'd, no aged trees decay'd,
No church fore-doom'd is here to be survey'd,
But wide the scene, through zeal of later years,
Of bright improvement the fresh beauty wears;
And nature, now advanc'd to summer's prime,
Shows not the scath but the rich flush of time;
To appear forlorn, before this joyful throng,
On this bright day would be obtrusive wrong.
Yet even now of olden times to tell,
Though not in sorrow, do we think it well;
For serve will such rehearsal not to alloy
But rather to enhance our present joy.
Our onward course still rightly to pursue,
'Tis well sometimes to cast a backward view;
Old modes may pass, new fashions be put on,
Still from the old are sagest maxims drawn.
New strength is had, the brightest lustre cast
From dwelling fondly on the faded past;
Like as the moon, no longer on the wane
But on the increase, her previous glow to gain,
Night after night, to reach her highest charms,
Still fondly bears the old moon in her arms.

Stood here in former days a church of stone,
In its own grandeur, solitary, lone.
Its walls compact and strong, as of a fort,
With dangerous times, late past, did well comport.

* In allusion to a Monody written on revisiting the old Stone Church a short time before it was taken down—May, 1847.

From their freed land had all invaders gone,
Yet still to martial modes our sires held on,
And in all structures, taught, they understood
For strength that stone superior is to wood;
Of which to have their own best houses built,
And not their church would have been ruthless guilt;
So its foundations laid they firm and sure,
Betide what might that it might still endure;
Yet not their Meeting House did they profane
With sumptuousness, but had it chaste and plain.

No decorated arch, no proud façade,
But simplest style its modest walls display'd;
Above no belfry show'd, was heard no bell
That might the hour for service widely tell.
So, Sunday's morn, when gather'd people stood
Diversely scatter'd through the enclosing wood,
No move was made till some one peeping in
The doorway through, upon the brazen pin
The pulpit plac'd above, did first espy
The preacher's broad-brimm'd hat suspended high;
Which to denote, that all might understand,
He to the nearest beckon'd with his hand;
For that suspended hat the fact did show
That, though unseen, sat the divine below;
And from all parts the people, thereupon,
Converging towards the church were slowly drawn;
Which forward move to mark should any fail
To fetch these would the psalm soon rais'd prevail.

Of that old church grave was the look within,
No fret, no fresco on its walls were seen;
Through stainéd glass was shed no color'd light;
Its pulpit, walls, and balustrade were white;
No decorations to allure the eye
Or wandering thoughts were plac'd around on high;
No sculptur'd image that might be ador'd—
Save one huge acorn o'er the sounding-board,
Of strength the embryon type, standing between
Three leaves divergent of unfading green.
Its pews of pine unpainted were and hard;
High backs disparting each, thus straitly barr'd,

On which at prayer the worshiper oppress'd
From long up-standing could his elbows rest
For not as yet was the soft license ta'en
In time of prayer down seated to remain,
Save by a few perhaps from feebling eld
Or failing health to that sad posture held.
To others was allow'd no such dispense,
Condemn'd by all as gross irreverence.
Yea, to our fathers, of endurance rare,
Not standing long but sitting was a care.
Ev'n under preaching oft some elder grave,
Who with decorum always did behave,
Solemn and slow would from his pew arise,
Lean o'er its front, with earnest, steadfast eyes
Fix'd on the preacher, thus to have it shown
That on his reas'ning his whole soul was thrown.

One pew alone was of dimensions rare;
Not narrow, like the rest, but wide and square,
Which had a nearer, more respected site,
Immediately beneath the pulpit's height.
This was the Elders' Pew, for these reserv'd
When on Communion days were to be serv'd
By them the tables plac'd along the aisle;
Here sat they first in readiness the while.
All other times, within its ample space
The clerk possess'd his lone, commodious place.
Yet by him seated sometimes would be seen
Some aged sires, whose hearing not being keen,
Here leaning on their staves they caught full well
The droppings of the sanctuary as they fell.

Serv'd in the gallery then no lightsome choir,
But here this clerk below, a tall, grave squire,
Who, when 'twas time, advancing with his book
At his low desk his proper station took.
His tuning-fork, first struck, held to his ear,
The pitch he caught and sounded it full clear;
Yet never strain'd his voice nor in his pride
To beat the time with force his arms applied,
But gently sway'd him as in solemn mood
The tenor of the tune he calm pursued;

While led by him all people in the house
Conjoin'd to sing some holy psalm of Rouse.
That sacred music! Still through memory's ear
Those old fugue tunes almost methinks I hear!
Part foll'wing part to blend at length in one,
From hearts how true! Now gone—forever gone!

Not open, wide-spread, unconfin'd, and low,
Its seated parson did the pulpit show;
But by a narrow stair-way up 'twas led
To where this stood in bold relief o'erhead,
Shap'd like a goblet, fast against the wall,
With sounding-board above secure from fall,
All clos'd around, with nothing to expose,
Till from it, like the sun, the good man rose,
And thus first seen, as from his sacred head,
Around him seem'd a sort of glory shed.

From such a height methinks the spoken word
By those below with deeper awe was heard.
Rightly the preacher stood not on a par
With his own people, but above them far;
And that high reverence, in God's house observ'd
Was tow'rds his person at all times preserv'd.
Aloof, week days, kept he from every sort
Of worldly converse which might not comport
With his high calling, never took a share
In games with others though they harmless were,
And oft'ner did his social hours employ
In house of mourning than in house of joy.
Thus did he save his cloth from every stain,
And everywhere esteem and love maintain,
With reverent fear combined and awe, likewise,
What times he came abroad—to catechise.

One Sunday morn, before our startled eyes,
From that high desk a wonder did arise.
In our own morn, while yet our thoughts were new,
In our best clothes while sat we in our pew,
Expecting soon to see the reverend head
Of our own pastor rise, up rose instead
A face jet-black, with eyeballs rolling white,

And woolly head, which wrought us much affright;
For, oh, for sure we thought for some abuse
Of holy day the avenger was let loose;
That in God's house among the sons of men,
As in Job's days, had Satan come again!
So rare it was in those stern times to see,
Ere Lincoln's act had set all bondsmen free,
A learned Presbyterian divine
Rise up to preach—with face of ebon shine!

When had the morning service its full end,
In summer time folks did not homeward wend,
But near and far dispers'd beneath the shade,
In patience for the latter service staid;
For they had ridden far and well deserv'd,
Each Sabbath, with two sermons to be serv'd;
And, during that blest time that interven'd,
In seemly fashion all themselves demean'd;
From every pastime, every thought abstain'd,
Which on that day should not be entertain'd.

In front, where stood some locusts in a row,
Their cooling shades thrown on the seats below,
Some elders mostly sat, or stood around
In squads of two or three, with looks profound,
Discussing matters of the gravest weight,
As it might seem, alike to Church and State;
While, less oppress'd with any public cares,
But more concern'd about their own affairs,
In partial groups all scatter'd through the wood,
Hard by each station where their horses stood,
In various moods beneath the shading oaks,
Seated or standing, were most other folks.

How sweet it was for kindred here to meet
Each Sabbath at their old accustom'd seat,
Who from each other sever'd through the week,
Of gather'd news had now a fund to speak;
On which dealt out with keener gust they far'd
Than even on cakes or fruits which round were shar'd
Of drought continued or of too much rain
Sometimes, indeed, some farmers did complain;

But through the week, or good or ill the events
Which had befall'n, as acts of Providence
They mostly view'd, which had been wisely sent,
And never should be met with discontent.
No journal here was read, no printed sheet,
Nay not apart ev'n in some hid retreat;
Yet letters, through the week arriv'd, now brought
By townsfolk to their friends, it was not thought,
Even by the gravest, any sad abuse
Of time nor place here jointly to peruse;
Against the Fourth Command 'twas no offence
To break their seals and read their rich contents—
Letters from some bright lad to college sent,
On whom his parents' fondest hopes were spent,
Or from some cherish'd miss at Boarding School,
All fairly writ, form'd from her teacher's rule,
Or from some friends residing far abroad,
Which now had reach'd them, weeks upon the road;
Not relish'd less for that, nay valued higher
Than any news now had through cars or wire;
For still we hold this maxim to be true:
Pleasures are deeper felt when they are few,
And hearing not too often from our friends
Secures them more the enchantment distance lends.

Between the young, ev'n in this sacred grove,
Were cast at times commutual looks of love.
Ah, not in hall of revelry or mirth
Can such exchanges have such lasting worth;
For soonest in the tide of pleasure's show
May our affections ebb, though wild their flow;
But these which unobserv'd sometimes intrude,
Not inconsistent with our serious mood,
Which silently our solemn thoughts pervade
While we are seated in the Church's shade,
These are more settled, sanctified, and pure,
And through all time are likeliest to endure.

Decent themselves, nay in their Sunday's best,
All vain adornings did our sires detest;
And those who swerv'd from well-establish'd rules

They look'd upon, to say the least, as fools.
Had from his gig some dashing beau from town
Driv'n to the steps to hand his mistress down,
As if to have borne her to the hitching place
There to alight had done her some disgrace,
Or were some ladies in their style of dress,
Bedeckt to some extravagant excess,
Frown'd on were such by prudent matrons all,
And some would whisper, Pride may have a fall;
Such trappings it might do, perhaps, to sport
At any gay or fashionable resort,
But at God's house upon His holy day,
'Twas not the proper place for vain display.

Adown that slope between the church and stream,
In neat attire, which well did them beseem,
Maidens, not caring to be all unseen,
In social bands went lightly o'er the green,
Converging towards the font that gush'd below—
Ah me, long since that it hath ceas'd to flow!—
Where congregated, modest and reserv'd,
By some smart swain each in her turn was serv'd.

But, ah, from these how solitary, lorn,
Were those apart who had withdrawn to mourn,
Down in the church-yard situate below,
Who, in the dark habiliments of woe,
Scatter'd and few, beside their cherish'd dead,
Yet found some balm ev'n in the tears they shed.

These were thy charms, sweet Middlespring, were these,
Which in thine olden times were wont to please;
When thy lone church look'd through its openings green
Down to thy stream with naught to intervene,
When 'neath thy trees the shaded view was clear,
No parsonage and sure no factory near,
But free from every foreign sight and sound
The Sabbath held its sovereign rule around.

But while thus dwelling fondly on the past,
No envious shade would we desire to cast

On present times; of these the glories more
We own to be than any had before;
And with our country we enjoy the cheer
Prevailing wide through this, her hundredth year;
We pride us on the works that she has done,
In art, in science on her triumphs won;
And that with hers to have their flags unfurl'd,
Conspire the noblest nations of the world;
Still must we say, The brightest lustre cast
On her proud name has reach'd her from the past,
And what of all she holds the dearest bought
Are those first rights for which our fathers fought.
Though in our comforts, in our ease advanc'd,
In value all our property enhanc'd,
Yet in sound morals must we still allow
More firm those ancients stood than we do now;
And what we've gain'd, if we are more refin'd,
We've lost in virtues that we've left behind;
And this of all we're most disposed to blame,
The holy Sabbath is not quite the same.

Church of my sires, from thee though far away
My feet have roam'd—perhaps sometimes astray—
In other church though I have bow'd the knee,
In all respects not consonant with thee,
Of grand cathedral stood within the aisle,
And with its music been enrapt the while,
Yet from my heart thy precepts to erase
Hath interfer'd, than thine, no holier place.
Thy hallow'd services, thy solemn vows,
The blest communions of thine ancient house—
From these on me the sacred influence left,
No time, no teachings ever have bereft;
And though thy former house is now unknown,
Not left upon another now one stone,
And on its site this modern one is plac'd,
Of neater structure and of richer taste,
While newer thoughts accordant with this age,
Its later worshipers may now engage;
However chang'd its style, yet with its name
Methinks its inward life is still the same;—

No settled form, no unadvancing state
Maintains the Church as seen at every date;
The age to suit, may change her style and dress,
Yet still do these the unvarying truth express;—
Here as of old Thy testimonies sure
Are safe preserv'd, forever to endure;
That reverential awe, that sacred fear,
Within this house—we feel it still is here!

O may that Holy Spirit, without fail,
Which in Thy former dwelling did prevail,
Like on us all its saving grace bestow,
To keep us in the way that we should go,
That narrow way which once our fathers trod,
To lead us on to holiness and God.

Art. VI.—ORIGIN OF OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION.

BY PROF. F. A. GAST.

To the general scholar as well as to the professional theologian, the religion of the Old Testament, when presented in its true light, cannot fail to prove profoundly interesting. There can be no question that, next to Christianity, with which it stands in organic unity and of which it was the necessary preparation, it has been the mightiest spiritual power in the history of mankind. Its superior excellence is at once discerned when we compare it with the religions of nature, even in their best and purest forms. Where among them all can be found such exalted ideas of the one, living, holy God; such a lofty view of the spiritual dignity of man; such a true insight into the nature of sin and holiness; such a pure morality; such a humane spirit; such sobriety, chasteness and spirituality of worship?

These are features that immediately arrest the attention and set this religion in the most marked contrast to heathenism, which, however attractive it may be in some of its aspects to the poetic mind, is yet marred by a gross polytheism, by a fantastic mythology, by a low and degrading conception of man, and not unfrequently by cruel and licentious rites.

Interesting as the religion of the Old Testament is in itself, it gains additional interest from its historic development. From the start it exhibited a vigorous and healthy life. As we trace it through its long career, we cannot but admire its constant progress upward from lower and cruder to higher and more spiritual forms. It at once entered into a bold conflict with falsehood under its various guises as they came successively to view—with the idolatrous nature-worship of the surrounding heathen nations, and with the unspiritual ideas of the chosen people themselves. A wonderful Providence brought Israel into contact with all the representative nations of the ancient world—the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans—with each in its turn and in the time of its highest glory. In this way, the spiritual faith of Israel, confronted with the manifold errors of heathenism, was compelled to struggle for its very existence. In this struggle, however, it gathered a strength and attained a purity otherwise impossible. In each successive crisis it displayed a new power of development, brought into clearer light the contrast between pure and false religion, and proved itself better adapted than any other belief to meet the higher religious needs of man.

Such a religion could not fail to exert a mighty influence on the destinies of mankind. It is the religion that gave us the Ten Commandments. What incalculable power it has put forth through the Decalogue alone! Had it given us nothing else, it would still be worthy of our highest admiration and sincerest gratitude. But it has produced a literature which, as pre-

served in the Old Testament, possesses an immortal life. Take only the Psalter; and who can estimate its effect, during the twenty-five or more centuries of its history, in awakening, strengthening and consoling whatever is highest and holiest in man? And its power, instead of waning, ever increases. It is felt more widely in the Christian Church to-day than it was felt in the Jewish synagogue of old.

The religion of the Old Testament has extended its influence far beyond the limits of the people of Israel. The religion of a single nation, it yet set certain spiritual forces in motion which have touched the deepest life of the race. After the Captivity, when the Jews with their sacred books were scattered over the face of the earth, it made numberless proselytes both in the East and in the West. It furnished the best elements of the religion of Mohammed, which is confessedly more indebted to Judaism than to either heathenism or Christianity. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say with *Emanuel Deutsch*, that Islam is "neither more nor less than Judaism as adapted to Arabia—plus the apostleship of Jesus and Mohammed."*

Above all, the religion of the Old Testament is the root out of which grew the religion of Christ. A singular feature, distinguishing this religion from all others the world has ever known, is, that all along its history, it looked forward to a time when it should produce something higher and better than itself—that it carried in it a prophecy, not indeed of its death (for it felt the throbbings of an undying life), but of its regeneration, of its transformation, of its elevation to a higher spiritual plane, where the old, perishable form should disappear and the living substance should assume a new and more adequate form. And this has actually come to pass. Christianity has infused into the religion of the Old Testament a new creative life and lifted it up to a higher order of existence, where now,

* Literary Remains, p. 64.

under more favorable conditions, it exerts its full spiritual power, and will continue to exert it till it permeates the entire life of humanity.

Of a religion, so lofty in its nature, so remarkable in its development and so mighty in its influence, we wish to know more. We wish especially to know, whence and how it originated. And this is the question we propose now briefly to discuss.

In tracing out its origin, we must go back in history far beyond Moses. It was not he that first introduced this spiritual monotheistic faith into the world. He himself received it as an inheritance from the past. Moses proclaimed no new God, established no new religion. When he presented himself before his oppressed people, it was in the name of the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob. The foundations on which he built had been laid centuries before. His ancestors, and they alone, had for generations possessed a knowledge of the only true and living God, had exercised faith in His protecting care, and had cherished the consciousness of a peculiar covenant relation which they sustained to Him; and though, during the sojourn in Egypt, this religious faith had lost much of its original power, yet it still slumbered in the heart of Israel, only waiting to be revived and quickened into energy.

And this was done by Moses. He opened a new stage in the development of Old Testament religion. Before him it had been the religion of a holy family; he made it the religion of an entire nation. Among the patriarchs it had been predominantly subjective; through him it became predominantly objective. Moses fixed it in definite, outward forms, gave it a full code of laws, and embodied it in national institutions and expressive symbols; but he did not originate it *de novo*.

If we would find the well-spring of this higher spiritual faith that has blessed the world, we must go back to Abraham, the friend of God. He is acknowledged both by the New Testa-

ment and by the Old, as the "father of the faithful." "He is the first distinct, historical witness," says Stanley, "at least for his own race and country, to Theism, to Monotheism, to the unity of the Lord and Ruler of all, against the primeval idolatries, the *natural* religions of the ancient world."* At a time when the nations everywhere confessed many gods, he mounted up to the thought of the One God, who alone is entitled to man's reverence. At a time when the Divine was merged in nature, it was given him to see that God is a Spirit, distinct from the world, a living Person, with a heart full of love to His children. At a time when the Divine was worshiped only through symbols by which it was represented, his adoration was paid immediately to God, and needed not the help of the visible creation. Abraham's religion, resting on faith in the one, spiritual, personal God, consisted in a living communion with Him, and a holy walk in His Presence. It was not so much a new creed that he proclaimed among men, as it was a new life and experience to which he bore witness.

If now we inquire into the origin of his religion, if we ask how it came to pass that he, through the denial of all other gods, arrived at the recognition of the one, true God, there is only one possible answer. It is the answer given by the Bible, an answer perfectly consistent with reason, the sole answer in harmony with the facts of history: and that answer is that it was by a special, Divine revelation granted to Abraham, and through him to the world.

But when we have said this, have we not said all? What room can there be for further investigation? Abraham's faith was the gift of God: does not that end the whole matter? By no means. The gifts of God are not arbitrarily bestowed. Especially is the revelation He has made of Himself not magical, but historical. It is indeed supernatural and divine; but it has at the same time its natural and human conditions, which

* History of the Jewish Church, vol. i. p. 18.

God Himself has historically prepared by His Providence. It has its fitting time and its fitting place; and not until that time has arrived and that place been reached, is the revelation granted. Neither Rationalism, which sets aside the Divine factor, nor abstract Supernaturalism, which ignores the human factor, can adequately explain revelation in any of its stages. Supernatural and divine in its nature and origin, revelation becomes natural and human by coming into union with the history of man; and it is only when we view it as a manifestation of God from above the plane of nature and reason, a manifestation, however, in which the Divine enters into history and subjects itself to its laws, that we occupy a position from which to survey all its facts.

What, then, we ask, were the historic conditions which rendered possible the communication of revealed religion under its special Old Testament form? The question is not, how the spiritual faith of Abraham evolved itself naturally and necessarily out of the natural and religious forces of his own age. This it never did. It is not the product of nature, but the gift of revelation. It is a new, Divine life transplanted from heaven to earth; transplanted, however, to a soil peculiarly adapted to receive it into its bosom and develop all its latent powers. And what we wish to know is, the character of that soil, and the points of contact it afforded for the higher, revealed truth.

It is a fine remark of Martineau, in his essay on the "Distinctive Types of Christianity," that "there is a natural correspondence between the genius of a people and the form of their belief. Each mood of mind brings its own wants and aspirations, colors its own ideal, and interprets best that part of life and the universe with which it is in sympathy. John Knox would have been misplaced in Athens, and Tauler could not have lived on the moralism of Kant. No doubt the ultimate seat of human faith lies deep down below the special propensities of individuals or tribes—in a consciousness and faculty

common to the race. But ere it comes to the surface and disengages itself in a concrete shape, its type and color will be affected by the strata of thought and feeling through which it emerges into the light."

Now, the religion of the Old Testament was the religion of the Hebrew family of the Semitic race. It was the Divine purpose to form a people of God, a holy nation, in which the knowledge and worship of the one, true God should find an abiding home among the nations of the earth. To this end He called Abraham and gave him the promise of an innumerable seed. Was this Divine election arbitrary? It was the result, indeed, of a free act of grace. There was no merit either in the patriarch or in the Israel that sprang from his loins, to entitle them to this distinguished honor. Yet it does not follow that God might have chosen Zoroaster, or Confucius, or Sakyamuni, or Solon to be the bearer of His revelation. Each race has its special talent to be cultivated for the glory of God. The work of the Aryan lies in the sphere of worldly culture, the Greek, for example, developing the idea of science and art, the Roman, the idea of politics and law. But the vocation of the Semitic race is religion. Especially may it be said of the Hebrew nation, which gathers up into itself all the characteristics, good and bad, of the Semitic genius, that it is pre-eminently the people of religion.

And the reason of this is to be sought for in the character of the Semitic mind. God, who has given to races as to individuals their peculiar endowments, has given to this race a nature predisposed to religion rather than to any lower worldly interest—and to a religion of a peculiar type. It was this that moved Him, when He purposed to reveal Himself for the salvation of man, to select a Semitic people, and not a people of another race, as the theatre of His supernatural manifestations, from the lowest to the highest, in the incarnation and glorification of His Son.

What, then, is the character of the Semitic mind? It must be remembered that, in answering this question, we have to do with the race as a whole, and not with isolated exceptions in tribes or individuals—with the native endowments of the race, and not with its acquired qualities. The original life may, of course, be modified here and there to a large extent by religion, by culture, by intercourse with differing races, and in various other ways. But there is a Semitic type of character, and it is this, in contrast especially with the Aryan or Indo-Germanic type, that we desire to set before you.

The difference between them may be summed up in a word: while the Aryan mind is prevailingly objective, the Semitic is prevailingly subjective. All the minor features distinguishing the two races grow out of this broad, general feature. The proper field of the Aryan is the external world. He masters it by his science; he idealizes it by his art; he brings it into his service and makes it do his bidding; he binds its parts together by commerce and well-ordered governments; in brief, he carries forward the civilization of the world in accordance with the blessing of Noah, that "God shall enlarge Japeth."

The Semite, on the other hand, lives and moves in another sphere. His cast of mind is not scientific. He may be observant enough, but he rests in phenomena and fails to reach their underlying causes. That which is most essential in scientific processes—the power of systematizing and generalizing—he utterly lacks. His sense of proportion and harmony is defective, and, accordingly, the arts, with the sole exception of poetry, have not flourished on Semitic soil. He has no talent for establishing well-balanced social and political organizations. In his yearning for dreamy ease, he retains unchanged the time-honored customs of his ancestors and readily submits to the despotic sway of his rulers. The Semitic race has played but an insignificant role in spreading commerce and founding world-empires. The Phœnicians, the Assyrians and the Baby-

lonians may seem exceptions; but the former, according to the Biblical table of nations, were descendants of Ham, and the two latter were not purely Semitic, but contained a strong infusion of Cushite and Puranian elements.

This contrast between the Aryan and the Semitic mind is traceable in part to the nature of their homes. There is always a correspondence between the character of a people and the physical geography of the territory it occupies. In Aryan lands nature exhibits a wonderful variety in scenery and life. Her ever-changing aspects seem to invite the mind of man to roam abroad. She awakens his senses, calls forth all his powers, and, by her sterner as well as gentler moods, schools him to a full and many-sided life. How different in the confined homestead of the Semitic race! Here all is uniformity. The sandy deserts and the parched lands, the glaring light and the scorching heat make man retreat within himself. His life flows on evenly and monotonously, and his activity, instead of being directed as is the Aryan's to the external world, is turned within. An energetic self-concentration gives him spiritual depth and force.

His inner world, however, is not that of logical thought and abstract speculation. The Semitic mind has never produced a philosophy in the higher sense of the word. It has borrowed the systems of other nations, but has never created one for itself. Its native philosophy—if such it may be called—embodies in myths, allegories, parables and apothegms the fruits of practical wisdom, not the results of metaphysical speculation. For these we must go to the Aryan mind of India, Greece and Germany. The Semite lives in the realm of imagination and feeling. His imagination is quick and glowing, but, owing to his natural environment, it lacks richness and variety of imagery. It is easily excited, but incapable of keeping itself poised aloft for a long time. His intense soul, touched by every wave of feeling, must pour itself out in poe-

try—not, however, in its objective forms—the epic and the drama—but, in accordance with his peculiar genius, in the subjective form of the lyric. In this, all the passion of his passionate nature, so intense in love and hate, finds utterance.

Yet, with all his inwardness, he develops no strong sense of individuality. The Aryan, whose mind fastens on the variety of nature, and who struggles with her manifold, single forces, attains through his resistance a proud feeling of personal power and becomes self-reliant and independent. But the Semite, whose mind is impressed by the uniformity of nature with the feeling of an immeasurable, irresistible weight, surrenders himself in quiet resignation. And this feeling of absolute dependence on and submission to an overwhelming power, what is it but the religious feeling in its yet untutored state—a feeling which gains in intensity by the very poverty of the Semite's life, and which, weakened by no dissipation of the senses, becomes almost the sole element of his existence.

And this leads us to notice the Semitic type of religion. Our materials for sketching this are as yet scanty; enough is known, however, to show that among the religions of the Semitic peoples there is a common family likeness, quite as striking as that which is found among the languages of that race. It is almost as easy to recognize a Semitic religion as it is to recognize a Semitic language. They have all been cast in the same mould. They all have their root in a primitive religion, which reflected all the peculiarities of the general life of the race—its subjectivity, its one-sidedness, its passion—and was fully shaped before the several families and tribes sundered themselves from the parent stem.

We need hardly remark that it was a natural religion, and that, pervaded by the principle of all heathenism, it absorbed God in the world. We look in vain here for Theism. Nature at that early day intoxicated the mind of man and gave him gods, which, at the best, were only personifications of cosmical

powers. We look in vain for spirituality; for how shall the religions of nature be spiritual, when the life of nature is sensuous? And yet Semitic religion with all its imperfections, its polytheistic belief and its coarseness of worship, forms an easier transition than Aryan religion to the revealed faith of the Old Testament. It serves a pedagogic purpose, and prepares the way for the introduction of a higher and purer religion. Spiritual monotheism, after the pattern of the Old Testament, could more readily find a lodgment in the ancient Semitic mind, disciplined as it had been for ages by the Semitic religion, than in the mind of ancient India or Greece.

In proof of this, it is only necessary to point out a few of the more prominent features of Semitic religion.* And first, there is always a chief national god. Each tribe has its own divinity, who is trusted as its natural protector and around whom gather the thoughts and affections of the people. Moab has its Chemosh and Ammon its Milcom. And so every Semitic people devotes itself almost exclusively to one supreme deity, whom it may claim properly as its own and whose power is confined to the land over which he rules. Other gods there are, and often in great numbers; but they occupy a very subordinate position and are in fact nothing but ministers of the national deity, much as the angels are the ministers of the true God.

How different in Aryan mythology! Here we find a circle of superior gods who share the power among themselves. Here we find a division of empire: Jupiter rules in the heavens and earth, Neptune over the sea, and Pluto in the under-world. There is a god of war and a god of love. Almost every art and science, almost every place and circumstance of life has its patron god. Nothing like such division is visible in any Semitic mythology. There is indeed an apparent dualism: the chief god is accompanied by his wife; Astarte stands by the

*Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie, p. 100.

side of Baal. The dualism, however, is not real. Astarte is only the form in which Baal manifests himself. In Phœnician inscriptions she is designated as the "name of Baal" and the "face of Baal"—designations which remind us how, in the Old Testament, "name" and "face" are employed as symbols of the revelation of God.* The male and female god represent one and the same power viewed under a double aspect, now, as active, and again, as receptive.

In the prominence Semitic religion gives to the one national or tribal god, it affords a point of contact for the monotheistic faith. Here is a center of unity such as is not found in any Aryan religion. Unquestionably the mind can pass with much less violence to its habits of thought and feeling from the acknowledgment of a chief god with limited territorial sway, to the acknowledgment of the sole, universal God, the Lord of heaven and earth, than it can pass through a total denial of a multiplicity of equal gods to the recognition and worship of the only God. To the Aryan mind, Monotheism would seem to border on Atheism; to the Semitic mind, it would commend itself as the highest development and proper completion of its idea of the national god.

Another feature of Semitic religion worthy of notice, is its conception and naming of God, as might, dominion, majesty. The Aryan, in surveying nature, fastens on its variety and loves to trace out the endless diversity of its forms. The result is a polytheism of a different order from that found among Semitic peoples. His gods are but the personifications of the single powers and particular qualities of the world. In each manifestation of cosmical life he sees the presence of a special deity—in sun and moon, in sky and dawn, in fire and water, in mountain and grove.

The Semite, on the other hand, seizes upon the unity of the world. Nothing so much impresses his mind as its power and

*Schlottmann in Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums, Art. *Baal.*

sublimity. Pantheism, in the Greek sense, is utterly unknown to him. "Nature is nothing but that which has been begotten, and is ruled absolutely by the one Great Absolute Power. And only in the more or less abstract conception of this one Power are found what differences there do exist in the Semitic creeds in their respective stages."* Unlike the Aryan, the Semite has invented but one name for God. Its form may vary, but its signification is always the same. *El*, *Elohim*, the strong; *Bel*, *Baal*, *Adonis*, Lord; *Moloch*, *Milcom*, *Malika*, King; *Elyon*, the Highest; *Ram*, *Rimmon*, the Exalted: these, with other designations, all originally adjectives expressive of general qualities of the Deity, point to the unity of the conception of God, as might, dominion, majesty. Here, again, we find a point of contact for monotheism. For, while the Aryan sees in the phenomena of the world the operation of manifold powers, which he regards as divine and designates by a large variety of names, the Semite feels the presence of one, undivided power, and calls it *El*, the Mighty One.

Moreover, the Semitic mind is, by its original constitution, inclined to the inward and spiritual, rather than to the external and natural. Its tendency is intensive, not extensive. It has produced no great painters or sculptors, and its poetry is lyric, not epic or dramatic. For the creation of these forms of art, it lacks the necessary interest in the varied objects of the outer world. This same spiritual bias makes itself apparent in religion, at least in its primitive and purer form. In later times, indeed, the Semites became as grossly idolatrous as other races. But all of them, at certain stages, abhorred the making of visible images of things they loved, revered and worshiped, and their cultus, in its earlier period, would seem to have been connected, not with vain idols, but with expressive symbols. Sacred trees and stones sufficed to represent to their thoughts an invisible and divine Presence. Evidently, a simple, sym-

* Deutsch's *Literary Remains*, p. 160.

bolical worship of such a character would serve, better than any Aryan worship with the countless images of its gods, to prepare the mind to receive the spiritual religion of revelation.

The peculiar genius of the Semitic race with its predisposition to religion, and the peculiar genius of the Semitic religion with its predisposition to the Old Testament type: such is the natural basis on which the religion of the Old Testament rests, and such the historic conditions which made its revelation possible. But, it may be asked, do not these conditions explain all? Is it not conceivable that the spiritual monotheistic faith of the Old Testament was derived genetically, by natural evolution, from this antecedent Semitic faith? Is the hypothesis of a supernatural revelation at all necessary to account for its origin?

In reply, we remark that there are elements in the higher religion that are in no way derivable from the lower. They may resemble each other in outward type; in inner life and spirit they are totally dissimilar. The one furnishes the mould in which the other is run; but the mould is of the earth, while the pure metal that fills it and receives its shape from it, is of heaven.

Take, for instance, the conception of God. If we should regard the unity of God as the distinctive feature of the Old Testament conception, it would be unreasonable to place an impassable chasm between it and the old Semitic conception of the national God. The idea of the one God for the whole world might justly be viewed as only a further extension and development of the idea of the one god for a single nation. It is not, however, the unity, abstractly considered, but the entire character of this one God, as living, supermundane and personal, that distinguishes Old Testament religion from the ancient Semitic as well as from all other heathen religions. Heathenism has never been able to rise to the idea of the absolute, yet personal God. It cannot penetrate behind the pow-

ers of the world and see Him, the Living One, who employs those powers as His passive organs. Even among the most highly cultivated nations, it does not get beyond the cosmos, and its highest gods are only reflections of the idea of man. "The Greek popular religion," says Luthardt, and this is true of every heathen religion, "knows not an Almighty, still less a holy God, and has no conception of a God of love."*

Look now at the God of Abraham. He is *El Shaddai*, the Omnipotent, who rules over nature as well as in it, making it subservient to His purposes and giving to His servant a son in spite of Sarah's barrenness. He is the Judge of all the earth, who cannot but do right. He is wise in His counsels, laying large plans that have reference to the most distant future, and gracious in His intentions, revealing Himself to Abraham as his Friend. Here we have more than a symbol of the generative power of nature; here we have a living Personality of infinite might, holiness and love; and it is impossible that the Semitic mind, immersed in the life of nature and trembling before its undivided, irresistible power, should rise by its own unaided strength to the thought of such a God.

Nor is this all. The feeling of personality, as we have seen, is not strongly developed in the Semitic mind, which, seeing nature in its unity, is weighed down with a sense of overwhelming might. A lack of self-assertion characterizes the race. This is apparent in its submission to despotic governments and in its patient acquiescence in long-established customs, however oppressive and severe. Sharply-defined individualities are rarer than among the Aryans. The personal element, we may say, is comparatively weak. It could not be otherwise, of course, than that this defect should be visible in religion. The Semite has a feeling of absolute dependence on an absolute Power that compasses him about. In this feeling he is prone to lose himself, and his religion is marked by an abject submission and

*Fundamental Truths, p. 227.

a craven fear. This is the secret of its cruel rites and licentious orgies. It is the religion that gave birth to the worship of Moloch and Astarte, at which the Greeks, themselves no puritans, deeply blushed.

In how bright a contrast to this stands the religion of the Old Testament! Abraham walks before God in reverential, but not in servile fear. He does not crouch as a slave before his master, but holds intercourse with Jehovah as friend with friend. He pleads with Him, in all humility indeed, yet with all boldness. That which in the religion of his race is a weak surrender to a blind, irresistible power, becomes in him—strangely enough, if revelation be left out of the account—a free union and communion of the personal man with the personal God.

Nowhere is personality more strongly emphasized than in the religion of the Old Testament—the personality of God, and, as a consequence of this, the personality of man; yet always in such a way as not to obliterate the line of demarcation between the Divine and the human. The Divine is never humanized, the human is never deified. The Old Testament knows of no demigods. Its first man is as simply and purely human as any of his descendants. This feeling of personality gives to the religion of revelation a peculiar hue. It substitutes reverence and love for slavish fear. It throws a sacredness around human life. It infuses a kindly spirit into legislation. And the question now arises, how shall we account for its presence here, when it is so sadly wanting elsewhere? How shall we explain to ourselves the fact, that Abraham and his posterity rose, as it were, above the Semitic nature at this point into an atmosphere of personal freedom and morality?

Renan's theory is wholly inadequate. This brilliant French scholar, as is well known, ascribes to the Semitic race an innate monotheistic instinct, which distinguishes it from other races. A seeming plausibility is lent to this conjecture by the fact

that the world has produced but three monotheistic religions, all on Semitic soil—the religions of Israel, of Christ, and of Mohammed. A moment's reflection, however, shows that they all have a common root in the religion of Abraham; and it is the origin of this for which we need to account.

There is, indeed, as we have seen, a vague kind of unity in the Semitic conception of God—the unity that is implied in the abstract idea of power and dominion as this is expressed in the universal Semitic name of the Supreme God, to whom all other natural powers are subject, and in whom they, as it were, are absorbed. But this is far removed from the pure, spiritual monotheism of the Old Testament. And if, as Renan asserts, this monotheism is due to an instinct common to the whole race, why, we may well ask, does it come to view only in a small fraction of that race, the chosen people of God? The Semites, with the one exception of Israel, were idolatrous polytheists. Even among the descendants of Abraham, an inveterate tendency manifested itself constantly throughout their history to fall away from the higher faith they had inherited from the past. Monotheists they were not by nature; they became such only through a long and severe discipline. They had the teachings of Moses and the Prophets; but in spite of these they apostatized from the true God and paid idolatrous worship to the gods of the heathen. It was not until after the Captivity, not until a thousand judgments had been sent upon them from heaven, that monotheism seems to have become an inseparable part of their life.

But if the origin of Old Testament religion cannot be explained by an instinct of the race, may it not be due to the genius of an individual? May we not picture Abraham to ourselves as an ancient sage, who by study and reflection saw the folly of idolatry and reached the conception of the spiritual God? But it is not in this character that he appears before us. He does not philosophize and speculate. We should be

surprised if he did; for the Semitic mind, lacking the capacity for science in general, deals with religion as life, not as dogma. And so Abraham is set before us, at least in the Bible, not as one who, by profound meditation, has attained to a new truth, not even as a prophet who is called to teach the world, but simply as the friend of God, whose life is his creed and whose mission is his migration—as one believing and trusting in the God who appeared unto him in love and established an everlasting covenant with him and his seed.

What, then, is the origin of Old Testament religion? Naturalism can furnish no satisfactory answer; we must have recourse to a supernatural revelation. Man, in his present state, is unable of himself to rise to the true idea of God. He has, indeed, a vague feeling of an ultimate Power lying behind the visible cosmos; but what that Power is, he cannot say. It is to him "the unknown God." How poor are even the highest conceptions which a mind so profound as Plato's was able to form of Him! Yet from the first there existed among the Hebrew people a true idea of God and of His relation to the world. Whence did it spring? Evidently not from philosophical reflection; for we cannot ascribe to the untutored Semitic mind an achievement in thought that lay altogether beyond the most cultivated Aryan mind.

The only explanation lies in a Divine revelation. If man is to know God, God must come to man. And this He did when He appeared to Abraham. It was at a time when the knowledge of the true God, possessed by former ages, had become lost, at least in Abraham's native home and among his kindred. The Bible speaks of earlier revelations than that made to the "father of the faithful;" but whatever their character, in his day they had ceased to be remembered, or, at least, obeyed; and his friends beyond the Euphrates served other gods than the Lord of heaven and earth. Then it was God came to Abraham, and whether by outward theophany or by inward

manifestation to his spirit, it was a real historical coming. He came not to convey to his mind abstract theological truths, but enter into a communion of love with him; and in this communion, Abraham, by living experience, came to know God as he could not know Him simply by an exercise of the reason—came to know Him in His unity, His spirituality, His personality, His holiness. He recognized Him as the only source of true salvation, and such was his assurance that he chose to abandon fatherland and friends rather than surrender his faith in this supermundane, heavenly and only true God. This confidence was the root of his life and influence. "He not only steadfastly maintained the knowledge of the true God in his own practice and life, but knew how to make it lasting in his house and race. And in nothing is the memory of the reality and grandeur of his God-fearing and God-blessed life more evidently preserved than in this, that powerful and devout men even among foreign nations were compelled to confess that God was with him; and eagerly sought his friendship and blessing."*

* Ewald's *History of Israel*, vol. I., p. 318.

Art. VII.—THE BIBLICAL CONCEPTION OF ETERNAL LIFE AND ETERNAL DEATH.

BY REV. J. W. SANTEE, D.D. CAVETOWN, MD.

In our day, flooded with Endless forms of rationalism, scepticism and infidelity, this subject is becoming invested with new significance and special importance, to the professor of the Lord Jesus Christ. In truth, there is no doctrine, nor anything special in Christianity, which has not been assailed by these forms of opposition, and that which pertains to this present life has been severely tested, but offered no limit to the investigations, and they carried their speculations thither into the future world, making havoc with the faith handed down through the ages. The Revelation from God, which becomes such to man only, where there are powers capable of apprehending it, is at once set aside as antiquated and under a higher light, this present existence is brought to an end in the dismal idea of annihilation, or, if continued, is made to outlive every thought of punishment in universal salvation, which shall be the lot of all. Besides, there are the tendencies of materialism, assuming various shapes, and attempting to rid the faith from everything lying beyond the province of reason and in the sphere of the spiritual, and thus is bringing its part in undermining the foundations of the Christian faith.. In addition to these, our age is staggering with humanitarian conceptions of Justice, and in its intense love for humanity blunts the edge of the sword of Justice, and will know of nothing but kindness and love. This morbid idea roots itself everywhere in society, so that the age is disposed, to a great extent, to do away with the hangman's rope, as a relic belonging to an age of ignorance and barbarism.

It reaches higher, and in its exceeding kindness is eagerly striving to sow the seed for general fruiting, that in the hereafter, all shall be alike and be in the enjoyment of unending happiness. It is a fact too, which cannot be successfully gainsaid, that much of our modern, popular Christianity has been pandering to these various tendencies and toning down special conceptions of doctrine which were fearlessly held before the candidate for eternity, and that now the fearful facts of Eternal Life and Eternal Death, are not sufficiently emphasized nor held distinctly asunder. From all these tendencies we dissent, and believe that Revelation teaches and unfolds the fact that for every one there is a condition in the Future Life, in which the full idea of Eternal Life or Eternal Death will be realized, and that that condition or state is unalterable, irrevocably fixed, that is, that it is Everlasting.

In order that we may have a clear view of this subject, let us, in the first place, endeavor to obtain a proper idea of the condition of man when God created him in His Image. Here we are confronted with mystery in this, that man, at his creation, was endowed with ability to determine, in a free way, either for himself or for his Maker. That the created mind should be possessed of capacity to refuse the uncreated in this determination and choose itself. In the creation of man we have the meaning and sense of the lower world reflected, rather, the lower comes to its meaning in the highest creation of all. He is made a little lower than the angels, created in the Image of God. This fact separates man from the order of this lower world and places him far above and beyond it. He was taken from the dust of the earth, but God breathed into him, and he became a living soul, that is, he was elevated above this lower order, and was a creature belonging to two worlds, as Plato represented him, with one hand reaching heavenward, with the other towards the earth. God breathed into him, linking him to another world, that man finds not his end nor his destiny in

this present life. He has not merely a perishable body from the dust, but a soul from God, not material as his body, but spiritual and therefore immortal, never to die and capable of glory and everlasting bliss in the future life. So our Confession of Faith, Heid. Cat. 2, 6. Did God then create man so wicked and perverse? By no means, but God created man good, and after His own image, in righteousness and true holiness, that he might rightly know God his Creator, heartily love Him, and live with Him in eternal happiness to glorify Him and praise Him. Clearly, man had will and capacity to know God and obey Him, and then to live with Him in eternal blessedness. As such, he had capacity for Eternal Life, that is, to reach out and after the full idea of his creation, so as to be with the Lord forever. Here then is a creation belonging to two worlds, this of Nature and the higher world of Spirit. The fact, too, that these higher endowments come directly from the Eternal and In finite, breathed into man, gives him a nature indestructible, even though the body goes into ruin and decay. Because man is an individual, personal being, possessing Personality, it is beyond conception, that at the end of life this gift from God should flow back into the great ocean of Being, into the Infinite, and that which was a being, a personal, conscious individual, should in this way be made to cease. All revelation indirectly protests against such a conception, and therefore, for man, at the end of this present existence, there cannot await him a complete destruction, a total annihilation, or even the passing back into the Sea of Infinity. That would destroy personality, and cannot be the end of man, neither his final destiny. That is not the idea of Eternal Life nor Eternal Death as found in the Word of God.

God created man in His own image and endowed him with capacities rightly "to know God his Creator;" he needed now, of his own choice and election, to be confirmed in this condition, in other words, as man was created free, he was of his own

choice, either to elect the Will of God as Law unto himself, or his own will, as over against God. He was to be righteous and holy and good by the determination of his will in that direction. He was created for this high position, but had to elect it. In this election to life or death, he was free; his will was not bound to move either in the one direction or the other, and for him the question is undetermined, undecided. It is true, the fearful result of disobedience stood before him in the awful threatening, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die," and this motive, should induce him to elect obedience. What a mystery here, in this, that an Omnipotent, Infinite Mind, created a being endowed with Intelligence, Reason and Will, capable of determining for himself either according to the Will of God, obedience, or the contrary, disobedience. Either to choose life or death. "Man is constituted a voluntary being: he is endowed with a faculty of choosing; instead of taking his place in a succession of antecedents and consequents, he is a free-worker, and consciously governs his inward self, independently of foreign antecedents and consequents. His mind, instead of being a mere recipient of impulses and their obedient servant, he feels, is placed high above them, invested with a regal power over them, to choose or refuse any or all of them, and is thus strictly a causer, a conscious voluntary *beginner* of change, from itself, and by a faculty belonging to itself, and under its control, though derived from its Maker. In the fact of the voluntariness, the fact of the power of choosing, the Almighty has conferred on man a secondary, but nevertheless a real *independence*. . . . . *Here* is the mystery, the profound and awful mystery, of created will. In its very nature it is capable of resisting the uncreated: it has, in fact, resisted Him. The power which he conferred has been wilfully, wickedly abused, in order to violate His laws and to disturb and embroil His government; moral liberty, degenerating to licentiousness; moral power wilfully perverted, *is* Moral Evil, *alone* is Moral Evil: and the origin,

the sole origin, of this plague in the universe, is the voluntary abuse of power and freedom by the created being." *The Mystery: or Evil and God*, by John Young, LL. D., pp. 135, 181. In all this, the result was not a surprise to the Infinite, Omniscient Mind, but clearly, it was brought about by the created mind. This is the idea of test, temptation. For man it was a test, either to stand or fall.

What was the nature of the temptation? The biblical history conveys the distinct intimation, that his virtue was assailed and vanquished from without. So the Catechism, 2, 9. Ans. . . . but man by the instigation of the devil, and his own wilful disobedience, &c. Here are two forces, one from without, and another his own wilful disobedience, that is, the ability to accept the temptation offered and thus determine for himself. . . . "But virtue, which had thus been placed within a perpetual shelter, and been the result not of man's choice, but of God's Omnipotence, had been utterly worthless, had been no virtue at all. Temptation has the power, which we ourselves give to it, no more. Temptation is not compulsion: no amount of temptation can constitute a compulsion: . . But there is power to resist; ever there must be power to resist, else there is no probation, and there can be no crime. . . Probation necessarily supposes temptation, that is, it supposes trial of one kind or other, and of what kind does not essentially affect the question. Probation means that the being is to evince in some way what is within him, is to be brought to some test, in order to manifest how he will determine for himself, whether he will legitimately exert his power of choice, or will misuse that power and choose unwisely and wickedly." Pp. 263, 265. He was solving for himself the fearful question of Eternal Life or Eternal Death. In this trial being appealed to from without and consented to from within, he yielded and elected his own will in preference to that of God. The temptation was made and was successful. Man fell and was a transgressor. Now the fact of

sin was born—became a reality. The consequence was he was driven from the garden and was made to feel what loss he had incurred, by his act. He lost eternal life, sundered from God, and became involved in eternal death. This is the biblical conception of his condition as fallen, and he was made to feel the force of the curse, in the sorrows and woes he had to endure, and truly in the sweat of his face he had to eat bread.

What is his relation to God, seeing he disobeyed His command? Before this fearful decision, this result stood only in possibility and might have been averted, for it was a test and no play, now it is an actuality. The punishment was that his life should be one of sorrow, affliction, trial and care, reaching its end, for this life, in the separation of body and soul. In it we have this higher nature, the soul, estranged and alienated from God, and hence at his death, man has no hope of looking into the future, with the assurance of a blessed hereafter. He was away from God. His relation was not one of life but of death. As soon as life commences so soon does this law of death begin its work. From the cradle to the grave, be the passage long or short, it is a death. The ground was cursed for his sake. He is not the innocent creature now, but is conscious of a wrong, and he carries an accusing conscience within, and he attempts to fly from God and hide himself. He is sundered from the Lord, feels that he forfeited eternal life—is a transgressor and fearfully guilty. With all this, he is eternal, in the sense of an unending being, and is so, because he is from God, partakes of the nature of the divine, he ceases not, at the end of this present existence, neither will he be annihilated. This supposition is monstrous; for even in the vast universe of God, there is no destruction, but change; much less can there be destruction for His creature created in the Image of God. He is immortal, but only in the sense of a continued life after death, but not blessed. He shall have a resurrection but to damnation, not to life, that is forfeited. He lost, by his choice, a blessed

resurrection and a glorious immortality. His relation is one of death. As he is the head of the race, so in him, all fell. "There were two opposite principles . . . on which intelligent beings might be constituted. Either the entire race might be created at once, or it might propagate itself in successive generations. The one we call the individual and the other the hereditary principle; the one the independent and the other the dependent, associated, representationary principle; "p. 261. So also the Scriptures—"As in Adam all die," &c. It is needless to perplex the mind with the problem, whether this could have been prevented, or why it was allowed, it is sufficient to know that it is a fact and a terribly far-reaching reality, and became such by the free agency of man. Shall now this noblest work of God forever lie a wreck? Must sin for ever triumph? Shall death always reign, or shall the enemy be followed and in his own domain be made to give back the prey and yield the victory? Shall the sting of death remain, the grave preserve its triumph? But man, under this power, is helpless and hopeless. If relieved, it must come to him from beyond himself, and to this the significant word of God directs when the Lord said, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." But, oh, what depths into which man has fallen, and what a work to recover what has been lost! Besides, the recovery had to be effected by personal effort, by personal work: not by a decree could the loss be recovered. The ground had to be fought over and reclaimed so as to bring man into the possession of eternal life. This was not his work, but the work of God.

In order to his recovery from the effect of the fall God came to his relief, and instituted remedial agencies whereby his estrangement was to be corrected and the source to eternal life for ever opened. Hence, are we then so corrupt that we are wholly incapable of doing any good, and inclined to all wicked-

ness? Ans. Indeed we are, except we are regenerated by the Spirit of God. In this his hopelessness is clearly asserted and an agency beyond him must come to his relief. He can, for himself, never work out eternal life. The fountain to which he must come, and from which he must draw, is opened and found only in God. But from Him, sin alienated man, and now in mercy the Lord reaches out His hand to lead him into life. This is the teaching of Scripture. God is the fountain of life, and to Him in a free way, as personally responsible, man must be brought. The race must be reheaded, a new order of life be introduced, so that eternal life might be obtained. To live, to have eternal life, consists "in knowing thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

Now to correct this estrangement, different theories have been advocated and earnestly pressed. But let us not lose sight of the fact that man is hopelessly fallen, and "that we are all by nature children of wrath even as others," incapable of doing any good, but withal not so, that his nature is bestial or devilish, but so, as to leave a link to which the grace of God may connect itself. In the first place, we have the theory which takes hold of man as he is, and by personal appliances seeks to raise him from his fallen state and make him a child of God. It can go so far as to convert him from an immoral creature to a moral one, but is unable to implant a new nature for the unfolding of a new life. This theory is prevalent in our day, in the new measure system, of which we had abundant evidence during the religious campaign waged last winter. After the campaign, or during the warm season, it goes into summer quarters, possibly at some sea-shore or other watering-place. It knows of no church as the ark of safety for sinners, in which they are to be trained for life here and for bliss hereafter. It reforms, it may be true, but it is helpless in the way of imparting life to develop into life everlasting. Reformation is not a new creature in Christ Jesus. It needs more than re-

formation, it needs regeneration; far more than conversion, the implantation of a new life from God, for the real lifting out of sin, and thus over into the world of grace. This is by the act of God in and by the use of means. What a fine illustration we have of this fact, in the history of Paul, after he had been overtaken on his way to Damascus and his preparation for his work afterwards. Acts ix. 18. Here is more than reformation, far more than conversion; a complete engrafting, by the sacramental act of God, and then for him, the significant abode in Arabia. But this is often ignored in the theory of the Christianity of the day, and it attempts to work out the problem of eternal life on this low plane. In the next place, we have the theory which regards man not as helpless and hopeless, but with inherent virtues and powers sufficient to raise him out of his misery and effect, for him, what Christianity proposes and alone can do. In this theory, Christ is a model man, but only man. You can imitate His life, be virtuous as He was, follow in His steps, as one man follows the example of another. It takes him as he is and by appliances of education and kindred forces will educate him to be a Christian and thus prepare him for life here and for the hereafter coming; all this by depending on resources in man, without anything being added to him from God, in the use of appointed means. It is clear, however, that the word of God does not regard man in this light, neither is his recovery to be effected in this way. He cannot attain to eternal life by mere reformation of life, neither by any educational contrivances which may be applied to him. It is clear, that in order to obtain eternal life he must be raised higher than these natural forces can raise him; he must be lifted into another order of life, for eternal salvation, and this can be only by the power of God, a supernatural act. The word of God has another conception of eternal life and eternal death than this now set forth.

Now to reveal life to man in his sinful and fallen state, God

ever holds before him His own antagonism to sin, and His eternal hatred of it. Still, God will not leave His creature man to perish utterly in his fall, and He reveals himself as a God long-suffering and a being of love. So in the Old Testament Scriptures, the revelation of God commences thus, as abundant in goodness and truth, in order to win back the affections of the estranged "by unmerited kindness, to break the world's heart by tenderness and compassion, and to bring down upon it the insupportable pressure of an Infinite grace." In this period we have a peculiar history, and God's dealings with the antediluvians was one of kindness and love. The great plan, by which eternal life was to be secured and eternal death escaped, was now beginning to unroll itself to the people of this first age. The severe penalty against sin was now commencing to fruit, though slowly; for many long years were required, in many cases near on to one thousand, before death came. But it came at last. "Physical as well as moral death was contained in the original forewarning, 'In the day thou eatest, thou shalt surely die.' But it was not inflicted; the infliction was long, very long, withheld, and not till it could no longer be withheld, was it suffered to fall down upon the guilty . . . . But the life of the antediluvian patriarchs was preternaturally, at all events unusually extended . . . The meaning of such peculiar economy it is impossible to mistake. To the men of that age, it ought to have spoken as impressively as if a preternatural hand had traced in letters of light, on the firmament over their heads, this heavenly gospel, 'The Lord is long-suffering, and full of compassion; He willeth not that any should perish, but that all should turn to him and live." These men must have seen and felt, that He had even adopted this gracious method of touching their hearts and restoring them to Himself, to duty, and to life." Pp. 273 and 274. This shows the eternal antagonism of God against sin, and the method to reclaim the sinner, and holds before us the conception of eternal life, into which He would lead them.

While this purpose of God was revealing itself degeneracy was increasing; man refused the love of God, and then came the terrible judgment of God, when He broke up the mighty deep, and deluged the earth, and by this simple act swept the vast multitude of sinners from the earth." The deluge was emphatically an act of judgment. In its first and prominent aspect, it was an appalling judgment, and without question it was designed to influence the fears, as before the Highest has influenced the affections and the hopes of men. This act of Divine judgment, like a lofty and massive column, which all the world hereafter might see, rises up at the commencement of the second epoch of human history: and upon it was written the warning, in letters which all the world might read, "Flee from the wrath to come." Now already the penalty against sin came fast, for human life was now contracted to nearly its present limits. Men looked around upon their race, and beheld them falling fast and thick, as the ears of corn before the reaper's sickle. It was as if, in all directions, now to one and again to another, the secret and irresistible summons were conveyed, "Come to judgment," "Prepare to meet thy God." But the root of evil was not destroyed but continued still fearfully vigorous. The curse in the heart of the world was not extirpated: "The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men. Behold they are all gone out of the way: they are together become unprofitable. There is none that understandeth and seeketh after God." P. 282.

In the after history in the plan of God, in which He showed His abhorrence of sin, and love for His creature, He selected a people from among all the nations of the earth. The aim of the Jewish Institute was for the preservation of that truth, which, having been twice formally committed to the whole world, had each time been all but lost. . . . Diffused and dispersed over the whole earth, the Divine light had been all but quenched, in the encompassing darkness. The scattered

rays, therefore, must be collected and concentrated into one focus. Revealed truth . . . must be committed to some one guardianship. It must be placed within a new shelter, and furnished with a new kind of protection. It must be deposited in the hands of some one people, and must be guarded and defended as it had never been before, by national partialities and peculiarities, and by a singular and imposing, and withal significant array of ordinances and ceremonies." p. 286. In all this the ever-repeated fact comes to light of man's apostacy and alienation, his helplessness and the efforts to restore him and bring him to God and to life. The Word of God knows of no blessed life for man apart from God—but only alienation—death. Hence the Lord's dealings, His Institutions, ordinances, ceremonies. This is clear in the ordering of the Tabernacle, the Sacrifices and offerings there, and afterwards at the Temple. In this way, to unite fallen man with God, the Author of Life, and thus save him from death—what a mystery and yet what a stupendous work, the great problem, to correct what sin had defaced, and to lift fallen man from its deeps and restore him to life and peace. The object was to open a fountain from which fallen man might draw, so that the poor outcast might share the blessings which eternally flow from thence. What a schooling for the race and how long it took to bring the fallen into a relation in which he could share in the blessing. The whole Old Testament system was an unfolding of the plan to restore man to life, so that he could enjoy communion with God and finally be with Him.

How is this fountain opened? What was the plan towards which all former history was tending by which he was to be introduced to life? This we have in the last dispensation. "*This* is the prolongation and the victorious conclusion of the Almighty's great controversy with human sin; the last step in that moral education of the world which He has been conducting from the first: His last appeal to the will of man; His last

method of subduing, restoring and sanctifying it, and of reuniting to Himself His apostate and rebellious children. And if this be so, it is not to be wondered at, that *here* we behold the unveiling of Divine resources such as the world never before saw and never can see again. The Incarnation and the Cross are the names of two events that stand alone in all Time. Together they form a luminous centre, around which, the history of man arranges itself—the past all looking towards this central point, and the future all branching out from it. Mystery and Openness, Weakness and Power, Glory and Ignominy, are here in marvellous combination, eloquent of the presence of a wonder-working, an Almighty hand." P. 295. As man fell in Adam, or by his apostacy, all mankind became sinful, so by one again shall the race be reheaded and a New Order of Life be introduced, to bring this fallen life to Life Eternal. This fountain, or this reheading, we have in the Incarnate Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ. In Him is found the only One who could and did bruise the head of the serpent. He who was promised to the Patriarchs, prophesied by the Prophets, and became Incarnate, in the fullness of time, of the Virgin Mary. The mystery towards which all previous history tended is now solved; heaven came down to earth, God and man are forever united in the Person of Him, who is Immanuel, God with us.

In all the preceding ages, in the ages of the Scriptures, man is always regarded as a being immortal and unending, but was not in actual possession of Life Everlasting, and that his happiness, or rather his life, was dependent on his relation to God, who had revealed Himself to him in the various stages of revelation. So also his misery on his continued separation from the Lord. This becomes now clear and full in this last revelation from God. As in Adam the race fell, so it pleased God to raise the race in Christ. Death in one order, Life in the other, each, however, after its own order. "As in Adam, all die, even

so in Christ shall all be made alive." There is truth in the doctrine of the Universalists, in this, that Christ wrought out a salvation which is universal, but in its application limits itself at once to those who accept its offers, and, therefore, while it is asserted that the salvation is universal, the inference is not to be drawn that all will be saved, but only those who are engrafted into Him and receive His benefits by a true faith. For one there is life, while another elects death. For one eternal life, for the refuser eternal death.

Who, now, is this Incarnate Lord, "the Lord Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." "About eighteen hundred years ago, there lived on this earth a native of Judea, by name Jesus, of Nazareth. He was a young man; He was brought up in very humble life; His reputed parents, His relations, and all His associates, belonged to the lower ranks of society. He was a common carpenter, working at His trade till He was thirty years old. At this age, of His own accord, without solicitation or encouragement from any quarter, He appeared in public, and after a ministry of only three years, He suffered death by crucifixion at the age of thirty-three. His youth, and His entire social circumstances and position, when viewed in connection with His pre-eminence as a revealer of spiritual truth, with His personal wisdom so far surpassing in amount and in kind that of the most renowned sages, and with His blameless, perfect, unexampled spiritual character, make out, as Christians believe, *an essential and organic* difference between *Him and all men*—a difference not of office, but of nature." P. 303. He united two worlds—two natures. He assumed our nature, the nature to be redeemed, "and was in all points like unto us, sin excepted." Our race was in ruin, the gates to eternal life were closed, but He came to open them. What significance in His life, even the years intervening between His twelfth and the year He entered on His public ministry, and what significance

in the three years of His ministry. It is said, tradition reports, that He never smiled. He came to conquer for the race what had been lost and to open the way to eternal life. It was not by a decree, but was a work—a contest—a hard-fought battle, with an enemy for thousands of years defying. To accomplish this, He suffered; His entrance into the flesh involved this. From His birth to the cross, we have trial and suffering. The contest was with the powers of darkness, and on the issue hung the hopes of the race. In His life He was spotless, and He consciously goes to the end and so to the final struggle. We may see the deep significance of the fall when we penitently follow Him into the garden, into the Agony, and from thence to the Cross. He *wrought* out salvation. Every step was conquered, and the enemy relaxed nothing, but fought to the bitter end. In one of the Apocryphal Gospels, what a picture there of what was reality. How death exulted over its prey when He passed under death. Now the victory is ours, shouted death and the grave, now the Prince is defeated, is in our domain, in our power. But He is the Prince of Life, and though, as death supposed, came vanquished, He comes as the Victor to proclaim His triumph in the domain of death, and to take away its sting forever, "and after His three days' rest in the grave, risen up again, because the Lord had sustained Him. Such was the word of their message—that the stone *was* rolled away, that the riddle of death *was* solved, and hearts unnumbered welcomed the tidings, and expanded themselves to it, as flowers, shut through some long, dreary night, unfold themselves to the warmth and the light of the returning day."—*Trench.* He is the bearer of our life, and now, having conquered the enemy and carried off victory in every contest, He is alive for evermore, and holding in His hands the keys of hell and of death. Humanity is redeemed in His Person, and now Life and Immortality are brought to light in and by Him. Here is fulness, an opened fountain. He triumphed over all

opposition forever, the bright and morning star. *In Him is Life*—the essence, the fountain of it. "This *is* life eternal *to know* thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." He accomplished for us and restored what had been lost by sin, and is now forever, the inexhaustible source from whence life and light come. He came to wrest it from every opposing power, and placed it beyond the reach of sin, and thus beyond the reach of death and hell. He *is* the Life. In Him is realized everything sought for and longed after in the Old Testament economy. In Him the race is reheaded and eternal life secured. This is the Gospel—the sun eternally shining.

In the Person of Jesus Christ, our life is raised, and was raised by conflict, suffering and death. In His glorious Resurrection it rises into another world—into a new order—a world where eternal spring abides—far beyond the reach of death—in which the glorious Redeemer ever lives and reigns, an unending life in the undying Christ. This Fountain is ever open in His mystical Body, the fulness of Him, which filleth all in all. Here He is the Head—the ever glorious living Vine, the source from whence life comes to fallen man. In this glorious order we have the home of the Holy Ghost, by whom this life is mediated to the penitent and believing heart. Into this new order we are raised by the power of the Holy Ghost, and by faith appropriate the benefits which are offered by the Lord. In union with Him our ruined nature is restored, and brought into contact with Him who is life, that, personally, we may share in the benefits of this reheaded race. In union with Him we stand in the element of life, eternal life. "The Incarnation and the Cross do all but make up part of their moral being, so deeply are they connected with their moral history. *Theirs* is life begotten of Love, Incarnate, Redeeming, Crucified Love. It is life given back from an awful perdition. It is the life of minds *re*-united to God, after a dark apostacy. It is life restored to the Parent Life, as it ought never to have

been separated. . . it is life from God, *in* God, as the stream contains the waters of the fountain." "We are made partakers of the divine nature." It is life in its highest, purest, noblest sense, realizing the very conception of it in the mind of God. "This *is* life eternal, that they might *know* Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." *Living* is *knowing—getting* to know the highest, grandest truths, which yet we never can *perfectly* know. . . To the central effulgence of God we can never come, only to the edge of the shadow cast by the Infinite we shall reach, but this is the very place of adoration. . . . Life in the immortal world shall be no other than this, to rise higher and higher towards that height which we can never climb, because it is Infinite, leaving below us as we ascend a depth which there is no line to fathom, while around us stretches an expanse measureless as eternity. . . . Overawed, but not disheartened by the conviction that "The Infinite," whether as Truth or as Being, is never to be known, we shall be enraptured by the deep assurance that "the knowable" of God, eternity shall not exhaust. Pp. 342, 343. This, unquestionably, is the biblical conception of eternal life, and the method or plan of God by which this loss was to be restored to the race.

On the other hand, the soul that fails to reach this blessed union with Christ and share in the benefits of this reheaded humanity—that remains out of fellowship and determines his will against God and against Christ, shall live and have being, in the hereafter, but out of Christ or in eternal Death. This is hell, the consciousness of separation from God—alienated from Christ—the conscious determination of will against Life and Light, this is hell. "Evil shall hereafter be alone, and alone shall develop its own rank and deadly nature, and exhibit its unmitigated effects. If this be true, and if evil beings shall be left absolutely alone in the midst only of evil, it is not hard to imagine that, in the progress of ages, they *must be-*

come a terrible wreck, unutterably worse than anything which earth has ever witnessed, and shall furnish a tremendous and everlasting vindication of the language, 'lost souls,' 'perished minds,' 'fires quenched,' 'lights gone out forever in the blackness of darkness.' . . . Sin *is* perdition. Not that at some future day it shall produce death, but that it *is* death. . . . Unless it be extirpated, the soul can only die: it may exist in the sense of simply *being*, but it is really dying rather than living; and forever, its existence is a death, a process of perdition, whose final issue lies behind an impenetrable veil." *The Christ of History*, pp. 117, 118. And what shall ever alter or change it? Is not the will determined, has it not elected its own way, did it not choose itself in preference to the Lord, and nothing in the wide universe can undetermine it, so that this self-elected condition or state—this consciousness of alienation—this hell must be enduring or endless. How can it be otherwise? Has it not made account of its probation and in it determined, so that the decision, in the hereafter, must be final and irrevocable? So on the other hand, "*this life of God in man* is eternal; this is the eternal life-union or reunion of the created mind with God," whilst this loss, irrecoverable, is hell, the conception of a death which is eternal. The one is a life in the undying Christ, the other, a life out of Christ, where God is a consuming fire. The one eternal, unending as the other, but one has the consciousness of blessedness, while the other the consciousness of being lost, of being out of Christ, of being damned. The one in heaven, the other in hell.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE LIFE OF (JOHN) CONRAD WEISER, THE GERMAN PIONEER, PATRIOT AND PATRON OF TWO RACES. By C. Z. Weiser, D.D., Reading, Pa. Daniel Miller, Publisher, 113 North Sixth Street, 1876.

WE respect the motive which led our friend and class-mate, Dr. Weiser, to write this interesting book. It is a pious tribute to a worthy ancestor, and thus fulfills the spirit of the command, "Honor thy father and thy mother." It is at the same time a loyal and dutiful remembrance of his people. Conrad Weiser, the subject of the biography, was a German, and stands out prominently among the thousands from the German fatherland who contributed in laying the foundations of our good old Commonwealth and of our nation.

Little comparatively has as yet been done to commemorate the trials and hardships which these German immigrants endured, and the solid virtues they displayed in the early history of our country. The Puritans were in advance of them, and they have had earlier heralds of their heroic virtues. It is quite time that a full history of the first German settlements in this country should be written. May we not hope that this interesting biography may be the harbinger of such a history. There is much material gathered, we know. It only waits to be properly arranged and published in order to supply the great want.

Dr. Weiser has done his work well. He has made careful research, so that the reader feels safe in accepting the facts stated. It is not a manufactured romance. Then there is a spirit and freshness in the style which carries the reader along with unabated interest to the end of the first part. The second part presents to the reader Conrad Weiser's letters, his journals, his memoranda, and closes with addenda. Here the man stands out in his public and official character. His strict integrity failed not in all his public transactions because it was based upon the Christian religion. The Einweihungs-Lied, composed by him, on page 401, shows how deeply imbued he was with the Christian spirit, and at the same time his literary ability. The oration by Hon. Daniel Ermentrout, on Our People in American History, is worthy the place it occupies. This and the address of George F. Baer, Esq., delivered at Meyerstown, Pa., December 23, 1875, on the "Pennsylvania Germans," are a credit to their authors, and deserve attention not only by the Germans of Pennsylvania, but by all Americans who revere the memory of the founders of our great nation. We hope this interesting work of Dr. Weiser's will serve to awaken new interest in the early history of the Germans in this country.

Christian Nurture. By Horace Bushnell. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876.

The enterprising house of Scribner, Armstrong & Co., of New York, has undertaken to bring out a uniform edition of the select works of Horace Bushnell, D.D. It will include the present volume, Sermons for the New Life, Nature and the Supernatural, Vicarious Sacrifice, Forgiveness and Law, Christ and His Salvation, and Sermons on Living Subjects.

This first volume on Christian Culture is a volume of about 400 pages. The substance of it appeared many years ago, and received at the time a very favorable notice and review by Dr. Nevin in the Mercersburg Review. It has lost nothing in interest since it first appeared. The practical end the author seemed to have in view when it was first published was to counteract the tendency to misunderstand and undervalue educational religion. Under the guidance and influence of individualism, the conception of mankind as an organism seemed to be lost. So also the organisms which are subordinate parts of the one great organism of humanity, as the family were in like manner regarded as a sort of aggregation. It was thought that Christianity has to do only with adult life. The membership of children in the Christian Church was ignored. Infant baptism was, indeed, retained to some extent in the Puritan Churches, but it became divested of all true significance. Sudden conversion, emotional religion, such as goes along with the popular revivals, became the order of the day among the Churches.

Dr. Bushnell sought to counteract this tendency, and call the Church back to its duty in reference to the children that were growing up in its communion. He does this with great ability. Every page reveals his grasp of thought, and at the same time his right conception of Christianity, especially in its relation to the family.

As a specimen of Dr. Bushnell's treatment on the subject of the kind of teaching that is befitting little children, we quote the following:

"As little are young children to be taught that they are, of course, unregenerated. This, with many, is even a fixed point of orthodoxy, and of course they have no doubt of it. They put their children on the precise footing of heathens, and take it for granted that they are to be converted in the same manner. But they ought not to be in the same condition as heathens. Brought up in their society, under their example, baptized into their faith and upon the ground of it, and bosomed in their prayers, there ought to be seeds of a gracious character already planted in them; so that no conversion is necessary, but only the development of a new life already begun. Why should the parents cast away their privileges, and count their child an alien still from God's mercies.

"Again, you are not to teach your children that they need, of course, to be regenerated, because they fail in obedience, show bad tempers, and display manifold other faults. Have you no faults yourselves? Do you then spring it as a conclusion against yourselves, that you are unregenerate persons, or do you take hold of God's help, with new earnestness and confidence, that you may get strength to overcome your faults and be clear of them? Short-comings, faults, casual disinclinations of feeling, are bad signs, such as ought to waken distrust, but they are not, of course, conclusive evidences.

"As little are you to teach them that they are certainly unregenerate, or without piety, because they are light in many of their demonstrations, full of play, abounding in frolicsome gayeties. Which is worse and farthest from God, these innocent exuberances of life, or the covetous, overcaring, overworking, enviously plotting, sobriety of their parents?

"Again, you are never to teach your very young children that they are too young to be good, or to be really Christian. Never allow them to see that you expect them to be pious only at some future day, when they are older. What you despair of, or assume to be no possibility for them, they certainly will not attempt, and the discouragement of good, thus thrown upon them, may be even fatal to their future character. Draw them rather into your own exercises, taking always for granted, that they will be with you. . . . .

"Again, do not teach them that they can never pray, or do anything acceptable to God, till *after* they are converted or regenerated. This, with many, is a great point of orthodoxy, and I would not speak of it with severity, because it is a very natural mistake; and yet it is one of the most hurtful delusions, short of real infidelity, that can be put into language. . . . .

. . . . What is wanted is, to train them by a corresponding gentleness, and keep them in the molds of the Spirit. No spiritual tornado is wanted that will finish up the parental duties in a day; but there is to be a most tender and wise attention, watching always for them, and at every turn or stage of advance, contributing what is wanting; enjoying their bright and happy times of goodness and peace with them, helping their weak times, drawing them out of their discouragements, and smoothing away their moods of recoil and bitterness; contriving always to supply the kind of power that is wanted at the time it is wanted. Under such kind of keeping and teaching, God, who is faithful to all His opportunities, as men are not, will be putting His laws into the mind and writing them in the heart, and the prophet's idea will be fulfilled to the letter; it will not be necessary to go calling the children to Christ, and saying, know the Lord; for they will know him, every one, the least as the greatest, and the greatest as the least, each by a knowledge proper to his age."

It is very clear that the subject has rather gained than lost in interest during the time that has intervened since the work was first published. The false individualistic style of thinking which he opposes is still in the ascendant. Large portions of the Church in this country still rely more on spasmodic efforts to promote the growth of the Church, than on the regular and steady work of training the young in Christian nurture. We know of no better work covering the general subject of Christian nurture.

It has, indeed, a serious defect, but fortunately for our theological thinking in the Reformed Church this defect is easily detected, and the want easily supplied. The defect, as noticed originally in the MERCERSBURG REVIEW, consists in laying too much stress on the side of the merely natural in the nurture of Christian life in the bosom of the family, and not enough on the order of the supernatural in the transmission of Christian life in the bosom of the Church. This view of baptism does not come up to the Reformation doctrine. But even with this defect, as

we regard the subject, this work is worth more than the great bulk of speeches and literature with which the land is flooded on the subject of Sunday-schools. We would like to see it in all our Sunday-school libraries for the benefit especially of teachers, and we feel assured that pastors can find no better treasury of material for thought on the very important subject which is here treated by a master thinker. Dr. Bushnell will live in his works as one of the first theological thinkers of this country, and of this age.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Third Series. From the Captivity to the Christian Era. With Two Maps. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 743 and 745 Broadway, 1876. [Published by arrangement with the author.]

The subjects treated in these lectures are: 1. The Exiles, 2. The Fall of Babylon, 3 The Return, 4. Ezra and Nehemiah, 5. Malachi (or the Close of the Persian Period), 6. Socrates, 7. Alexandria, 8. Judas Maccabæus, 9. The Asmonean Dynasty, 10. Herod.

The period covered by these lectures in point of interest falls below that comprised in the preceding volumes, but yet it has in it points of interest which those preceding ages do not possess. It is the time when Israel ceased, or almost ceased, to be a nation, and became only a Church. It is, moreover, the time of "the connection of sacred and profane history."

The author views this connection "not merely in the sense in which the phrase was used by divines of the seventeenth century, as describing the dependence of the Jewish people on foreign powers, but in the larger sense in which it points to the intermingling of the ideas of foreign nations, consciously or unconsciously, with Judaism, and to the epoch at which the great teachers of the Israelite race began to infuse into the main current of the world's religion immortal truths which it has never since lost." The chapters devoted to heathen philosophy have a peculiar interest in this view. We have not had time, as yet, to examine the lectures fully, but what we have read has impressed us with the careful research of the author, while his clear and vivid style clothes the subject with lively interest at every point. It is a large octavo of over 500 pages. We may find room to give it a more extended notice, which it deserves, in a future number of the Review.

A Theory of Fine Art. By Joseph Torrey, Late Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1874.

This is a neat little volume of 290 pages. It contains the lectures which were delivered by the author in the University of Vermont, and which were associated with the studies of the senior year, "after the plan pursued in some of the European universities." When these lec-

tures were commenced it was no doubt a new thing to teach æsthetics in an American college, at least in any philosophical sense. The author had studied the great works of art, he tells us, in the principal galleries of Germany, France and Italy. He may have been impressed, at the same time, he says, with the great importance attached to the subject, in its theoretic aspect, in the universities of Germany, where it has been for many years regarded as forming a legitimate part of a philosophical course of instruction. "The lectures were generally regarded by the students as forming a very attractive feature of the senior year."

No doubt Prof. Torrey's treatment of the subject was fresh and interesting, and even something new to the students in the University of Vermont. This little work, good as it is in its way, suggests to us, however, the immensely superior course on the same subject which the students of Franklin and Marshall College have for years received, in the lectures of Dr. J. W. Nevin. These lectures come up to the conception of university teaching. We have examined quite a number of English works on the same subject, but find them all weak and inferior compared with the course of lectures by Dr. Nevin. But then there is perhaps no college in this country in which so full a course in philosophy is taught as in our own institutions. In that department they need not fear comparison with the largest and the best.

Prof. Torrey's work is worthy a place among English works on æsthetics.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, Devoted to Literature, Science, Art and Politics, October, 1876.

Contents: The Battles about Atlanta, Fable, The Thorsdale Telegraphs, Giving Up the World, Neighborhoods of Jerusalem, October, Old Woman's Gossip, Incantation, George Sand, The Songs of the Troubadors, The American, Oliver Twist, A Librarian's Work, Characteristics of the International Fair, Recent Literature.

Gen. Howard gives another interesting account of battles in the late war. The article on Neighborhoods of Jerusalem, by Charles Dudley Warner, gives an unvarnished account of his subject, and attributes the celebrity of the places visited, not to any inherent attraction, nor to any greatness of the Jewish people, but to their literature. But there is something greater even than this literature, including even the Old and New Testaments, viz: the revelation itself which God made in that land. The literature is precious to all Christians on this account, and from this the literature, as he calls it, derives all its importance. The articles in this number are fully up to the high literary standard of the *Atlantic Monthly*. George Sand and the Songs of the Troubadours are particularly fine, the former by Thomas Sergeant Perry, the latter by Harriet W. Preston. The article on the International Fair is the fourth of a series.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE. October, 1876.

This number contains: The Silver Mountains of Utah, Haydon and his Friends, Sœur Antoine, Newark Illustrated, Laocoön, Lace Lore, The

Laurel Bush, Home Life in the East, Aunt Rhodanthe's Mistake, Carnivorous Plants of Florida, German Love Song, Harriet Martineau, Garth, Hebe, A Madrigal, A Woman-Hater, Petralto's Love, Daniel Deronda, Editor's Easy Chair. etc.

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